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BY

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AND

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FURTHER BORROWINGS FROM 'ANCREN RIWLE'

I

IN *Antonianum* (published at the Franciscan College of St Anthony at Rome) for April and July 1928, the R.P. Livarius Oliger, O.F.M., prints with introduction and notes a Latin rule for anchorites and two for hermits of which I had lent him the photographs. The latter works (discovered by Horstmann, and by Miss Clay, respectively) had come to my attention during my work on Richard Rolle, the former (hitherto unnoted) because it seemed likely to bear some relation to the *Ancren Riwe*. Such a conjecture has been justified in Father Oliger's masterly edition: he shows that many of the regulations in this, the *Dublin Rule*, are derived from the treatise. The latter is once used in related *Admonitiones* which are appended and can be dated between 1140 and 1215.

The *Dublin Rule*¹ is printed from Trin. Coll. Dublin MS. 97 which (from the photographs) is dated by Father Oliger at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century (1279-1312). The volume gives a collection of rules, and it belonged to the Augustinian canons of St Thomas, Dublin. Since the appearance of Father Oliger's edition I have discovered a second copy of the *Dublin Rule* as the mysterious piece, following the oldest Latin text of the *Ancren Riwe*, in the half burnt Cotton MS. Vitellius E ix ('of the former half of the fourteenth century'), to which the late Mr Macaulay, in his epoch-making study of the manuscripts of the *Ancren Riwe*², drew attention (p. 70). 'Regulae vitae Anachoretarum utriusque sexus scriptae per Simonem de Gandavo,' etc., appears at this point in the catalogue by Smith of the Cotton MSS., and Mr Macaulay pointed out (p. 70) that a copy of this catalogue with manuscript notes made before the fire shows that this item covered two pieces, of which the first was the Latin *Riwe*, and the second a piece described in a manuscript note as 'Regula anchoretarum ex superiore (ut videtur) extracta.' He showed (*ibid.*) that in the present severely mutilated condition of the manuscript 'the last five leaves, ff. 49-53, do not belong to the *Ancren Riwe*, but no doubt to the treatise which

¹ This work begins: 'Incipit norma perfectorum virorum ac mulierum salubris, scilicet ordo anachoritalis vite et vere caritatis.... Omnes enim in spiritali humilitate regulariter vivere debent.' The *incipits* of the other two works are given in my *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, New York, 1927.

² *Mod. Lang. Review*, ix.

followed it.' He concluded from reading the fragments that the latter was 'written for anchorites of the male sex, and independent of the other, not extracted from it, as suggested in the manuscript additions to the catalogue' (*ibid.*). The five leaves in question contain the pitiful remains of a text of the *Dublin Rule*, without the *Admonitiones* of Robert. The first legible words are '[du]abus filiabus suis,' which belong to the reference to Lot in the *Dublin Rule* (p. 174, c. 2); as there, references follow to 'Rex [Salomon]' and 'Olofernes,' of which the continuous text cannot be read. A new section begins in the Cotton MS. after 'caute cum casum talium virorum audiat' (*Dublin*: 'cavete casum talium virorum'). The last two paragraphs of c. 2 of the *Dublin* text are absent from Cotton, but c. 3 begins legibly: 'Non debetis nimium comedere (*Dublin*: 'manducare') neque nimium ieiunare. . . .' The heading is given, 'De moderatione multorum,' and the whole work seems to have been separated by chapter headings. Verbal divergencies and changes of order are constant wherever it has been possible to compare the two texts, and though some enlargements occur (as to p. 178), on the whole the omissions are more frequent (as of the end of c. 2, the beginning of c. 17, and end of c. 18). It is impossible to decide which represents the original form of the text. Probably the work was copied beside the Latin *Ancren Riwele* to supply, as the cataloguer states, 'rules for the anchorites' life for both sexes.' Both works try occasionally to include both sexes in the directions, but each is, generally speaking, concentrated on its own problem.

In Cott. MS. Vitell. D xii, there was, before the fire: 'Norma Anachoretalis vitae perfectae' (Art. 5), which was followed by 'Regulae et statuta monialium.' It is likely, from the heading given to the *Dublin Rule* (*supra*, p. 1), which is nearly that of Art. 5 here, that we have the same work. Some fifteenth-century fragments of this volume exist, but nothing of this part.

The use of the *Ancren Riwele* by the *Dublin Rule* will be described in detail. What is borrowed is in all cases practical admonitions, as follows: c. 4, Silence after compline and before prime (cf. *A.R.*, p. 428); 'semper ad prandium silentium teneas' (*A.R.*, p. 68: 'silence euere et te mete'); c. 14, do not receive 'pecuniam alterius aut vestimentum aut aliquam rem caram sub tua custodia' (*A.R.*, p. 418: 'oðer monnes pinges, ne eihte, ne cloðes')¹; c. 17, 'si mulieres sunt anachorite, vestimenta ecclesie

¹ I pointed out in my article on the 'Origin of the *Ancren Riwele*' (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.*, xxxiii, p. 530, n. 85) that the *Ancren Riwele* here suggests a decree of the 'Council of Rouen' copied in a manuscript of Abelard's Rule for the Paraclete. Mr G. G. Coulton in reviewing my article (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xv, p. 406) gives the full reference to the Council of Rouen in question (1231) which I was not able to trace. He quotes the parallel

suant et vestimenta pauperum' (*A.R.*, p. 420: 'schepieð and seouweð and amendeð chirche cloðes and poure monne cloðes'); c. 18, say your hours, not as seculars do, altogether, 'sed horis constitutis ut regulares' (*A.R.*, p. 20: 'euerich tide sunderliche also uorð also 3e muwen siggeð in his time'); say 'septem psalmos cum letaniis' (*A.R.*, p. 22: 'seoue psalmes . . . mit te Letanie'); c. 20, 'debes . . . post prándium surgere et ambulare coram altari tuo et ibi laudare Dominum Deum tuum' (cf. *A.R.*, p. 44: 'ower graces . . . biuore mete and efter . . . and mid te miserere, goð biuoren ower weouede and endeð ðer þe graces'); c. 24, 'nullum colorem in vestimentis habeant, nisi album vel nigrum vel griseum rusticorum, nec lineis induantur indumentis nisi pro magna infirmitate' (*A.R.*, p. 418: 'wel mei don of ower cloðes, beon heo hwite, beon heo blake . . . Next fleshe ne schal mon werien no linene cloð').

Father Oliger gives, where the *Rule* provides general admonitions for the welfare of 'sui ministri' (p. 180), a reference to the *Ancren Riwele* for the subject in general of the anchoresses' maidens. The agreement here, as to directions against tale-bearing, etc., is perhaps too commonplace to be significant. He notes that some of the citations in c. 4 come from the *Riwele*, but the only two which I can trace to that source are very obvious. He does not note the relation that seems to me to exist between the two works in c. 5: most of the admonitions here given in the *Rule* can be found in the *Riwele*, as the directions not to be seen even when speaking, not to put the hand out of the window (both of these perhaps suggest a derivation from a rule for women), not to speak or to hear slander (cf. *A.R.*, pp. 56, 97, 114, 89); as also the advice: 'Iubemus ne ponas temet ipsum inter homines vadum vel plegium¹ vel testem, neque iuramenta facias' (cf. *A.R.*, p. 70: '3e ne schulen uor none þinge ne warien, ne swerien, bute 3if 3e siggen witterliche . . . oðer o summe swuche wise'). In c. 8 we find: 'Noli docere dum potes doceri . . . si vis alium docere, vide ut bene intelligas quod doces' (cf. *A.R.*, *ibid.*: 'ne ne preche to none mon, ne no mon aski ou read, ne counsail, ne ne telle ou. Readeð wummon one.

at this point as follows: 'Propter scandala quae ex monialium conversatione proveniunt, statuimus de monialibus nigris ne aliquod depositum recipiant in domibus suis ab aliquibus personis; maxime arcas clericorum vel etiam laicorum causa custodiae apud se minime deponi permittant.' We are very likely to have here an almost traditional regulation, for the *Dublin Rule* continues on this subject: 'Una enim regula est monachis et anachoritis, ut scilicet non custodiant pecuniam alterius. Memento semper Ananiam et Saphiram qui mentiti sunt Petro apostolorum principi et frugerunt regulam et cito mortui sunt' (p. 179). The comparison with the decree just quoted shows a comparatively close agreement between the *Dublin Rule* and the *Ancren Riwele*, suggesting, when taken in connexion with other passages, that a direct borrowing has taken place here also. In spite of decrees, the usage in question persisted, for in 1250 a charter, and in 1415, a garment is kept for the owners by the nuns of Hampole (see my *Richard Rolle*, pp. 514-5).

¹ Father Oliger notes: 'Anglice *pledge*'—one of the signs of English origin in the work.

Seinte Powel uorbead wummen to prechen. "Mulieres non permitto docere"). Here again we have possibly adapted an admonition originating in a rule for women.

The *Dublin Rule* ends absolutely without sign, with the words as to costume quoted above ('...nisi pro magna infirmitate'), and the *Admonitiones* follow with no further distinction than one of the ornate initials used to separate the chapters of the *Rule*. The new section begins as follows:

Hugoni venerabili anachorite Robertus indignus presbiter salutem in Christo. Audivi te querere regulam anachoritalis [vitae] conscriptam. Apposui manus explosas ad tomum et diversas sententias de anglicis¹ libris in latinam linguam transferre studui. Ego quidem humili studio dictavi quod a nobilioribus rustico stilo dicitur.

Non garulo sermone, non ignotis partibus, sed simplici locutione cupio prodesse simplici magis quam laudari ab adulatoribus...Sunt resplendentes apud Deum, quorum correctio accedat ad nostra opuscula. Malo apud istos corrigi quam apud inscios laudari; qui nunquam corripitur, valde decipitur.

Cavendum est tibi multum, karissime, ne quorundam anachoritarum incipientium mala exempla imiteris, qui putant in abstinentia ciborum vel in duris vestimentis salvationem esse, absque ceteris bonis. Hec enim bona sunt, si pro Christi amore sunt facta, sin autem, viciosa sunt potius quam virtuosa (pp. 183-4).

The interesting reference to the use of 'English books' quoted above is, as Father Oliger concludes, not to be interpreted positively; at the same time, all things considered, it is very likely that the reference is to the *Ancren Riwele*, which is used considerably in the preceding rule of anchorites (to which this may be a 'covering letter' by the same author), and slightly in the present *Admonitiones*. The last sentence quoted (as to the small comparative importance of physical austerities, which sometimes even become vicious) may be influenced by the *Riwele*, where the difference between the 'outer rule' (treating such matters) and the 'inner rule' (charity) is emphatically dwelt upon (pp. 2 f. and *passim*): cf. *A.R.*, p. 12: 'þer ase þeos þingeg ("dred and luue") beoð þer is riht religiun and þer is riht ordre; and don al þet oðer ("vttre þingeg") and leten þis nis bute a trukunge and a fals gile'; p. 410: 'þeos luue...is þe lefdi riwle. Alle þe oðre serueð hire, and one uor hire sake me ham ouh forto luuien².' This moderation as to physical austerities is advised also in the earlier part of the *Dublin Rule*, where, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 2),

¹ In the MS. 'angelicis N,' and Father Oliger shows (p. 154), from analogy of similar cases in the text, that 'N' signifies 'Nota,' as a mark of correction.

² I have pointed out in my article on the 'Origin of the *Ancren Riwele*' (pp. 518 *sq.*) that the author of the *Ancren Riwele* is here probably echoing the famous letter of Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny (of soon after 1122), where 'caritas' is described as the 'master-familias' whom all the physical regulations of a monk's life should serve; Lanfranc had earlier put the latter among the 'movable ordinances' in his statutes for the monks of Canterbury (see my article just cited, p. 527).

'De moderatione multorum' appears as the heading to c. 3 in the Cotton copy.

It is the more likely that the *Riwele* has influenced the *Rule* at this point because, as Father Oliger points out, there almost immediately follows a passage which he derives from that work: 'Cum quis igitur ad te venerit et fenestram tuam pulsaverit, signato ore verte [te] ad altare, Deum deprecare ut te a malo eloquio custodiat. Deinde dic rite *Benedicite*' (cf. *A.R.*, p. 64: 'On alre erest hwon ze schulen to owre parlures þurle iwiteð et ower meiden hwo beo þat is icumen... and hwon ze alles moten uorð, croiseð ful zeorne our muð, earen, and eien, and te breoste eke, and goð forð mid Godes drede, to preoste¹. On erest, siggeð confiteor, and þerefter benedicite'). This passage is found with slight verbal differences (as, 'super os tuum' for 'signato ore') in the preceding *Rule* (p. 176). An 'examen conscientiae' follows (p. 185) which is also to be found in the *Dublin Rule*.

From this point, nothing more is heard of anchorites, and the *Admonitiones* proceed with words describing their principal subject, as follows: 'De sacramento corporis Christi in multis expositionibus satis audisti...' The author goes on to discuss principally the Sacrament to the end of the piece. In conclusion he urges: 'ut has ammonitiones sepe per lectorem aliquem audias' (p. 190).

It will be seen from the detailed examination made that the *Rule* and *Admonitiones* borrow from the *Riwele* none of its lively imaginative passages, but only practical regulations for daily life. The priest Robert may allude to this fact in his reference to his working 'humili studio².' But a lack of its more individual elements does not necessarily invalidate the relation to the treatise, for the practical regulations borrowed also seem to be peculiar; Father Oliger has in any case compared the works he prints with the rules of Grimlaic and Aelred, the other two great writers for anchorites (other than the author of the *Ancren Riwele*), and found the indebtedness to their rules to be relatively slight, though perceptible. Altogether, the indebtedness of the *Dublin Rule* to the *Ancren Riwele* is sufficient to make plausible the presumption that this was an 'English book' used as a source. Though, as we have seen, the only specific borrowing from the *Riwele* found in the *Admonitiones* probably

¹ Mr Macaulay noted (p. 155) that the other three thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Riwele* remove the stop after 'priest,' thus connecting the 'confiteor' with the call of a priest; the French text follows the punctuation given in the manuscript printed. Reference to the *A.R.*, p. 136 (quoted *infra*, p. 11), will show that the printed text is certainly incorrect at this point (as Mr Macaulay decided, p. 74).

² Cf. *supra*, p. 4. The 'rustico stylo' here is curious. Can it refer to the *familiar* style of the *Ancren Riwele*? It would seem to apply to the English work in question.

originates in the preceding *Dublin Rule*, there seems to be a general influence from the *Riwe* in the address to Hugo which would indicate an independent use of the treatise.

Father Oliger discusses the authorship of the *Dublin Rule* and of the *Admonitiones* (pp. 161-2) and their relation to each other (pp. 154, 157); he does not decide whether both belong to the same author, or who is the author of either. He brings forward (p. 154) as possible candidates for the authorship of the *Admonitiones*, at least, Robert of Arbrissel († 1117), the founder of Fontevraud, and the 'Robertus (procul dubio sacerdos), magister reclusarum tempore S. Anselmi († 1109), qui de eo scribit in ep. 133.' He dismisses both these candidates as too early in date, for he shows that the *Admonitiones* use the *Decretum Gratiani* of c. 1140. It should be pointed out, however, that another letter of St Anselm (No. 22) is addressed 'Hugoni incluso' who (like the Hugo of the present work) had written to ask for something to be written for his edification. This letter belongs to the period of St Anselm's life at Bec, and Hugo is therefore probably a Frenchman, as, of course, is Robert of Arbrissel. We must probably put the date of the *Ancren Riwe* at about that of the *Decretum Gratiani* (1140), and we might suggest that the *Dublin Rule* was written almost immediately after the composition of the famous rule for women, while correspondents of St Anselm would still be alive. In the present work Hugo is called 'venerable' which might suggest great age, and perhaps in view of the great age attained at about this period by St Gilbert of Sempringham, we cannot say that it is absolutely impossible that the present work, written at least thirty years after St Anselm's death, might conceivably be connected with St Anselm's correspondents, but it is certainly highly hypothetical to make the connexion: it becomes even more difficult when we remember that the letter to Hugo must be dated before St Anselm left Bec (1193).

It might be suggested that the difficulty could be resolved by supposing that the *Admonitiones* as we have them are really a conflation of two separate works, one directed to anchorites for Hugo by Robert, the other, more general in its application, being of another date. Though there is nothing incongruous in the epistle on the Eucharist with the introduction or with the *Rule*, of both of which it is an integral part in this manuscript, it is tacked on in a way that might mean accidental copying side by side in the archetype. Father Oliger notes (p. 153) that his text (*Rule* and *Admonitiones*) is full of errors, insertions, and corrections. The evidence as to the date of the *Admonitiones* comes near the end, that is, well outside the limits where anchorites are discussed.

On this subject Father Oliger kindly wrote, June 1, 1928, as follows: 'As to the separation of the first part of the *Admonitiones Roberti* from the second (Eucharistic), the thought you express came also to me, and the manuscript lends occasion to this interpretation, as the second part begins with a new initial letter. But on considering the whole, I was deterred from expressing it, because the allocution in the second person and the address 'carissime'¹ are the same in both pieces. Besides, the first part is mainly on Confession, and so it is natural that the second part is on Eucharistic, which generally follows Confession.' The use of a new initial for the second part can hardly be said to have great significance, for it is exactly such as separates the different parts of the preceding *Rule* (for which the numbers have been supplied by Father Oliger), and as also marks the opening address to Hugo (with the following two paragraphs for anchorites). On the whole, therefore, there seems no reason to separate the two parts of the *Admonitiones*, and the date (before 1215) should be applied to the whole².

Whether the same date is to be applied to the preceding *Rule* is a question, as we have seen, which is left open by Father Oliger. He points out (p. 162) that the *Admonitiones* can hardly be the 'Regula anachoritalis' referred to in their introduction as having been asked for by Hugo. 'Econtra tum titulus similis, "ordo anachoritalis vitae," tum textus quidam ex Exhortationibus Roberti in Regula Dublinensi apparent. Possumusne ex his omnibus concludere auctorem utriusque esse illum Robertum? Quaestio, deficientibus elementis decisivis, solvi non potest. Quodsi vero Robertus Regulam anachoritalem diversam ab Exhortationibus revera scripsit, ut dicit in Exhortationibus ad Hugonem, tunc facile haec Dublinensis esse posset, quam proinde inter 1140-1215 ortam esse oporteret assumere' (p. 162). In a private letter of March 28, 1928, Father Oliger writes: 'As to the *Dublin Rule*, I am inclined to put it rather early in the thirteenth century. If we certainly knew that the *Ancren Riule* was of the twelfth century, it could even be ascribed to the twelfth century.'

On the whole, it seems to me far more likely than not that the *Dublin Rule* was written by the priest Robert, and later copied by him for the anchorite Hugo with a 'covering letter' and the following 'admonitions.'

¹ The *Rule* is addressed to 'fratres karissimi' (pp. 172-3), 'karissimi' (pp. 173-4). 'Karissime' and 'frater' occur in the first paragraphs addressed to Hugo, and on an average the former recurs once a page in the discussion of the Eucharist.

² Cf. the following: 'Inter catholicos non connumeretur qui in his tribus temporibus pascha, pentecoste, natali Domini non communicaverit' (p. 189). This Father Oliger identifies as from the *Decretum Gratiani*, otherwise largely used in this part of the work. The present citation he notes as marking a date before the Lateran Council of 1215 (*ibid.*).

The first part of the *Admonitiones*, with their references to an 'anchorites' rule' for Hugo, and to 'English books' as a source, would seem to favour this interpretation, for both title and source agree with the actual title and source of the *Dublin Rule*. What *can* the references mean, if they do not refer to the *Dublin Rule*, and the *Ancren Riwele*, an English work there used as a source and the only suitable English work likely to have been extant? Moreover, the style and matter of the introduction to Hugo suggest the style and matter of the preceding piece. As we have seen, we have a considerable quotation showing that in any case the priest Robert knows the *Dublin Rule*, and he certainly seems to show the general influence of the *Riwele* in his introduction, quite apart from the specific borrowing which he derives from the preceding *Rule*. The fact that the *Admonitiones* are absent from the Cotton text cannot destroy their chance of authenticity, for they show that they were, so to speak, an after-thought. The Cotton MS. may be abstracted from a copy where, as in the Dublin, the *Admonitiones* made an integral but (to an anchorite) less useful part of the work: on the other hand, they may be taken from a copy made before Robert had sent the *Rule* to Hugo. The terms of his covering letter ('Audivi te querere regulam anachoritalis [vitae] conscriptam') may imply that the fame of the work 'conscriptam' had reached Hugo, i.e., that it had already circulated to some extent. We have seen that the Cotton and Dublin MSS. show many differences.

The ascription to Simon of Ghent implied in the heading quoted from the Cotton catalogue must, for reasons of date, be erroneous, but it probably was conjectured by the cataloguer, for it does not occur in the manuscript itself in the conclusion and colophon, which are one of the most legible parts of the work. The conclusion of the Dublin text has evidently been present in an enlarged form, though only '[indu]mentis in[d]uantur nisi pro magna infirmitate' is visible. A quotation from St Gregory is added, and the following: 'Nemo preciosa vestimenta querit ubi a nemine videtur. Hunc libellum debent omnes anachorite omni die dominica legere vel audire ab aliquo qui eis exponere sciat, sed ita debent legere vel audire ut ea que legerunt vel audierunt opere adimpleant. Explicit regula anachoritarum. Cuius finis bonus ipsum totum bonum' (f. 53).

Here is an expanded text of the *Dublin Rule* where the *Ancren Riwele* is evidently drawn on more than in the Dublin MS. The sentence 'Nemo . . . videtur' is evidently an echo of the *Riwele* 'Uorði pet no mon ne i-sihð ou, ne 3e i-seoð nenne mon, wel mei don of ower cloðes, beon heo hwite, beon heo blake' (p. 418, *vide supra*, p. 3): if we had the whole of

the original form of this work, it may be that we should see a closer relation to the *Ancren Riwele* at many points, which would explain the statement of the early cataloguer that the *Rule* was derived from the *Riwele*.

In the new material added to the text of the *Ancren Riwele* in the Corpus Christi Cambridge MS. the community of twenty recluses there addressed is spoken of as being 'like a mother house,' 'their convent' is spoken of as spread over England, and they are urged to be united 'like a convent of London, Oxford, Shrewsbury, or Chester.' In my first article connecting the *Ancren Riwele* with Kilburn hermitage (later Kilburn Priory)¹ I wrote: 'This again seems to me a metaphor, and perhaps a reference to the wide dissemination of the *Riwele*, originally written for this house' (when its inmates were three anchoresses only, to whom an incidental reference remains (*A.R.*, p. 116) to conflict with the passage addressing twenty²). The discovery of the *Dublin Rule*, in which we seem to see the actual regulations for the three sisters' lives borrowed from extensively in a rule primarily intended for men anchorites, may serve to give point to this interpretation. The adapted text found in the Corpus MS. (a volume written 'about 1230') I believe to have been prepared on the occasion of the reconstruction of Kilburn Priory in 1231: if the date for the *Dublin Rule* be taken as before 1215, this very work may have been in the mind of the author of the additions as one of the monuments of the influence of the Kilburn Rule. St Aelred's Rule may even be another; for, as I have pointed out in my article (p. 529, n. 85), he says in the beginning there that he has no experience of the life of the recluse and writes, therefore, from 'doctors.' I shall show in a forthcoming article in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*³ that it is very likely that the influence of the *Ancren Riwele* is to be shown in his work in the form of reaction as well as of action⁴. But the explicit exhortation about

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.*, xxxiii, p. 493. It must never be lost sight of in considering the date of the *Riwele* that this, the earliest copy, contains a drastic recension. Its correctness probably means a close relation to the official copy of the second version.

² See my article, p. 476, n. 5.

³ The indebtedness of the *Dublin Rule* to the *Riwele* will be further illustrated here, where its difference from St Aelred's work will be brought into contrast.

⁴ Nor does the influence of the *Riwele* visible before 1230 stop here: five thirteenth-century copies exist, and as I have pointed out in my article on the origin of the *Ancren Riwele* (p. 537, n. 97), the text of the work in the Titus MS. ('T'), contemporary with the earliest copies, is adapted at points for both sexes, as is shown in a dissertation on this copy; that in the Caius MS. ('G'), thirteenth century, but perhaps slightly later than 'T', 'B' and 'N', I have examined and find to have substituted 'friends' for 'sisters' every time the latter address occurs, except the first time. There (f. 3) we have 'mine leoue sustren' exactly as in the printed text ('N'), p. 124, to prove again that this was the original form of the work. Thus the *Riwele* was evidently being used among a large circle, and the wide propagation indicated by the Corpus text is again illustrated.

1230, in the Corpus text in the passage in question addressed to twenty anchoresses, to be united 'as if you were a convent of London, Oxford, Shrewsbury, or Chester' (thus naming towns not altogether outstanding), would seem to hide a definite contemporary allusion. As I have pointed out in my earlier article (p. 481, n. 9), we have positive and unusual testimony for the existence at Shrewsbury, during a long period, of anchoresses living in community, and records may later come to light of similar communities, of men or women, before 1230, at London, Oxford, or Chester¹. For one of these communities of solitaries the *Dublin Rule* may have been written. Its existence in any case shows us that the reference in question in the Corpus text as to the influence of the *Ancren Riwe* can to some degree be literally interpreted. It has also important bearing on the date of the work.

II

In discussing the sources of the two rules for hermits which he also prints, Father Oliger notes of the *Cambridge Rule* (perhaps by Richard Rolle): 'Contactus cum *Ancren Riwe* apparent forsan versus finem Prologi et in c. 3' (p. 158). The passages in question are: 'Si quidem secundum formulam prescriptam omnimodis vitam suam disponant, heremite inter vere religiosos computandi sunt non indebite. Nam, ut dicit Augustinus, *De vera religione*, religio est... Dicitur etiam in canonica Iacobi, c. 1, *Religio munda est apud Deum*, etc., quod utique possunt liberius veri heremite' (p. 301). Cf. *A.R.*, p. 8: 'Gif eni unweote acseð ou of hwat ordre ze beon alse sum deð... onswerieð and siggeð þe, ze beoð of seint Iames ordre... askeð him, Hwat beo ordre, and hwar he ifinde in holi write religiun openluker descriued and isuteled þen in sein Iames canoniel epistle? He seið hwat is religiun and hwuch is riht ordre: Religio munda, etc.'

The other passage in the *Cambridge Rule* thought by Father Oliger to be possibly influenced by the *Ancren Riwe* is the following: 'Non utatur prope carnem lineis vel mollibus vestimentis' (p. 306) (cf. *A.R.*, quoted *supra*, p. 3). The resemblance here is perhaps too commonplace to be significant.

The *Cambridge Rule* has derived much from the rule of St Aelred, as

¹ Could Chester-le-Street (Co. Durham) be in question? Miss R. M. Clay (*Hermits and Anchorites of England*, London, 1914, p. 83) describes as attached to the church there what is 'probably the most complete anchorite's house remaining in England.' It is of two floors, and (in all) four rooms, with (originally) an outside stairway to the upper floor. 'There is no architectural clue to the date,' and the only occupant on record (Clay, p. 214) was living in 1383.

was discovered by Miss Dorothy Elles of Newnham College. It is described fully in my *Richard Rolle*, pp. 324–35, as is (*ibid.*) the *Oxford Rule* also printed by Father Oliger.

III

The *Oxford Rule*, like the *Cambridge Rule*, exists in a unique manuscript of the fifteenth century; it is also found in English in three late copies. In my *Richard Rolle* (p. 329) I took this to be a source of the *Cambridge Rule*, but Father Oliger believes the relation to be the other way round.

Of the *Oxford Rule* Father Oliger says: 'In c. 12 adest locus qui ex *Ancren Riwle* posset derivare' (p. 159). The passage here is the injunction not to speak after compline and before *Pretiosa* (*A.R.*, pp. 20–22, and *vide supra*, p. 2).

IV

In the *Reliques of Rome* of the violent Puritan Thomas Becon¹ we find a possible reference to the *Ancren Riwle*, though, this time, the connexion is not a certain one by any means.

In the section 'Off Monasticall sectes and first of Hermites' under the heading 'Of Ankers and Ankresses and all other Recluses' we read: 'I can not hitherto fynde probably in any author, whence the profession and (*sic*) of Anckers and Anckresses had the beginnyng and foundation, although in thys behalf I haue talked wyth men of that profession, which could very litle or nothyng saye in the matter. Notwithstanding as the white Fryers father that order of Helias the Prophet (but falsly) so likewise do the Anckers and Anckresses make that holy and vertuous Matrone Iudith their patronesse and foundresse' (fol. CCCXII).

This sounds like a reminiscence of the *Ancren Riwle*, where Judith is in several pages taken as the type of the anchoress. Cf. p. 126: 'Iudit bitund inne bitocneð ancre bitund, þet ouhte leden herd lif, ase dude þe lefdi Iudit, efter hire efne'; p. 130: 'þe gode ancre is Iudit, as we er seiden, þet is bitund, ase heo was, and also ase heo dude, vesteð and wakieð, swinkeð and wereð here'; p. 136: '3e, uor so heo mei beon Iudit, þet is, libben herde, ant beon icnowen ofte to God of his muchele godleic touward hire. . . þeonne is heo Iudit, þet slouh Oloferne. Vor Iudit, on

¹ *Workes*, III, 1563. This was discovered from Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 1st edition, London, 1872, p. 146. Here Becon is confused with Thomas Bilney (corrected in pencil in the British Museum copy).

Ebreu is schrift an Englis. Vorði seið euerich ancre, to eueriche preoste, confiteor, on alre erest, and schriueð hire on alre erest and ofte, vorte beon Iudit and slea Oloferne, þet is pes deofles strençðe'; p. 138: 'Auh ancre schal beon Iudit, þuruh herd lif and soð schrift, and slea, ase dude Iudit, pene vuele Oloferne.'

In the other rules for recluses no references to Judith have been found, and since the simile is not very obvious, perhaps an origin in the imagination of the author of the *Ancren Riwe* is likely.

Some other observations of Becon may at least be said to follow the tradition as to the anchoress's life laid down in the *Ancren Riwe*. We read: 'Our Anckers and Anckresses professe nothyng but a solitary life led in contemplacion all the days of their lyfe in their halowed house, wherein they are enclosed, wyth þe vowe of obedience to the Pope and to their ordinary bishop' (fol. cccxii b). Cf. *A.R.*, p. 6: 'Non ancre bi mine read ne schal makien professiun, þet is, bihoten ase hest, bute preo pinges, þet is, obedience, chastete, and studestapeluestnesse; þet heo ne schal pene stude neuer more chaungen, bute vor neod one, als strengðe and deaðes dred, obedience of hire bischope, oper of hire herre.'

Again we read: 'Their apparell is indifferent, so it be dissonant from the Laiety' (*ibid.*). Cf. *A.R.*, p. 418, quoted *supra*, p. 3¹.

There is nothing unlikely in the supposition that Becon has (indirectly, of course) heard echoes of the rule for anchorites given in the *Ancren Riwe*: a Latin MS. discovered by me (Roy. 7 C x², early sixteenth century) was copied near his period.

V

In the *Modern Language Review* for January, 1923, I printed an article 'Some Fourteenth Century Borrowings from *Ancren Riwe*,' in which the first three sections noted the use, in two Middle English treatises and two Latin collections, of sentences from the *Ancren Riwe* (pp. 230 *sq.*) on temptation, in which God in dealing with man is graphically compared to the mother who plays with her child. I have since discovered that the Lincoln Cath. MS. C. 4. 6 (now 218), which I noted as containing the piece in question between Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and *Oleum Effusum*, gives at this point a compilation which occurs also in Brussels MS. 1485 (Bib. roy.), and, with still further additions, in Prague Univ. MS. 814, and Vienna MS. 4483 (Nationalbibliothek). The two latter

¹ Cf. a bequest from the York Registers: 'Johannae Anachoritae mantellum ejusdem sectae' (will of Isabella de Emeley, 1348, Surtees Soc. 4, p. 51).

² See *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Oct. 1922, p. 404.

copies entitle the whole collection 'Incendium Amoris,' though the Lincoln MS. gives this title after the end of the *Incendium* proper. The Vienna MS. contains *marginalia* of unusual interest. On these subjects see my *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle (passim)*.

VI

I have pointed out in my work on Rolle also (p. 230) that the same section from the *Ancren Riwe* is inserted in the chapter (5) on temptation in Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* in the edition printed at the end of the *Speculum Spiritualium* in Paris in 1510, by W. Hopyl at the expense of William Bretton, a London citizen (to be sold in St Paul's Churchyard); we are warned in the colophon that chapters 4 and 5 are enlarged in this edition.

VII

Dr G. R. Owst, in his *Preaching in Medieval England...c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, 1926), quotes (p. 111) from Roy. MS. 8 C i, a borrowing which he identifies as the *Ancren Riwe*. It occurs in a work which he ascribes to Dr William Lichfield, a preacher of prodigious activity described by Dr Gascoigne, whose only extant work Dr Owst (p. 24) believes to be this 'tract on the Five Senses' in the Roy. MS. His later quotation (p. 122, n.) from the same tract is also from the *Ancren Riwe* (p. 72). He speaks (p. 290, n.) of 'so individual an orator as Dr Lichfield'; and says of the tract: 'Obviously incorporating some of his pulpit utterances, it reveals a vigorous emotional spirit, with a touch of mysticism' (p. 24)¹. Actually practically all the stylistic virtues of the piece come straight from the *Ancren Riwe*. Thus the virtues of the style of the author of the *Ancren Riwe* command their due of praise in the twentieth century, as much as in the fifteenth or earlier.

Dr Owst's discovery of the use of the *Riwe* by the Roy. tract gives a clue which has led to the discovery in this manuscript of what may almost be called another text of Bks II and III of the treatise, almost as close to the original perhaps as the Pepys text. It begins with the opening of Bk II: 'Omni custodia serva cor tuum,' etc. (f. 122 b, *A.R.*, p. 48), and, with constant alterations and omissions, especially of all personal passages, and a few additions, follows the text of the *Riwe* through Bks II and III (to f. 140 b). To the end of the work then (f. 143 b) discussion follows (mostly on the conscience) which is not from the *Riwe*, but is

¹ This passage is quoted by the reviewer of Dr Owst in the *Times Literary Supplement*, July 22, 1926.

probably due to the author¹. The work is referred to as a treatise in two parts (divided at f. 130 *b*), and no special application to anchoresses is retained, though the author several times includes them in the classes for which he seems to be writing. He speaks of 'cloisteres (*sic*) and ankers and ankeresys' (f. 130), priests, monks, 'ankers and ankeresses' (f. 131), 'peple of priuate religions as munkes, chanones, Nunes, ankers, and hankeresses' (f. 135). But though he has turned a specialised treatise into a general one, page after page he rifles the rich treasure of imagery in the *Riwe*, sometimes borrowing intact, sometimes altering, or using his borrowings as a point of departure. It would seem that he uses a text more like the Cott. Titus MS. ('T') than any other. He uses citations found only in this copy (see *A.R.*, pp. 76, 86) and also variants of text. In illustration the following parallel quotations may be given:

pus many men maks countenance as
pay wold do holy werkys and maken
mych dynn with her wenges spekyng of
holynes. But her lifyng is so full of fleshly
lusts pat pey are no folowers of crists pas-
sioun. But raper skorners of his passyon
(f. 132).

Fleschlich ancre pet lueð flesches
lustes and foluweð hire eise...tauhe heo
makie semblaunt, and muchel noise mid
te hwingen, pet is, leten of ase pauh heo
fluwe and were an holi ancre. Hwo se
georne bihalt, helauhweð hire to bisemare,
for hire uette euer...pet beoð hire lustes,
draweð hire to þer eorðe (p. 132)².

The MS. N (printed) here is describing the stork, but MS. T the ostrich (obviously correct, as Morton notes). This is the subject of the Roy. MS. at this point also. The 'dynn' of the latter (l. 3) is also found in MS. T (MS. N 'noise').

Thus we see that the author of the Roy. treatise, probably writing about the middle of the fifteenth century, has for the most part dressed his style in borrowed plumage. Whether he is or no the Dr Lichfield who was the great preacher described by Gascoigne seems to me uncertain, for the ascription to 'Lichfield' occurs only at the end of the work in a hand which Mr Gilson assigns to about 1600. Perhaps we have a hint

¹ There is some interest in this part for the history of fifteenth-century devotion in England. The author tells how the consciences of some men are too broad, of others too narrow, 'evil-ruled' or corrupt. Some are more troubled about omitting Mass than as if they were guilty of fraud or other deadly sin that even the pope could not give dispensation for (f. 142). Earlier short additions, apparently due to the author, specially treat penance (ff. 131, 134 *b*, 137 *b*), and other original (?) portions of some interest are ff. 126 *b* (interpretation of 'Cor'), 127 *b*, 131 (the simile of a compass, almost the only image not derived from the *Riwe*), 135-135 *b*, 136 *b*, 138-138 *b* (on contemporary piety).

² The author of the *Ancren Riwe* has drawn his image here from St Gregory's *Morals* (Lib. xxxi, cap. xxxix (Job, cap. viii, vers. 13, Migne 76, c. 578), where the stork is compared to the hypocrite: 'alas per figuram sanctitatis extendunt, sed curarum saecularium pondere praegravati, nullatenus a terra sublevantur.' The same source is used in Richard Rolle's short piece on the Bee and the Stork, and Mr Sisam, in reprinting this text (*Fourteenth-Century Verse and Prose*, Oxford, 1925), notes (p. 215) that 'the ostrich, not the stork is meant. Latin *struthio* has both meanings.'

that the compiler of this work is a great preacher in a reference as to the profit to preachers of solitude (f. 137 *b*). He may very well be Dr Lichfield, but our evidence for believing that he is is less trustworthy than at first appeared.

From the evidence presented in this article and my earlier one it is evident that the *Ancren Riwe* enjoyed a prodigious popularity in mediaeval England for at least three hundred years.

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JOHN FLORIO AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY

I

OF that band of eager Elizabethan translators who so zealously turned Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and Italian books into the vernacular to satisfy the newly awakened intellectual curiosity of their compatriots perhaps only two names survive—in the sense that the general reader, as well as the specialist, has heard of them. North's Plutarch and Florio's Montaigne still hold a place in English literature on the strength of their own merits. A man whose name remains in literary currency three hundred years after his death may be said to have survived a fairly stiff test and to be not unworthy of attention.

Considering the modern passionate interest in all things Elizabethan and Shakespearian, John Florio, whom Shakespeare must have met and whose translation of Montaigne he certainly studied, seems hardly to have attracted the attention one would have expected. Yet the man is an interesting figure, not only for his associations with Shakespeare, but also for his own sake. Born in England of Italian parents—Protestant refugees from the Valtelline—he earned his living as a teacher of languages. To this work he brought much zeal and enthusiasm, believing it to be of the greatest importance that barbarous Englishmen should be taught tongues more civilised than their own and brought into contact with the more cultivated literatures of Italy and France. He was a good teacher and obtained the best positions then open to men of his profession. His teaching career can be roughly divided into three periods. He began it at Oxford, where he seems to have been attached to Magdalen College as tutor in French and Italian. Some time between 1580 and 1590 he left Oxford and came to London where he held the post of Italian tutor to the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron. When that earl's fortunes suffered eclipse towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, Florio's career was interrupted for a while. But on the accession of James I, the earl came into favour again and prosperity returned to his dependents. Florio shared in this good fortune and was made secretary and reader to the Queen and tutor in languages to the Prince of Wales. This was the third and most prosperous phase of his career.

All Florio's original writings bear upon his work as a teacher. His English-Italian dialogues (entitled respectively *First Fruits* and *Second*

Fruits) and his *Italian-English Dictionary* form an excellent 'course' in Italian which must have been invaluable to many an Elizabethan Englishman. In his high sense of the great educational value of what we now call 'modern languages' and in his careful and scholarly methods of teaching, Florio was something of a pioneer. The most fervent educationalist and enthusiast for modern language teaching to-day could hardly express himself more strongly on the subject than this: 'I would that there were such a Lawe, that if one shold bring up his children, without teachyng them somethyng, and especially to reade write and speake divers languages, that he should be beheaded, or els punished greuously.' To which an imaginary interlocuteur sadly replies: 'Yea, but we may rather hope for suche a thyng, then looke for it.'

In spite of his scorn for the uncultivated minds and filthy habits of the English, this very intelligent Italian seems to have felt the stir and movement round about him and to have realised that some strange new birth was taking place in this benighted island. '... This stirring time,' he calls it, 'and pregnant prime of invention when everie bramble is fruitefull, when everie mol-hill hath cast of the winters mourning garment, when everie man is busilie woorking to feede his owne fancie....' During those momentous last ten years of the sixteenth century Florio was in touch with practically all the new writers. Ben Jonson speaks of him as his 'loving Father and worthy Freind, the ayde of his Muses.' He married Samuel Daniel's sister. Shakespeare must have known him. Nicholas Breton and Thorpe, the publisher, dedicated works to him. Thorpe speaks of him as 'a true favorer of forward spirits.' He was in touch with the literary courtiers like Spenser, Sidney and Raleigh; with men like Shakespeare and Jonson to whom literature and the drama were a means of livelihood; with other translators like James Mabbe and Healy; with other Italians resident in England such as Diodati and Gentile; with powerful patrons such as Leicester, Southampton and Pembroke. All varieties of English men of letters would be interested in Florio, very widely read as he was in those new literatures of the Renaissance which so fascinated them, and fluent in several languages. The rage for Italy and all things Italian, then at its height, would bring him popularity and many pupils.

Not only was Florio in touch with the new literature; he seems to have been very early aware of one of the most important practical movements of the age. Professor Foster Watson has pointed out that Florio, in the preface to his translation of Cartier's voyages, published in 1580, was one of the earliest writers in English to suggest that the newly discovered

lands across the ocean should be permanently colonised by settlers from the mother country. Florio here advocates 'planting' the 'New-found land' four years before Hakluyt and Raleigh, the pioneers of colonisation, began making their schemes and starting their adventures. Englishmen have a good right to the new-found land, according to Florio, since it was discovered by the Cabots, and 'with fifty or sixty saile of shippes, [the English] might very commodiouslye transporte a sufficient number of men to plant a colonie in some convenient Haven. . . .' It is remarkable to find a foreigner throwing himself so early and so earnestly into the spirit of these patriotic ventures. It shows how quickly he responded to the Elizabethan atmosphere.

Florio is not, of course, an original thinker. He is a careful scholar and grammarian with a genuine zeal for letters, a good memory and remarkable linguistic gifts. His English-Italian dialogues are extremely interesting and lively reading, both for the light that they throw on his views and tastes and because they reflect unconsciously, and therefore very vividly, many aspects of Elizabethan daily life. In the course of acquiring Italian without tears we are jostled by the rude crowd which jeers at foreigners, we buy perfumed gloves and haggle over the price, we go home late after a supper-party and fumble through the unlighted streets. In the *Second Fruits* there is a particularly entertaining account of 'a sette at tenis,' in which one almost seems to hear the voices of the players as they chat and call the score.

Florio's faults show up very obviously. He betrays himself in his prefaces as a conceited, touchy, and pedantic man. The portrait of him by Hole shows a dark, intelligent, lively face, with an undefined look of oddity about it, as if this was a man at whom other men might smile. Cornwallis perpetrated a laboured, Euphuistic joke about Florio's personal appearance when he said, speaking of the translation: 'Montaigne now speaks good English. It is done by a fellow less beholding to nature for his fortunes than wit, yet lesser for his face than his fortune.'

But there was in him a core of conscientious industry underlying any surface eccentricities. His *Dictionary* is a very sound and solid piece of work. His great distinction was his gift for languages. In a passage in the preface to his Montaigne he speaks of the 'genius' of a language, that subtle, individual flavour which the best translation cannot convey. 'The Tuscan altiloquence, the Venus of the French, the sharpe state of the Spanish, the strong significancy of the Dutch cannot from heere be drawne to life. The sense may keep forme; the sentence is disfigured; the fineness, fitnessse, featesse diminished. . . .' Florio, like a true linguist,

does not merely memorise the vocabulary of a language; he loves to savour its incommunicable individuality, as a connoisseur savours a good wine. It is evident that he feels this aesthetic delight in the lusty young English tongue, although, like a good Italian, he affects to despise it:

What thinke you of this English tongue, tel me, I pray you?

It is a language that wyl do you good in England, but passe Dover, it is woorth nothing.

He likes to trace the origin of English words and to show how many and varied are our borrowings: '[English] taketh many words of the Latine, and mo from the French, and mo from the Italian, and many mo from the Dutch, and some also from the Greeke, and from the Britaine.' He is a philologist as well as a linguist.

To all these gifts he adds a sense of style and an artistic delight in the sound and colour of words, so that on all counts he seems to be endowed with every attribute of an ideal translator. Although his childhood and youth were spent abroad, he wrote English like an Elizabethan Englishman, with the authentic gusto and wealth of vocabulary. His Montaigne reads like a book originally written in English, the highest praise for a translator. Some have quarrelled with it and blamed him for being unnecessarily free and sometimes actually inaccurate. It is true that Florio takes a good many liberties. He likes plenty of adjectives, and where Montaigne uses two he will frequently add a third, all his own, but as this is sure to be highly picturesque it is possible to forgive him for it. His vocabulary is enormous and very vivid. Take, for instance, the following phrase: 'L'homme en tout et partout, n'est que rapiessément et bigarrure.' The meaning is perfectly clear, but it is not easy to English 'rapiessément' and 'bigarrure' used in this connexion. Florio produces some hearty Elizabethan words which render both sense and flavour exactly: 'Man all in all is but a botching and party coloured worke.' This Elizabethan texture makes a garment which Montaigne can wear with ease and comfort, even if it is not always quite a perfect fit.

It is impossible to estimate the value of Florio's translation to his contemporaries. It had an enormous influence for many years. Shakespeare, we know, studied it very carefully, and while communing with the mind of Montaigne he relished also the vigorous vocabulary of his translator. To give only one illustration, when Hamlet says:

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will,

it is the vivid and original verb 'rough-hew' which stays in the mind and gives colour and character to what might otherwise be something of a

platitude. It seems that this verb was originally Florio's find: 'My consultation doth somewhat roughly-hew the matter. The maine and chiefe point of the worke I am wont to resign to heaven. 'Tis folly to thinke that human wisdome may act the full part of fortune.'

With Florio's verb and Montaigne's idea, Shakespeare makes the lines that all the world remembers.

I have lingered thus on Florio the man and on his work as a whole as a kind of introduction to a more detailed study of two years of his life, from 1583 to 1585. The lives of most Elizabethan authors are often interrupted by strange blanks where all documentary evidence fails. In the case of Florio the supply of documents available is very meagre. Beyond his own dedicatory prefaces to his various works, his will, and two short biographical notices by Aubrey and Wood, there is very little other material. It is therefore interesting to come across certain documents in the Public Record Office which throw considerable light on Florio's activities during two of the years between his life at Oxford and his service with the Earl of Southampton—years which were evidently a turning-point in his career.

II

When did Florio leave Oxford and come to London? We hear of him at Oxford, and we hear of him again years later in the service of the Earl of Southampton. By what steps did this Italian manage to attach himself to the most sought-after literary patron of the day, the friend of Shakespeare? From the dedication to his *Dictionary* we learn that in 1598 Florio had already been 'some years' in the pay and patronage of the Earl of Southampton. The Comtesse de Longworth Chambrun conjectures from internal evidence in the *Second Fruits* that he must have been already familiar with the earl when that book was published in 1591. Supposing then that he entered Southampton's service about 1590, did he come straight to it from Oxford, and if not, how did he fill in the interim?

There are eight documents in the Public Record Office—five letters and three legal papers—which give very distinct evidence as to what Florio was doing in the years 1583 to 1585. They prove that, during those two years, he was employed at the French embassy in London. These documents, translated and abbreviated, were published in 1921 in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1585-1586*, but as far as I know no one has as yet made use of the fresh material for the life of Florio thus made available. The versions of these documents which I shall quote are

not copied verbatim from the published *Calendar*. In each case I have examined the original document and made my own unabbreviated translation from it, though I adopt the phrasing of the *Calendar* wherever that coincides exactly with the original. (The *Calendar* does not profess to give in full the letters and documents with which it deals.)

The French ambassador in London at that time was Michel de Castelnau, Lord of Mauvissière. A man of intelligence and energy, he came to England as ambassador in 1575 and for ten years carried out his very arduous and ungrateful task with much determination and disinterestedness. His position in London during those years was beset with thorns. He had to defend the cause of Mary Stuart against Elizabeth and watch the intrigues between England and the French Protestants. These were in themselves very difficult and dangerous matters, and the ambassador was heavily handicapped in dealing with them since he received very little support, either financial or moral, from his own government. Henri III did not pay his agents, and, as Castelnau had to meet heavy expenses connected with his position out of his own pocket, he returned to France a ruined man.

This honourable and unfortunate gentleman employed Florio for two years as tutor in languages to his daughter. The document which is our source for this statement is a Latin testimonial, signed and sealed by Michel de Castelnau, which witnesses to the fact that the 'noble master John Florio' was employed in his service for two years 'especially in the tuition of my daughter Katherine Marie in the interpretation of languages and in other honourable employment,' in the discharge of which duties he 'bore himself prudently, honestly and faithfully' and earned the warm commendation of his master and all the household. The following is the full text of this document, here published for the first time:

Nos Michael a Castronovo, Dominus de Mauvisiera, Baro Yonville, et Coneresaulti, Eques ordinis Regii, privati consilii consiliarius, quinquaginta equitum armaturae Capitaneus, Gubernator Arcis, et urbis sancti desiderii, et apud serenissimam Anglie Reginam pro Gallias Rege legatus, Tenore presentium universis, atque singulis indubitam fidem facimus quemadmodum nobilis magister Johannes Florius per biennium quo in nostro servitio, et familiaritate versatus est praesertim in nostre filiae Katherine Mariae institutione linguarum interpretatione, caeterisque honorificis administrationibus ita prudenter, sincere, et fideliter se gesserit ut non modo nullam de se malae satisfactionis notam relinquat, sed et maximopere se mihi, et omnibus domesticis meis laudandum, comendatumque praebeat: adeo ut in posterum quidquid in eius favorem, et utilitatem pro virili, et dignitate prestandum occurrerit numquam me meosque praetermissuros pollicear. In cuius rei fidem praesentes manu propria subscriptas, consuetoque munitas sigillo concaedivissimus.

Datum Londini 28 septembris 1585.

M. DE CASTELNAU.

Here then are the credentials of one of the earliest and most earnest

teachers of modern languages in England. The testimonial is dated September, 1585. Castelnau was then on the eve of his departure; the following month he and his family returned to France.

I mentioned before that Castelnau was burdened with financial difficulties. Evidently he could not quite clear off his debts before leaving England, for a power of attorney gives John Florio the right to act on his behalf in any lawsuits which may arise after his departure. The deed is a mass of legal repetitions and it is not necessary to quote it in full:

‘...I Michel de Castelnau...in my steade and place doo putt and constitute my welbeloved in Christe John Florio of London gentleman my true and lawful Attorney and procurator....’

Florio is also given power, if necessary, to appoint a deputy:

‘With power also one or more Attorneys under him to make substitute and at his pleasure to revoke....’

It is signed by Castelnau and by Cornelius Ipirink, public notary, and dated London, September 16, 1585. A note in French, written on the document in Castelnau’s own hand, makes it clear what was the nature of the difficulties which the hard-pressed ambassador feared might arise when he had left the country. ‘This is a procuration left to the Sieur Jehan Florio that he may be able to reply to such as may demand anything in my absence. Written on parchment of this Realm, where I owe nothing, except to a baker.’ It seems somewhat unfair that the baker only should have been excepted in the ambassador’s efforts to settle his debts. Florio’s task of pacifying the creditors without paying them must have been rather troublesome.

Florio’s connexion with the embassy did not end on the departure of Castelnau. He had given such satisfaction that he was kept on by the successor in office, the Baron de Châteauneuf. This is proved by a certificate, signed by Châteauneuf, retaining Florio in the service of the embassy:

Be it known [runs the document] that we do this on account of the good report made to us of the person of Jehan Florio native of this kingdom and of the testimony given us by the Seigneur de Mauvissière both of his good parts and of the good and continual service rendered by him to the legation during some years... We retain him in our ordinary service and avow him for one of our servants, although perchance he be not actually residing in our house...from which we have dispensed him, both on account of his mesnage and because of the few means there are to lodge him as we should wish in the said house.

It is dated September 16, 1585.

This document, the original of which is in French, helps to clear up one or two doubtful points in the biography of Florio. In the first place

the words 'natif en ce Royaume' establish that Florio was born in England, a fact which has been assumed but not proven. Secondly, it would appear from the reference to his 'mesnage,' which prevented him from living at the embassy, that Florio must have been already married at this date. Nothing definite is known about Florio's first marriage, beyond Wood's statement that he married Samuel Daniel's sister.

In addition to these three legal documents, there are several letters which throw a more intimate light on Florio's life at this time. The first of these letters takes us back to the summer of the year preceding the departure of the ambassador. Castelnau writes to Walsingham to complain of the very annoying behaviour of his neighbours, or rather of one of his neighbours. The French embassy of those days, known as Beaumont House, was situated in Butcher's Row, a narrow lane which ran out of the Strand near Saint Clement Dane's. It appears that a certain William Gryse, a clerk of the Queen's stable, who was building a house in Butcher's Row, had done all he could to make himself objectionable to the inhabitants of the embassy. In the course of his building operations, he interrupted the drainage arrangements of Beaumont House and blocked its windows, thereby darkening all the rooms and causing 'such a stincke in all my lodging, that it is not possible to abide in the house.' Not content with this he used rude language to the household 'callinge us French dogs, villains and rascals.' The nuisance had reached its height on the preceding evening when Gryse had assembled a number of people in the street, including ten armed men. This crowd made a great disturbance, broke all the windows of the embassy, injured three persons, and 'drave Courselles out of his chamber, and my daughter's scolemaster.' Florio is not mentioned by name, but surely he must be the 'scolemaster' who had this unpleasant experience! The letter goes on to say that the crowd committed 'a number of other insolences which should be to troublesome to reherse, as the bearer hereof my daughter's scholemaster can let you understand which sawe all that passed to give accompt thereof unto you....' One can imagine Florio excitedly 'rehearsing' these events to Elizabeth's staid secretary. There are two copies of this letter, one in French and one in English. Castelnau added a postscript in which he again mentions the bearer. 'Sir, I referre myselfe to the bearer hereof, an Englishe man, to represent unto you the trothe whether I have right or wronge. They threaten my men to kill and beat them as they goo in the streetes.'

The description 'an Englishman' need not be taken as proof that this could not have been Florio, since we saw he was described in the other

document as a native of England. He appears to have regarded himself as a naturalised Englishman.

William Gryse was no doubt animated by the Elizabethan man-in-the-street's intense dislike of foreigners. Florio in his dialogues complains of the rudeness of Englishmen to foreigners:

What thinke you of the maners of English men? tel me of curtesie.
I wyll tell you, some are well mannered, but many yl.
Toward whom are they yl mannered?
Toward strangers.

The ambassador's complaint was speedily attended to, and Gryse and his associates clapped into prison. They were shortly afterwards released at the request of Castelnau himself.

The next letter brings us again up to September, 1585, the month before Florio's employer left for France. This time Castelnau writes a note to Florio himself, directing him to ask no less a person than Sir Walter Raleigh to come to dinner on the following evening. Translated it runs as follows:

Seigneur Florio, I send you these few words for Monsieur de Raglay which you will present to him, to ask him if he will come to-morrow evening to sup or dine with the Sieur Gozi for I cannot go to the Court until Wednesday on account of important business which I shall have to do to-morrow, and also because Madame de Chasteauneuf will be there. I will return with Monsieur de Raglay Wednesday if he will come to-morrow, and he shall arrange everything as he likes. The Sieur Gozi awaits him with all devotion. Do all you can, and return here to-night, or to-morrow, but quietly in order to content your horse. Give my remembrances to all my friends, both gentlemen and ladies, and to the Admiral.

Your very good friend,
M. DE CASTELNAU.

Do whatever you can for Gyrault.

It is extremely interesting to have this proof of personal contact between Florio and Raleigh, particularly when one remembers the interest in colonisation that Florio had already displayed. The Sieur de Gozi, mentioned in the letter, was an Italian merchant, connected with Palavicino, the banker. Raleigh perhaps wished to negotiate a loan. This was the year in which he despatched his first expedition to Virginia. 'Madame de Chasteauneuf' was the wife of the new ambassador. Of Gyrault we shall hear more.

We next find Florio mentioned as the bearer of a letter to Walsingham. 'I send this bearer, Florio, to learn how her Majesty is, begging you to kiss her hands humbly on my behalf...' Castelnau is writing to take his leave, and asks the secretary to thank the Queen for the parting gift of silver plate which she had presented to him. There is also a verbal message which the bearer is to deliver. 'I also beg you, sir, to listen to

the sieur Florio concerning a charge I have given him to get Gyrault, my stupid butler ('mon fol sommelier'), discharged from an action brought against him with as much reason as if I were to claim a right to Barnel (Barnelms). I must send him away this evening with my baggage, but without this discharge, he cannot depart.'

Having wound up as many of his affairs as he could—'I am doing what I can to pay my debts,' he tells Walsingham—and having left Florio in charge of the rest, as we saw, the ambassador, his family and his staff left England in October. Misfortune overtook the travellers. The ship containing all their belongings, which had preceded them, met with pirates in the channel. These gentlemen made off with everything, not excepting Elizabeth's present of plate. On landing at Calais, Castelnau learned that he was practically destitute. This must have seemed like the last straw to the poor man. It was thought that the pirates had turned towards England or towards Flushing, and he sent Ribot, one of his staff, back to England in the hope that the ship might be traced and some of his property recovered. Ribot was the bearer of a note to Florio. The envelope is worn and grubby from its journey; the writing sprawls wildly across the page, betraying the agitated state of mind of the writer and conveying, even after three hundred years, some sense of the distress and haste in which it was penned:

Seigneur Florio, I make you participant by the Sieur Ribot of my loss of all that was in M. de Joyeuse's ship and of the fine present of the Queen of England. I am sending the Sieur Ribot to obtain news of it. I pray you to aid him and accompany him with all your means towards Monsieur de Walsingham and the gentlemen of the Council. There is no news of the pirates. It is thought that they have killed Gyrault and Courcelles' varlet. Excuse this letter written in haste in my grief and so recent loss which impoverishes me to the extent of more than 20,000 crowns. I leave the rest to the Sieur Ribot.

Evidently it would have been better for poor Gyrault if Florio had not succeeded in getting him discharged. The plate and some of the other property were eventually recovered.

A month or so later Castelnau writes to Florio again. The excitement of his distressing adventure seems to have worn off a little, but he is evidently much depressed and almost seems to be regretting England and his friends there. The letter runs as follows:

Seigneur Florio, I was very pleased to hear from you. I pray you to continue and to assure yourself that I am your good friend. I have not leisure to make you a long discourse because this bearer is in a hurry. I will write to you again, however, when I have more time. I send you the certificate which you have sent me; I have signed it and put my seal upon it. Send me another well written on parchment, as you would wish it, and I will seal it. I pray you to send me often all news of what passes and give your letters to the seigneur Alexandre at the dwelling of the seigneur de Gozi and recommend me a thousand times to them. Go and find out Monsieur the Lord

Treasurer, Madame his wife, and Madame the Countess of Oxford, on my own account and on that of my wife, and kiss their hands humbly. . . . Go also and find Monsieur the Admiral, Monsieur the Grand Chamberlain, Monsieur de Walsingham and Messieurs of the Council and kiss their hands very humbly on my behalf, also those of the dames et demoiselles and do the same office for my wife and my daughter, and thank them humbly for all the favours which they have rendered us. And go particularly to see Monsieur de Raglay and assure him that I am his true servant and friend, and put me in his good graces. Go also to Madame the Countess of Sussex and do the same office for all my friends and put me in their good graces. . . . My wife is thinking of going to visit her father, far from here, and will not return until towards S. John's Day. I shall remain at this court where I no longer know anyone. Ask M. du Glas and M. Geoffroy to write to me often, and I pray God that He may have you in His holy keeping. From Paris, this 30th of November, 1585.

Your very good friend,
M. DE CASTELNAU.

I pray you to write to me at every opportunity.

Nothing could have been more valuable to Florio than all these opportunities of bringing himself before the notice of the great. This letter is a useful key to Florio's career. One begins to understand how it was that he became so widely intimate with London society—both aristocratic and literary.

The first people on whom Florio is directed to call are the Treasurer and his wife and daughter, that is Lord and Lady Burghley and the Countess of Oxford. Castelnau seems to have been on good terms with Burghley. He stayed with him at Theobald's, his country house, and after his return to France sent him a present of a walking-stick which he was to use when walking in his garden. Burghley was the young Earl of Southampton's guardian; very probably it was he who appointed Florio as the earl's tutor, having come across him through this connexion. The Admiral was, of course, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham; the Chamberlain was Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon. Both these men were patrons of companies of actors. With Walsingham we know that Florio was already familiar. All these Florio is instructed to call upon, together with all the lords of the Council and unnamed 'dames et demoiselles,' and he is particularly directed to seek out 'Monsieur de Raglay' with assurances of friendship. No doubt Florio did not fail to extract advantage from these opportunities; his connexion with Castelnau was evidently an important step in his career.

The mention of the 'certificate' which is being returned seems to open up the delightful possibility that Florio wrote his own testimonial and sent it over to France to be signed! The fact that there are two signed copies of the testimonial in the Record Office would seem to bear out this suggestion, since, in the letter, Castelnau offers to sign another copy if Florio will send it out. Florio would thoroughly enjoy composing

his own testimonial, and it is only remarkable that the style of the document is so restrained if he had a hand in it.

Although Castelnau promises to write again 'more at leisure,' this is the last letter from him to Florio of which I can find any trace, and it closes that series of documents through which we have been able to reconstruct, in some measure, a forgotten episode in the career of Montaigne's translator. One cannot tell how long he stayed on in the service of the embassy after Castelnau left England; his name does not appear again in the foreign State Papers.

A certain phrase of Florio's own, written years later in the dedication to the second edition of his *Dictionary*, stands out in relief and takes on a fresh interest now that we know these new facts about his life. Speaking of Queen Elizabeth's proficiency in languages, he says: 'I have heard, *and often have had the good hap and comfort to see*, that no Ambassador or stranger hath audience of hir Maiestie, but in his native toong; and none hath answeare but in the same; or in the common toongs of Greeke and Latin by hir sacred lips pronounced.' This indicates that Florio must often have accompanied Castelnau to his audiences with the Queen.

There is another already known fact connected with Florio which now falls very naturally into place. It has long been pointed out that Florio knew Bruno, the great Italian philosopher, who was in England at this time and who mentions Florio in one of his works, the *Cena de le Ceneri*. Now Bruno lived with the French ambassador during those very same two years which Florio spent in his service. Therefore it is no wonder that the two knew one another well, and that Florio accompanied the philosopher to a London supper-party, as recounted in the *Cena*.

Bruno came to England in the spring of 1583. He had been lecturing in Paris and had won the favour of Henri III who gave him a letter of introduction to the French ambassador in London. Cobham, the English representative in Paris, wrote to Walsingham on March 28 that 'Il sr. Doctor Jordano Bruno, a professor in philosophy, intendeth to pass into England; whose religion I cannot commend.' On arriving in England, he made for Oxford where he issued a pompous letter to the University offering his services as a teacher. But Oxford, shocked at Bruno's startling ideas and probably annoyed by his childish conceit, rejected him. The only chance he appears to have had of airing his views there was at a reception given at St John's College to a certain Laski, a Polish prince then on a visit to the University. Bruno's discourse on this occasion was not received with favour.

Rejected by Oxford, alone and without money in a foreign country whose

language he could not speak, Bruno was in a difficult situation. His only resource was the letter of introduction to the French ambassador. Castelnau took him into his house and proved a refuge in adversity. Bruno lived with him for two years. 'I remained in his house as his gentleman, merely that,' he exclaims in gratitude.

During his short and unfortunate stay at Oxford, Bruno would have met several fellow-countrymen, amongst them John Florio. It seems highly probable that it was Bruno who introduced Florio to Castelnau. The testimonial proves that Florio entered the ambassador's service in 1583, and it was in 1583 that Bruno came to England. Perhaps Florio went to London with Bruno, or perhaps the latter sent for him afterwards, when he discovered that his host required a tutor for his little girl. The two Italians may have met one another before they met at Oxford. In after years, in the preface to the translation of Montaigne, Florio referred to Bruno as 'my olde fellowe Nolano.' This has been taken to mean that they were at school or college together, by no means unlikely since Florio passed his youth abroad. Possibly, however, this phrase merely recalls their period of fellowship at the French embassy.

Bruno's two years in London were a peaceful oasis in his troubled life, to which he looked back afterwards with affection and gratitude. A pleasant atmosphere seems to have prevailed within the ambassador's household. Castelnau was a sincere Catholic but a kindly man, and the horrors of the religious wars in France had taught him tolerance. The unorthodox Bruno seems to have got on extremely well with him, and Florio, of course, was a Protestant like his father.

From Bruno we learn a few domestic details. He speaks of the kindness of Lady Castelnau and seems to have been much attached to a daughter whom he thus describes:

Hardly yet six years of age, she speaks Italian, French, and English so equally that no one can tell her nationality; she plays various instruments so that one wonders whether she be flesh or spirit, and from her already ripe and noble bearing, whether she be of earth or have come down from the skies.

If this was Florio's little pupil she seems to have been a great credit to him! But Castelnau had a second daughter called Elizabeth who died young, and it is difficult to say whether Bruno is here describing Catherine-Marie or Elizabeth. I incline to think, however, that it is the former for two reasons. First, because we know that she had an excellent language master, and there is no mention of Elizabeth in Florio's testimonial. Secondly, because there is other evidence that Catherine-Marie was a very forward child for her age. *Le Laboureur* quotes a charming

letter to this little girl from her godmother, Mary Queen of Scots—she had two queens for godmothers, the other being Catherine de' Medici:

Ma filleule ma mie, j'ay esté très-aise de voir par vos lettres la preuve des perfections dont j'ay entendu que Dieu vous a douée en si grande jeunesse. Apprenez Mignonne, à reconnaître et servir celui qui vous a donné tant de graces, et il les augmentera.

One can imagine Florio editing his little pupil's letters to her royal godmother.

The account in the *Cena de le Ceneri* of the interesting social function which Bruno and Florio attended together has been several times analysed, but it seems necessary to go over it once again here, in order to complete our picture of Florio's life at the embassy.

The *Cena de le Ceneri* or *Ash Wednesday Supper* is a work in dialogue form which describes a supper-party at the house of Fulke Greville to which Bruno was invited in order that he might expound his views on the Copernican theory. The greater part of the book is taken up with philosophical discussions, but these are interspersed with intimate and chatty impressions of the party itself and Bruno's adventures in getting to it. When the day which Greville had appointed—an Ash Wednesday—arrives, Bruno waits for a conveyance to come and fetch him to his host's house. Dinner-time passes and no one comes, so he goes out to call on some Italian friends, evidently feeling rather huffed. He does not return to the embassy until after sunset when he finds John Florio and Matthew Gwinne standing at the door. They had been anxiously looking for him for some time, and when they see him coming they urge him to hasten, for he is keeping many knights gentlemen and doctors waiting for him. 'Oh di grazia!' they exclaim, 'presto senza dimorar andiamo!' They walk down to the Thames, thinking to shorten their journey by going by water. Having reached the river, they stand on the bank for a considerable time crying out 'oars!' At length two boatmen approach the bank in a leisurely manner and after many questions as to whither, wherefore, when, and how much, they draw up at the steps. One was very ancient, and resembled the boatman of the infernal regions; the other seemed to be his son, although at least sixty-five years old. The boat, also, appeared to be a relic of the deluge. It leaked badly and its timbers creaked and groaned. To enliven this dismal journey the Italians burst into song. Messer Florio, 'as though thinking of his loves,' sang 'Dove vai senza me, dolce mia vita?' The boat progressed extremely slowly and presently turned in towards the shore. Although they were only at the Temple, the boatmen would persist in putting them ashore here, disregarding all their

prayers and entreaties. On landing, the unfortunate party sank knee-deep in mud. They could not see their way in the darkness, and were obliged to struggle on through it, hoping for the best. At last, to their great joy, they reached the main street ('la grande et ordinaria strada,' i.e., the Strand), and when they looked round to discover where they were, they realised to their disgust that they were not twenty-two paces from the spot from which they had started, and quite near the embassy. Since it was now so late, and they were weary and covered with mud, there was some thought of giving up the expedition altogether; but it was finally decided that they would make another attempt.

Their next misadventure was an encounter with a rude crowd of 'prentices and shopkeepers, who jeered at their foreign appearance and mobbed them. Bruno is very bitter about the rough behaviour of the London crowds. In the end, however, they do reach Fulke Greville's house. They knock; the door is at once opened and they find within a crowd of servants and other people who treat them without very much respect. On entering the dining-room they find that the company are already at table, having grown weary of waiting for them. Salutations are exchanged and a somewhat laughable incident occurs. One of Bruno's party is offered the least honourable place, but he, mistakenly imagining that it is the head of the table, declines it with polite humility, and tries instead to take what is really the seat of honour. It seems to have been Florio who made this humiliating mistake. In the end the party was arranged as follows: Florio sat opposite an unnamed knight, who was at the head of the table. Greville was on Florio's right, and Teofilo (an unknown friend) and Bruno were on his left. Next to Bruno was Torquato, one of the doctors with whom he was to dispute, whilst the other, Nundinio, sat facing him.

After the meal the philosophical discussion began, and Bruno took up the cudgels in defence of Copernicus against the two English doctors.

The *Cena de le Ceneri* is probably not meant to be an exact description of a party which actually took place. Bruno hints in his preface that the supper-party story is rather a fanciful framework for his philosophical matter than an accurate narrative. And when, years later, he was on his trial for heresy, he told the inquisitors that the supper described in this book really took place, not at Greville's, but 'at the house of the French Ambassador at which I dwelt.' There is no need to think, however, that the vivid descriptions incorporated in the *Cena* are imaginary. Bruno seems to be describing real experiences, even though they may

not have occurred as related, on the night of the supper-party. No doubt Florio and Bruno went about a good deal together.

It is interesting to consider the friendship of these two men: Bruno, the fiery genius whose thought was always too immense a weight for his somewhat incoherent utterance, his spirit soaring among the final realities; Florio, the patient pedant, with his precise and grammatical mind, interested in the word itself almost more than in the idea behind the word. Bruno despised all languages but his own and scorned to learn English; yet he evidently encouraged his friend's bent towards translation. Florio acknowledges this in his preface to his Montaigne, where he says, 'my olde fellowe Nolano tolde me, and taught publikely, that from translation all science had its offspring.' ('The Nolan,' as Bruno always called himself, had been burnt alive by the Inquisition three years before Florio wrote these words.) In a preface to a translation from Paulus Jovius by Samuel Daniel, a certain 'N. W.' uses almost exactly the same expression to describe Bruno's views on translation. 'You cannot forget that which Nolanus (that man of infinite titles amongst other phantastical toys) truly noted by chance in our Schools, that by the help of translations all sciences had their offspring.' From which it would appear that Bruno made this remark in the course of his ill-fated oration at Oxford. Perhaps Florio first came across an edition of Montaigne in the house of the French ambassador, and Bruno suggested that he should translate it.

Bruno went back to France in 1585 with Castelnau and his suite; he also was robbed by the pirates. He had remained in England for two years and done some of his best thinking there. Several of his books, including the *Cena de le Ceneri*, were published in London, although written in Italian, and dedicated to Castelnau. A French Huguenot refugee called Vautrollier printed them, and had to flee to Scotland for his audacity. His publishing business was carried on in his absence by his apprentice Richard Field, a youth from Stratford-on-Avon—probably one of the first people young William Shakespeare went to see on his arrival in London.

It has been said that Bruno's work forms 'the greatest philosophical thought-structure executed by the Renaissance.' His was a very remarkable mind. He was the first to realise the full significance of Copernicus's discovery, namely, that if the earth and the planets revolve around the sun, the stars might also be suns with other planets circling round them. From this he was led on to the conception of the infinity of the physical universe. There were few other men in London in those

years to look up at the stars with such thoughts in their minds. No one of note had as yet arisen in England to dispute the Aristotelian physics.

It has been thought very remarkable that a man of this stamp should, apparently, have attracted so little attention during his two years' stay in England. Except Florio and the unknown friend of Daniel's whose remark I quoted, no one mentions him at all. But there is a legend, probably founded on the *Cena de le Ceneri*, that there was a kind of secret society led by Bruno, Greville and Sidney which held mysterious meetings to discuss daring philosophical questions. One writer on Bruno in England dismisses this as a mere rumour quite unsupported by evidence, but adds, what is of course well known, that 'there are authentic records of secret "atheistical" sittings that were charged first against Marlowe and then against Sir Walter Raleigh.'

I would here point out the possible significance of the letter which I quoted from Castelnau to Florio, in which the latter was commissioned to invite Raleigh to dinner. Raleigh is also particularly mentioned in the second letter Castelnau wrote from France. It would seem, then, that Sir Walter was on a fairly intimate footing at Beaumont House.

There he would meet Bruno—exactly the kind of man who would be sure to appeal to his unconventional tastes. It seems very possible that there may be a subterranean connexion between Bruno's new astronomy and philosophy and the mysterious 'atheism' of men like Raleigh, Marlowe and Harriott. Marlowe and Bruno, when one comes to think of it, seem to belong to the same 'famille d'esprits.' They resemble each other in outlook. 'The Nolan has given freedom to the human spirit,' cries Bruno, 'and made all knowledge free. It was suffocating in the close air of a narrow prison-house, whence, but only through chinks, it gazed at the far-off stars.'

Florio did not forget his friend. Six years after Bruno had left England Florio published his second series of Italian-English dialogues, or *Second Fruits*. It is very interesting to note that the conversations in the first chapter 'of rising in the morning, and of things belonging to the chamber' take place between 'Nolano' and 'Torquato.' These names recall the *Cena de le Ceneri* and the days of Florio's intimacy with Bruno at the embassy. He probably presents here some little scenes which actually took place. Torquato is a very long time dressing and choosing what clothes he will wear. Nolano reads a book whilst waiting for him and grows impatient:

N. What do you with so many cloathes?

T. I weare them according as the weather is.

N. How many sutes have you?

T. I have to shift every day in the weeke.

N. You goe not then like unto pictures, as I doo, that is every day alyke.

T. It is not neede, but pleasure makes you do so.

Bruno evidently did not go in for being dressy. As a side-light on hygiene it is interesting to note that the elegant Torquato, having quite finished putting on all his clothes, remarks: 'I have not washed my hands and face yet.'

III

The documents we have been considering bring us to the autumn of the year 1585. When we next hear of Florio he is in the service of the Earl of Southampton. In the dedication to the *Dictionary*, published in 1598, he says that he has already been 'some years' in the earl's patronage, and the Comtesse de Longworth Chambrun thinks that the dialogues in the *Second Fruits*, published in 1591, seem to be written to suit the young earl's tastes. It is probable, therefore, that Florio joined Southampton as his Italian tutor before the year 1591.

Young, rich, handsome, brilliant, the Earl of Southampton was the centre and patron of a group of literary men which included a large proportion of the great Elizabethan names. To him Shakespeare dedicated his *Venus and Adonis*, and he was in all probability the 'friend' of the sonnets. It seems almost certain that Shakespeare must often have seen and spoken to the earl's Italian tutor during those years. It has been suggested that Florio taught Shakespeare Italian and French, and supplied him with the Italian local colour which forms a background to the earlier plays. Shakespeare may have picked up a good deal from Florio, but there were many other Italians and Italianate Englishmen then in London besides the earl's tutor, and many other books which gave information on Italian manners and customs besides the *First Fruits* and *Second Fruits*. For example, Sir Edward Sullivan has recently pointed out how much Shakespeare owed to Pettie's translation of Guazzo, though he suggests that perhaps Florio introduced him to the book. The craze for Italy and things Italian was at its height in the later years of the sixteenth century, and Shakespeare could have absorbed the rather nebulous Italian colour of the plays with the very atmosphere he breathed in London. The popularity of Florio was not an isolated phenomenon but a sign of the times. The fashion gave him his opportunity and he took it.

Florio the Italian would interest Shakespeare. Some have sought to

prove that Florio, the man, interested him too, and that he took this familiar and somewhat eccentric figure as a model for one of his characters. A long line of critics, beginning with Warburton in the eighteenth century and ending with the Comtesse de Longworth Chambrun in 1921, have assumed that Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* was intended as a sketch of John Florio. The pedantic language used by this character, interspersed with foreign and unusual words, the fact that he quotes an Italian proverb from the *First Fruits*, the Comtesse de Longworth Chambrun's suggestion that 'Holofernes' might be considered as an anagram of Florio's name (Holofernes = Johnes Floreo), are some of the grounds on which the assumption rests.

Many critics, on the other hand, discredit this theory altogether. They point out that the 'pedant' was a well-worn stock character for comedy, and decide that there is no need to seek a living model for Holofernes, and certainly not sufficient evidence to justify connecting him with Florio.

The problems of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the most topical play that Shakespeare ever wrote, are some of the knottiest in the whole range of Shakespeare criticism and many are the theories and suggestions that have been put forward at various times. The most recent critics tend to the theory that the play is aimed primarily against Sir Walter Raleigh and his mysterious circle of mathematicians, astronomers and 'atheists.' This case is set out by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch in his very interesting introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost* in the *New Shakespeare* series.

The action of *Love's Labour's Lost* is very simple. The King of Navarre and three young lords of his court determine to retire from the world and the society of women for three years in order to devote themselves to study and the search for truth. This resolve is quickly upset by the advent of the ladies. The central idea of the play is this somewhat fantastic society or 'Academe' formed by the King of Navarre. There are also many references, so many as to seem pointed, to darkness, light and stars.

Some modern scholars see in this 'Academe' and in these many allusions to the orbs of heaven an attack on Raleigh and his following. They connect the phrase 'School of Night,'

O paradox, Black is the badge of Hell,
The hue of dungeons and the Schoole of night,

with Chapman's obscure poem the 'Shadow of Night,' and assert that there really was a society with this name or nick-name, that its members

dabbled in the new Copernican astronomy and were probably connected with that School of Atheism which certainly existed and of which Raleigh and Marlowe were the most notorious members. They suggest that it is against this set of people that the satire of *Love's Labour's Lost* is directed.

May I here point out that this very interesting modern key to *Love's Labour's Lost* does not really harm the old-fashioned Holofernes = Florio identification? It seems to me very probable that the French ambassador's house, during the years in which it contained Bruno, was a point of focus for those interested in the new and dangerous ideas which Bruno had come to teach. We have seen that Raleigh, at any rate, was fairly intimate there. Southampton's entourage must have known of John Florio's former connexion with the embassy and of his friendship with Bruno, and therefore the fact that Shakespeare seems to be satirising the Raleigh group in *Love's Labour's Lost* does not preclude the possibility of Florio's being the original for Holofernes. On the contrary, it adds to it.

It is curious to read Florio's *First Fruits* and *Second Fruits*, from which one gains such a clear impression of the man, and then, immediately afterwards, to turn to *Love's Labour's Lost*. There is a long dialogue in the *First Fruits* in which study and reading are proclaimed as the best and most useful activity of man. A few pages later on the reader comes upon a short dialogue on 'love,' which subject is rather briefly and contemptuously dismissed. 'We neede not speak so much of love; al books are ful of love, with so many authours, that it were labour lost to speake of Love.' Here is Shakespeare's title (as has been pointed out) and here, in the sudden contrast between studiousness and love, he may have come upon his theme. *Love's Labour's Lost* is the protest of youth which would rather play than learn. The young are always ready to jeer at the schoolmaster, and it is very probable that, in Southampton's brilliant circle, the pedantic Florio and his foreign ways met with ridicule.

I should like here to hazard a suggested explanation of the unintelligible piece of chat between Armado and Holofernes in Act v, Scene i:

Armado. ...Do you not educate youth at the charge-house on the top of the mountain?

Holofernes. Or mons, the hill.

Armado. At your sweet pleasure for the mountain.

Holofernes. I do, sans question.

This, as it stands, is quite meaningless. It evidently contains some topical allusion. Can this verbal play on 'mountain' and 'mons' be a hint at the name of the house where Holofernes 'educated youth'? Can

the explanation of this riddle be the name of the French embassy—*Beaumont House*—where Florio used to educate the ambassador's daughter?

This, of course, is the kind of thing which it is impossible to prove. I make no rash statements, but merely point out that Florio's intimacy with Bruno at the embassy, where Raleigh was also an intimate, would justify his being included among the group of mathematical 'fantastics' which Shakespeare seems to be satirising in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

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PIERRE DE PECKHAM AND HIS 'LUMIERE AS LAIS'

I

THE following study of the author, manuscripts, and sources of the *Lumiere as Lais*, was undertaken at the kind suggestion of Professor Baker, who has had in contemplation an edition of the poem. My thanks are due to the authorities of the various libraries for facilities for transcribing and photographing the manuscripts, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professor Waters, who has supervised the work throughout.

THE AUTHOR AND THE TEXT.

The author of the *Lumiere as Lais* names himself twice in the poem as Pierre, once at the beginning and once at the end. He also describes himself: 'Un clerc suy de petit renum.' In two manuscripts a rubric gives him a title and surname. In the Cambridge University Library MS. Gg. I. 1, f. 17 *a*, he is called: 'Mestre Peres de Pecchame,' and in Bodley 399, f. 1: 'Mestre Piere de Feccham.' It is assumed that he is the same Pierre de Peckham who wrote the *Vie de St Richard de Chichestre*¹ especially as in style and versification the two works are similar. A passage in the *Vie de St Richard* may imply that Pierre had achieved fame as a translator through his *Lumiere as Lais*:

Sa vie e ses miracles d'enfance
En latin sunt mis en remembrance,
Mes por ceo de plusurs est desiré
Que fust en franceis translaté,
Ke lais entendable pot estre,
M'en pria un chanoine de Cycestre
Par un mestre ke un livre me porteit,
Ke de sa vie e ses miracles esteit,
Ke de translater les m'entremeisse,
E ke jeo le latin en franceis feisse.

(ll. 49-58.)

According to Professor Baker, this work was written soon after 1270.

Yet a third work is ascribed to the same author. In the Anglo-Norman version of the *Secret des Secrets*², the treatise closes unexpectedly with

¹ A. T. Baker in *Revue des Langues romanes*, LIII, 1910, p. 317.

² Mrs H. Dakyns in *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, v, ed. R. Steele, p. 313.

sixty lines on the soul, faith, and the Christian virtues, the gist of which also forms part of the *Lumiere as Lais*. The poet adds:

En un livre ke fes ai jad
De ceste matire treitié i ad,
E mut des choses, saciez, sans fable,
K'al alme d'unme sunt profitable;
Le livre, en verité saciez,
'La Lumere as Lais' si est nomez.
Pur ceo n'en voil ore plus treiter. (ll. 2362-8.)

This seems to make the identity of the author quite clear, although the poet ascribes to himself a different surname:

Mes ore priez, pur Deu amur,
En ceste fin pur le translatur
De cest livre, ke Piere ad nun,
K'estreit est de ces de Abernun. (ll. 2376-9.)

The suggestion in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XIII, pp. 115-19, that it is the book which 'estreit est de ces de Abernun,' seems less probable than that the words refer to the translator. The *Histoire* refers to him as Pierre de Vernon, following Roquefort in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romane*, II, p. 768, col. 2, and Barbazan in his *Fables et Contes*, Nouv. édit. I, p. 443. This purely arbitrary version of the name is also used by Knust¹ and Steinschneider². The first three of these works also assign the poem to the twelfth century, if not before, and regard it as continental³.

The fact that Pierre has two surnames need present no difficulty. He may have belonged to the Norman family of D'Abernon which settled in Surrey and gave Stoke Dabernon its name, and Peckham may have been his birthplace. It is possible, too, that the rubric in the Bodleian MS. preserves the rightful version of his name, as Fetcham, a place in Surrey, belonged to the Dabernon family in the thirteenth century⁴. Alliteration, and the existence of John of Peckham, well known as Archbishop of Canterbury, might assist the confusion.

There are several references to a certain Master Peter of Peckham amongst the Rolls of Edward I and II:

Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward I, 1281-92, p. 192:

1285. September 10th, Winchester. 'Protection, with clause volumus for three years, for Master Peter of Peckham, going beyond seas.'

¹ In *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, x, p. 162.

² *Ibid.*, XII, p. 368.

³ Cf. De la Rue, *Essais historiques*, p. 357.

⁴ E. W. Brayley, *History of Surrey*, IV, p. 411.

Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I, 1279-88, p. 532:

1288. March 15th, Westminster. 'Daniel de Preston, Thomas de Serjeant, John le Mareschal, Henry de Derby, and Walter le Mouner, acknowledge that they owe to Master Peter de Peckham 6 marks; to be levied, in default of payment, of their lands and chattels in county Surrey. William de Hamelton received the acknowledgement on the information of Master Thomas de Cantock. Cancelled on payment.'

Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I, 1288-96, pp. 192, 433:

1291. 'Thomas de Mereden acknowledges that he owes to Master Peter of Pecham 19l; to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in county Kent.'
1295. October 1st, Canterbury. 'To the treasurer and chamberlains. Order to deliver to Iterius de Ingolisma, the King's clerk, all the books that belonged, as it is said, to Master Peter Pecham, which came to the king's hands by his forfeiture, as the king has granted them to Iterius.'

Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward II, 1307-13, p. 265:

1310. July 12th, Westminster. 'Grant, in fee, to Master Peter de Novo Castro, King's surgeon, for his good service to the late King, of that messuage in the Parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London, formerly held from the late king by Master Peter de Pekham, subject to a yearly rent of 4d., which the king recovered against John Dode of London as an escheat, by reason of Peter de Pekham being a bastard and dying without an heir of his body.'

The originals contain no further details, and there appears to be no other reference to the rent of the house in the Parish of St Mary Aldermanbury. There may be an entry amongst Rolls kept at the Guildhall, but this is not likely, and as yet these are neither calendared nor indexed.

Master Peter of Peckham is also mentioned in the *Kalendare de Bullis Papalibus*, or Bishop Stapleton's *Kalendar*¹: Simplex, p. 136, No. 13: 'Obligacio Magistri Petri de Pecham facta Domino Edwardo Regi Angliae de centum marcis pro quibus finem fecit cum ipso Domino Rege pro placitibus transgressionibus, sine die.'

Though it is impossible to identify for certain Pierre de Peckham with this man, if one man it be, especially as his status may have debarred him from holding land, the much-quoted rubric at the end of the York MS. seems to shed some light on his life, and to fix the date of the composition of *La Lumiere as Lais*: 'Les quatre livres de cest romaunz furent fetz a Novel Lyu en Suric e les deus dreyns a Oxneford. Si fu comence a la Pasche al Novel Lyu, e termine a la Chaundelure apres a Oxneford. Le an nostre seignur mil, e deus cenx, e seisaunte setyme.' Novel Lyu is the priory of Austin Canons 'De Novo Loco juxta Guildford,' known in English as Neusted, New Place, and to-day as Newark². Extensive ruins of a later building still exist there. When Pierre moved

¹ *Antient Kalendars*, I, p. 76.

² *Victoria County History of Surrey*, II, p. 102; Brayley, II, p. 131.

to Oxford, he may have entered the Augustinian house of St Frideswide's. Possibly he acquired there the title of 'Master,' accorded to him in the rubrics of the Bodleian and Cambridge MSS.

Vising (*Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, p. 39) assigns both the *Lumiere as Lais* and the *Secret des Secrets* to Kent, presumably as there is one Peckham in Kent. But, since both Newark and Stoke Dabernon are in Surrey, it is surely the Surrey Peckham which is meant, and Surrey, not Kent, is the home-county of Pierre's works.

All three of Pierre de Peckham's works are translations, or rather vulgarisations, intended for the edification of the laity:

Mes¹ pur ceo ke Franceis est entendable
A lays, pur ceo l'ai nomé saunz fable
La Luminere as Lays. Kar principaument
L'ay fet pur lays verreament
E pur ceo le fis en tel laungage
Ke il en pussent estre le plus sage. (f. 21 v^o, ll. 717-22.)

His three aims in writing are as follows:

La generale est verreament
Ke jeo voderai ke tute gent
En fussent trestuz amendez
Ke l'averunt oi u entendez.
L'especiele ke mun quer sent
Est pur solaz e amendement
De mes especiaus amis.
C'est la raysun purquey le fis.
La premiere² fyn est ke enteng en sun
Ke Deu me face remissiun
De mes pecchez: ke meillure grace
En pusse aver de ver sa face. (f. 20 v^o, ll. 655-66.)

Pierre's remarks on his use of French are cited by Vising (*op. cit.*, p. 17) as showing the widespread use of that language: 'These testimonies of Pierre's are the more remarkable as he was evidently an Englishman by birth and was not fully master of the French language. (Cf. 'En franceis au meuz ke jeo say,' *St Richard*, l. 62.) But it appears from the *Lumiere as Lais* that Pierre means that he would rather treat his subjects in Latin than in French, and the question of English does not arise:

Un respuns vus tucheraï
Come en Fraunceis mieuz purrai. (f. 25 r^o, ll. 949-50.)
Dunt si bon clerc e de bon devyn
Le m'enveez tut en Latyn,
Mut volentiers le translateray
En Fraunceys a mieuz ke jeo say. (f. 26 v^o, ll. 1053-6.)

¹ The quotations are from MS. A. Alternative readings are from MS. B, but A's version is always recorded.

² B, propre.

- M.* De set ordres mien escyent
 Accs ay dit suffisaument,
 Quant en Fraunceys a descrire
 Mieuz vaudreyt en Latyn dire.
- D.* Certes, mestre, bien est veir,
 Mes par la grace de ly espeir
 Ke aukun ky ne seit pas le laungage
 De Latyn, e bon eit le curage,
 Pusk'on Fraunceys¹ ad demustré
 Ceo ke en Latyn ly fu celé.... (f. 181 v^o, ll. 11223-32.)

The *Lumiere as Laïs* is much the longest of the three works. *St Richard* is 1690, the *Secret des Secrets* 2383, and the *Lumiere as Laïs* nearly 14,000 lines long. The former estimate of 15,000 was probably due to the fact that the rubrics were reckoned in with the text.

The poem opens with a Prologue or Prayer of nearly 700 lines, which falls into two parts, the Prayer proper and a section in which are set forth the aims of the author and the scope of his work. The main body of the work is divided into six Books, sub-divided into Distinctions and chapters. In some MSS. the chapters are numbered according to the Book, in others according to the Distinction, while the York MS. generally gives a double numbering. In this MS. each Book opens with an introduction of a few lines, which in most cases is incorporated with the first chapter of the Book. The chapters usually open with the Disciple's question followed by the Master's answer, but sometimes the Master makes a statement, and the questions come later. Some MSS. omit to indicate by the initials *M.* and *D.* the questions and answers, and in consequence it is hard to seize the sense in all cases.

The subjects of the six Books are as follows: I. God; II. The creation of the world, angels good and bad, and man; III. Sin; IV. The Redemption, grace, the virtues, the gifts of the spirit, the beatitudes, the Creed, the Commandments; V. The Seven Sacraments; VI. The Day of Judgement, the pains of Hell and the joys of Heaven.

The work closes with a pious little epilogue:

Nostre treyté ataunt finist
 En le honurance Jhesu Crist.
 Si rien j'ay dit ke retreyter
 Seyt, prest suy de l'amaunder.
 Si pri le[s] freres e bone gent
 Ke les examinent loyaument
 E si rien i ad ke ne seyt a dire
 Prest suy de amender l'escire.
 Des ore vus pri a chyef de tur
 Ke vus pur amur Nostre Seygnur,
 Ke cest Romaunz oy averez,
 Pur Piere k'en ad travaillez,
 Preez ke Deu pust bien servir

¹ A, Latyn

Issi ke a sa joie pust venir.
 E qanke orrunt voluntiers cest Romaunz
 Vieus e juesfnes, femmes e enfanz
 Amen die[nt] devotement,
 E a ceo chescun. E ceo ke apent
 C'est Paternoster e Ave Marie
 A la Dame ke pur nus prie
 K'yssi seyt, sun fiz Jhesu Crist.
 Amen. Amen. Issi finist. (f. 221^v, ll. 13803-24.)

The rubrics, which are in prose, vary occasionally in the different MSS., but they formed part of the original scheme:

Les principales parties ai nomez
 Ke en sis lyveres sunt destinctez.
 Mes checun lyvere nepurquaunt en sey
 Est destincté en bone fey
 Par chapitres e destincteysuns
 Si come en rubriche demustrums. (ll. 615-20.)

The presence of some Latin rubrics, with one exception literal versions of the French, in some MSS., is curious. Possibly, as in Frère Angier's *Dialogues*, the original had both Latin and French, and the scribes perpetuated only the French, but some included a few Latin ones by mistake. But this explanation is not convincing. That they should be in French seems more in accordance with the author's purpose, yet they would hardly be translated into Latin afterwards.

In the York MS. the title of the work is always 'Luminere,' not 'Lumiere.' It is possible that this is correct, and that Pierre was writing a 'Luminarius' on the model of the 'Lucidarius.' The following lines seem evidence in favour of this form:

Luminere a Lays l'ay nomé
 Pur ceo ke en puent estre enluminé,
 Ne mie pur ceo verraiment
 Ke clers ne puent ensement
 Estre enluminez par regarder,
 En dreyt de saver e en dreyt de amer,
 Kar duble i ad esluminement
 De saver e de amer ensement,
 [Kar meint en savera]
 Choses ke avaunt aparceu n'a.
 Esluminez peut estre de amur,
 Ki en quer le prent ver nostre seynur.
 Pur ceo en p[u]ent en veritez
 Clers e lays estre esluminez. (f. 20 ^v, ll. 673-86.)

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The following is a list of MSS. of the text:

- A. York Chapter Library. 16. N. 3.
- B. Bodley. 399.
- C. British Museum. Harley 4390.

- D. British Museum. Royal 15. D. II.
- E. British Museum. Royal 16. E. IX.
- F. Cambridge University Library. Gg. I. 1.
- G. St John's College, Cambridge. F. 30.
- H. Trinity College, Dublin. B. 5. 1.
- J. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Nouv. acq., fr. 10061
(formerly Ashburnham-Barrois 44).
- K. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. 2288.
- L. Bodleian Library. Two folios $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fr. C. 4.} \\ \text{Bodley 399.} \end{array} \right.$
- M. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. 99.

Besides these, a MS. was recently offered for sale by Olschki of Florence, and another is described in *Description raisonnée d'une collection choisie d'anciens MSS. réunis par les soins de M. Techener. Paris, 1864, 2^o partie*. Paul Meyer found traces of others¹. It is clear that many MSS. must have been lost, some of which may reappear from time to time².

It has been suggested that A is autograph³. On f. 12^{ro} is a drawing of a clerk writing at a desk, with his ink-pot, pens and erasing-knife. Above are the words, 'Prolog: Autor.' This is doubtless intended as a portrait of Pierre, but it might be copied and it would be rash to draw any conclusions from it. Of more importance is the note of the date and place of writing already quoted. This might, however, refer to the MS. only, and again, it might have been copied. The wording seems to favour the latter explanation: 'Les livres . . . de cest romaunz furent fetz' seems to refer to the work of the 'Maker,' to employ a Scotch expression, rather than of the scribe. Moreover, it seems unlikely that a scribe would have transported an unfinished MS. from Surrey to Oxford. It would rather have been handed over to another to finish. Although Easter to Candle-

¹ *Romania*, VIII and XV; also XIII, p. 498, n. 2.

² I am indebted through Professor Waters to Professor G. L. Hamilton of Cornell University for the following references to MSS. of the text, mentioned in mediaeval monastic catalogues: 1. S. Gunton, *History of the Church at Peterburgh*, 1686, p. 224: *Lumen de Laïs*, Gallice. For the date, fourteenth century. See also: Th. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 1890, p. 171; E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, 1912, p. 268. 2. M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, p. 128: No. 1522—*Liber qui dicitur lumen laicorum*, Gallice. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 140: No. 1755—*Lumen laycorum*, Gallice. Both of these are from the Catalogue of Christ Church Library, before 1331 (see p. 13). 4. *Ibid.*, p. 371: No. 1506—*Liber in gallico qui dicitur lumen laicorum*. 2 fo. et de meismz. Catalogue of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, end of fifteenth century (see p. 173). 5. J. Nichols, *History of Leicester*, Vol. I, part 2, 1815, p. 107 (appendix to Vol. II, part 1): *Lumen legum* in gallico. Catalogue of Leicester Abbey, 1482 (see p. 101, note 1). Some of these may yet be traced. The Peterborough MS., however, which is amongst those mentioned by Paul Meyer, may safely be regarded as lost. The whole library perished at the destruction of the church under Oliver Cromwell, with the exception of one book whose history is known.

³ Baker and Meyer, *loc. cit.*

mas is a very short time, the work might have been written between those two dates.

Though a careful copy, the omissions in the York MS. prevent it from being authoritative, even if it be, as Paul Meyer suggested, 'une copie faite sous les yeux de l'auteur.' The MS. has been carefully revised, and corrections have been made in the margin, usually copied by the scribe in the text afterwards. Whole lines have also been added, and in one case a strip of vellum, with a missing passage, has been inserted. In three cases the end of a line has been left unfinished. In two of these cases the blank has been supplied in other hands, and in one place a missing word has been added in the middle of a line, which suggests that this MS. has been compared with another at various times.

On f. 170 r^o the scribe has written at the foot of the page a Latin couplet, which may be either an apposite quotation, or his own composition:

Que cum mortali bona fiunt dant bona terre
Cor faciunt habile minuunt tormenta gehenne.

B is written in two hands. The other texts in the volume are by the second scribe, who dates his copy of Rauf de Lynham's Calendar 1300. This is the only MS. dated.

C is a thirteenth-century MS. It is quoted in Godefroy's *Dictionary*.

D, a splendid East-Anglian MS. of the fourteenth century, is given by Schorbach in *Studien über das deutsche Volksbuch Lucidarius*, etc., p. 235, as one of Gillebert de Cambres' translation. He derives his information from the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XII, p. 168. Here a wrong conclusion has been drawn from Casley's *Catalogue of the King's Library*, 1734, p. 292, which gives neither date nor author for this MS., though both are given for E.

E, a thirteenth-century MS., is either abridged or copied from a defective MS. It opens with a single chapter from Book II and many other passages are omitted. A full list of omissions and transpositions is given in the British Museum Catalogue. There are comparatively few scribal blunders in the text, as far as it goes.

F is of the fourteenth century. The MS. is a very thick volume containing sixty texts in French, Latin, and English, many of them well known. The MS. is fully described by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, xv, p. 288.

G is a thirteenth-century MS. It also contains the *Manuel des Pechiez*. There is a full description by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, VIII, p. 328.

H is also of the thirteenth century. It contains the *Livre de Syrac le*

philosophe in addition to the *Lumière as Lais*. At least one folio is missing. There is a description by Marius Esposito in the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, xxiv, 1914, p. 188.

J is a thirteenth-century MS. It was formerly in the Ashburnham-Barrois collection, but was amongst those offered for sale after the French government had bought back the MSS. which had originally been stolen, and was bought by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

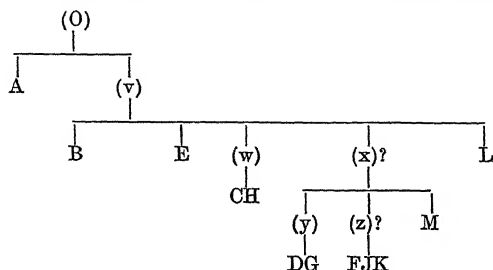
K, another thirteenth-century MS., was not known to Paul Meyer, and hence has not appeared in previous lists of MSS. of this text. The first folio is lost and the MS. begins at l. 256, 'Sire pur seimeismes requier.' Other portions of the text are also missing.

L is a fourteenth-century fragment of two consecutive folios. Both are mutilated and in places are illegible. Enough remains to show, however, that the MS. is no great loss, for the scribe's blunders play havoc with the text.

M is also of the fourteenth century. The *Lumière as Lais* and a MS. of the Legend of the Holy Rood have been bound up with a separate MS. of the apocalypse. Hence, the many descriptions of this MS. and of its miniatures have no reference whatever to the *Lumière as Lais*, which is in a different hand and has no miniatures.

A classification of the MSS. was attempted, based upon two passages from the text, the first thousand lines from Book II, and about three hundred lines from Book VI, to cover the fragment L. It is clear that no one of these MSS. was copied from another, for all have omissions peculiar to themselves. As regards metre, nothing was found contrary to the observations of Professor Baker in his detailed examination of the metrical system of the *Vie de St Richard*¹. The only conclusion reached was, that it is unsafe to base the acceptance or rejection of any reading on metrical grounds.

The following table shows the results of the classification:



¹ *Revue des Langues romanes*, LIII, pp. 297-315.

In two cases A differs from all the MSS., and in two from all the complete ones. These cases are as follows:

- A. E si dit des riches ensement,
Ke ne mie sulement ices turment
Averunt, ke saunz pité furent
A tort de autri e mut receurent. (f. 204 v^o, ll. 12689-92.)

BECHDGFJKLM give the last line thus:

E a tort de autri receurent.

- A. La vendra come escrit trovum,
E devaunt sa croiz porterunt
Ses aungles, a tuz le musterunt. (f. 207 v^o, ll. 12872-4.)

BECHDGFJKLM give the last two lines thus:

E devaunt li sa croiz porterunt
Ses aungles, ke a tuz musterunt.

- A. Mes ces del dereyn ordre¹ proprement
Sunt atitlez a fere sovent
Messages. (f. 34 v^o, ll. 1561-3.)

BCDFGHJKM, evidently disliking the construction, omit 'sunt,' which BCHDGM supply before 'proprement.'

- A. Aungles cria e hummes ausi
Pur la tres graunt bunté de li,
Pur ceo ke de joie fu pleners,
E de ceo nus vout estre parceniers. (f. 35 r^o, ll. 1605-8.)

BCDFGHJK give the last line thus:

vot ke il fussent parceiners.

M's line is slightly different:

voleynt ke il fussent parceners.

Thus BCDEFHJKLM seem to belong to a different line of descent from A, though the evidence of the variants given above would be the better for further confirmation.

Beyond this grouping, B, E and L are independent. Next after A, B is the best manuscript.

C and H are probably related. They have a large number of unimportant variants in common.

D and G may even be copies of the same MS. They have a great number of common readings, and an eight-line epilogue, apparently the composition of some former scribe. Neither gives a good text, but G is considerably the worse. They may also be related to a possible group FJKM, but the evidence in the passages examined was insufficient to

¹ Of angels.

ascertain their precise relationship. The situation, if not cleared up by reference to the rest of the text, might be explained by contamination.

As will have been seen, the results of this classification would have to be verified by reference to the whole text before they could be regarded as final, but it is doubtful whether this is really necessary. The MSS. differ only on points of detail, and from a literary point of view all the complete MSS. are of almost equal value. In view of the length of the text and of the number of MSS. involved, it is suggested that, if an edition were contemplated, A, the MS. with the fewest omissions and blunders on the part of the scribe, should be printed as it stands, while the cases where B and C or H provide a possible alternative or superior version should be recorded. If the text still failed to make sense, the other MSS. could be consulted, but, judging from the passages examined, this would be only wasted labour.

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(To be continued.)

DANTE NOTES

I

THE PROLOGUE OF THE 'COMMEDIA.'

IN a recently published article, a copy of which he has been good enough to send me, Professor Ernest Wilkins of Chicago University discusses what he describes as the commonly accepted view with regard to the first two cantos of the *Inferno*, namely 'that the first canto is an introduction to the poem as a whole, whereas the second canto is an introduction to the *Inferno* in particular.'

He points out that, as in the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, the framework of Dante's comment is built up by the critical process which he calls 'division,' that is by the analysis of the work under consideration according to its content, so in the Epistle to Can Grande, which contains the skeleton of a commentary on the *Paradiso*, the same plan is followed.

In this Epistle, after a general discussion of the subject, protagonist, form, purpose, title, and classification of the work, Dante proceeds (I translate):

§ 17. The part here in question then, that is, the third cantica which is called *Paradiso*, falls by its main division into two parts, namely, the prologue, and the executive part; which second part begins:

'Surge ai mortali per diverse foci.' (l. 37 of Canto i.)

Dante then points out that a poetic prologue necessarily contains two elements, namely a statement of content and an invocation.

§ 18. 'It must be observed,' he says, 'that this preamble... is one thing in the hands of a poet, and another in those of an orator. For orators are wont to give a forecast of what they are about to say, in order to gain the attention of their hearers. Now poets not only do this, but in addition they make use of some sort of invocation afterwards. And this is fitting in their case, for they have need of invocation in a large measure, inasmuch as they have to petition the superior beings for something beyond the ordinary range of human powers, something almost in the nature of a divine gift.'

Upon this basis accordingly Dante sub-divides his prologue into two parts:

in the first is given a forecast of what is to follow; in the second is an invocation to Apollo; which second part begins:

'O buono Apollo, all' ultimo lavoro.' (l. 13 of Canto i.)

If Dante had written a commentary on the *Commedia* as a whole, he would assuredly have followed the same plan. In that case, how would his division have started? To this question Professor Wilkins replies:

Following the model given in the letter to Can Grande, we may say with confidence that it would have started in words nearly or quite identical with these, namely, 'Dividitur ergo tota Comedia principaliter in duas partes, scilicet in prologum et partem executivam. Pars secunda incipit ibi. . . '—then would have followed a Latin translation of all or a portion of the first line of the second or 'executive' part of the Comedy. What would that line have been? In other words, how much of the Comedy did Dante regard as constituting its prologue? In still other words, how much of the Comedy really is prologue?

Professor Wilkins then gives his own answer, which begins with a questionable statement, with which I will deal presently, namely, that 'there are but two possibilities.' The first possibility, he says, is that, according to the general view, 'the prologue consists of the first canto of the *Inferno*, the executive part commencing with the second canto. The second possibility is that the prologue consists of the first two cantos of the *Inferno*, the executive part commencing with the third canto, which belongs beyond reasonable question to the executive part.' He then declares his own conviction that the second alternative is to be preferred, and that the second canto constitutes, and should be thought of as constituting, part of the prologue of the whole Comedy.

As we have seen, Dante holds that a poetic prologue should contain a statement of content, and an invocation; and he insists on the necessity of the invocation. The first canto contains a statement of the content of the whole poem in ll. 114 to 123, in which, by the mouth of Virgil, Dante intimates to the reader that he will be introduced successively to 'li antichi spiriti dolenti,' in Hell; 'color che son contenti nel foco,' in Purgatory; and 'le beate genti,' in Paradise. But the first canto contains no invocation. The invocation is to be found in ll. 7 to 9 of the second canto. It is hardly credible, Professor Wilkins argues, that Dante would have been content to let the Comedy stand without an invocation in the general prologue; consequently he maintains that the second canto forms part of, and terminates, the prologue of the whole Comedy; and that, if Dante had written a commentary on the whole poem, he would have declared that the 'pars executiva,' the second of the two parts into which the poem is divided, begins with the line, the first of the third canto:

Per me si va nella città dolente.

To the objection that in that case the *Inferno* would have no separate prologue, he replies: 'the answer lies in poetic common sense. Given the general prologue, an immediately following separate prologue would have been both unnecessary and unpoetic.'

But there is a third alternative with regard to the prologue of the whole poem, which Professor Wilkins has overlooked, and which I hold to have the strongest claim to acceptance, namely that the prologue consists neither of the first canto of the *Inferno* alone, nor of the first two cantos, but of the first canto and the first nine lines of the second, so that the 'pars executiva' begins with l. 10, 'Io cominciai,' that is, immediately after the invocation, as in the separate prologues of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. In the case of the *Purgatorio* the statement of the content is contained in ll. 4 to 6 of the first canto; the invocation follows in ll. 7 to 12; and the 'pars executiva' begins with l. 13,

Dolce color d'oriental zaffiro.

In the case of the *Paradiso* the statement of the content is contained in ll. 10 to 12; the invocation follows in ll. 13 to 36; and the 'pars executiva' begins with l. 37,

Surge ai mortali per diverse foci.

Thus we should have yet another instance of that love of symmetry, which is such a marked characteristic of Dante's writings.

II.

A NOTE ON 'PARADISO,' XVIII, 40-2.

In his second Schweich lecture on 'Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great,' which was delivered before the British Academy in 1922, but has only recently been published, the late Dr Israel Abrahams drew attention to an interesting Biblical reminiscence in the eighteenth canto of the *Paradiso*, which is not included in Dr Moore's list of Scriptural references in Dante, and which, so far as I am aware, has escaped the notice of the commentators.

In the lecture in question, which deals with the Maccabean campaigns, Dr Abrahams says of Judas Maccabeus:

There is a feature of his character which even his extreme panegyrists are wont to overlook. Yet Dante saw it. In his *Paradiso* Dante beheld Judas among 'the spirits blessed, who below, ere they came into heaven, were of a great name, so that every Muse would be enriched by them¹.' In this vision of the Warriors of God, Dante places the Maccabee between Joshua and Charlemagne². . . . He saw the moving wheel of the lofty Maccabee, and 'gladness was the lash to the top'—

'E letizia era ferza del paleo³.'

¹ Spiriti son beati, che giù, prima
Che venissero al ciel, fur di gran voce,
Sì ch'ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima. (XVIII, 31-3.)

² In the Heaven of Mars.

³ E al nome dell' alto Maccabeo
Vidi moveri un altro [lume] roteando,
E letizia era ferza paleo. (XVIII, 40-2.)

Whence did Dante derive his 'letizia'? Clearly from the Latin version of the *First Maccabees*, where we are told [iii, 2] that Judas and his men 'fought with gladness the battle of Israel'—'et proeliabantur proelium Israel cum laetitia.' Dour fighters as the Maccabees were, guilty as they were of cruel barbarities, they possessed the saving quality of cheerfulness. Cromwell's Ironsides droned psalms, the Maccabees accompanied them with the lyre and the dance¹.

There is abundant evidence, I may add, apart from his inclusion of Judas Maccabeus among the 'Spiriti Militanti' in the Heaven of Mars, that Dante was familiar with the Books of the Maccabees. He was indebted to them (2 *Maccab.* iv, 7–8) for his account of the underhand relations between Jason the high-priest and Antiochus Epiphanes, which, in *Inferno*, xix, 85–6, he compares to those of Clement V with Philip the Fair. From the Maccabees also (1 *Maccab.* vii–ix) he derived his knowledge of the dealings between Demetrius and the high-priest Alcimus, to which he refers in *Epistle* VIII, § 4; and to the same source (2 *Maccab.* iii, 25) he was indebted for the incident referred to in *Purgatorio*, xx, 113, of the apparition of 'an horse with a terrible rider upon him, that ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet,' when Heliodorus was about to lay hands on the treasures in the Temple at Jerusalem.

In the line quoted by Dr Abrahams,

E letizia era ferza del paleo,

we have a remarkable instance of Dante's gift of assimilating material derived from widely different sources, for in this single line he has combined reminiscences of the Book of the Maccabees on the one hand, and of the *Aeneid* on the other, the simile of the whipping-top having, there can be little doubt, been suggested by Virgil's 'torto volitans sub verbere turbo' in the seventh book (l. 378).

III.

SOME PROPOSED EMENDATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE 'MONARCHIA.'

The number for October 1927 of *Speculum*, the journal of the Medieval Academy of America, contains an article (Vol. II, pp. 457–62) on the text of the *Monarchia* by Dino Bigongiari, of Lucca, in the course of which he proposes sundry emendations in what he calls 'the accepted text' of the treatise. Unfortunately, while he quotes from four critical texts, namely, that of Witte (Vienna, 1874), that in the Oxford *Dante* (1924), that of Bertalot (Friedrichsdorf, 1918), and that in the Florentine

¹ *Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great*, Oxford University Press, pp. 22–3.

testo critico of Dante's works, published in 1921, no two of which are identical, he omits to specify which of them he regards as the 'accepted text.' Since, however, it happens that in the passages which I propose to discuss on the present occasion these four texts are in agreement so far as the disputed readings are concerned, his omission to particularise may for present purposes be disregarded, and his accepted text may be taken to be any one of the four.

The first passage is in Bk II, ch. 10, ll. 72-83 (the line references being to the Oxford *Dante*). In this chapter Dante is arguing that the judgment of God may be revealed by the ordeal of single combat, but only on condition that the combatants are animated solely by a desire for justice, not by any other motive, such as private hatred or love, or by the desire for money. This last point he enforces by a quotation from the speech (as given by Ennius¹) of Pyrrhus to the Roman envoys who were sent to treat with him for the ransom of prisoners:

Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis;
Non cauponantes bellum, sed belligerentes:
Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique....

'I demand not gold, nor shall ye pay me a price. Not as war-mongers, but as warriors with the sword, not with gold, let each decide his fate.'

He then continues, according to the reading of the accepted text:

Unde caveant pugiles, ne pretio (*v.l.* pretium) constituent sibi causam: quia non tunc duellum, sed forum sanguinis et iniustitiae dicendum esset, nec tunc arbiter Deus adesse credatur, sed ille antiquus hostis, qui litigii fuerat persuasor. Habeant semper, si duelliones esse volunt, non sanguinis et iniustitiae mercatores, in ostio palaestrae ante oculos Pyrrhum, qui pro imperio decertando, sic aurum despiciebat, ut dictum est—

which Church renders as follows:

Therefore, let the combatants beware that they fight not for money; then it would be no true single combat in which they fought, for they would strive in a court of blood and injustice; and let it not be thought that God would then be present to judge; nay, for it would be that ancient enemy who had been the instigator of the strife. If they wish to be true combatants, and not dealers in blood and injustice, let them keep Pyrrhus before their eyes when they enter the arena, the man who, when he was striving for empire, so scorned gold, as we have said.

But this text does not represent the reading of the MSS., which, together with all the printed editions, from the *princeps* of 1559 down to that of 1792, read in both places not *sanguinis et iniustitiae*, but *sanguinis et iustitiae*. The substitution of *iniustitiae* for *iustitiae* was first introduced

¹ The passage from Ennius is quoted by Cicero in the *De Officiis* (I, 12), whence Dante took it.

into the Latin text by Fraticelli in his first edition of the treatise in 1839; but the change had been made long before by Marsilio Ficino in his translation written in 1467. This translation was first printed by Fraticelli at the same time as his Latin text, and it was no doubt Ficino's authority that led him to adopt the reading *iniustitiae*, which in spite of the MS. evidence has been maintained in the text by every subsequent editor of the *Monarchia*.

As Bigongiari points out, this alteration of the text destroys the force of Dante's thought, and replaces it with a flat and somewhat meaningless phrase. Dante here wishes to bring out the fact that justice is not for sale, that it is not a merchandise to be found in the market-place (*forum*). Just as Ennius, in the passage quoted by Dante, rebukes those who, instead of waging war, become *cauponantes bellum*, so Dante himself here rebukes the *cauponantes iustitiam*, the *iustitiae mercatores*, 'hucksters of justice,' as he calls them. There can be little doubt, therefore, that *iustitiae* ought to be restored to the text in both places.

Church, it may be noted, is not happy in his translation of this passage, for in rendering *forum* by 'court' instead of 'market-place' he has missed the point of Dante's quotation from Ennius.

The next passage is in Bk II, ch. 11, ll. 71-4. Here the accepted text reads: 'Videant nunc iuristae praesumptuosi quantum infra sint ab illa specula rationis, unde humana mens haec principia speculatur'—in Church's translation: 'Let, then, the presumptuous jurists see how far they stand below that watch-tower of reason whence the mind of man regards these principles.'

All the MSS., however, with the single exception of a late one, written towards the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, read not *ab illa specula*, but *ab illo speculo*; and this was the reading followed by Ficino, who translates: 'Veggano ora i presuntuosi giuristi quanto siano inferiori a quello specolo della ragione, onde la umana mente specula questi principii.' The reading *ab illa specula* made its appearance for the first time in the *editio princeps*, from which it has been reproduced, notwithstanding the consensus of the MSS., in every subsequent edition down to the present day. The alteration of the text was due presumably to a misinterpretation of the word *infra*, this being taken to relate not to inferiority in the figurative sense, but to physical position, on a lower level, which would be incompatible with the reading *ab illo speculo*—the result, as Bigongiari observes, being the substitution of a pictorial metaphor for a philosophic image.

That the reading of the MSS. ought to be restored to the text Bigongiari is able to show conclusively by reference to St Augustine, and to Aquinas.

'Dante here,' he says, 'echoes the old view which looks upon knowledge as the beholding of a reflected image of an invisible reality, and he does so by repeating the familiar connexion of *speculari* with *speculum*. This derivation has been a commonplace ever since St Augustine, in his *De Trinitate* (xv, 8), commenting on St Paul's "revelata facie gloriam domini speculantes [A.V. 'beholding as in a glass'] in eandem imaginem transformamur" (2 *Cor.* iii, 18), said, "Speculantes dicit, per speculum videntes, non de specula prospicientes." Coming down to the thirteenth century we find in St Thomas (*Summa*, II, ii, 180, 3): "Speculatio dicitur a speculo, non a specula"; and again (in 2 *Cor.* iii, 18): "Speculantes non sumitur hic a specula sed a speculo, id est ipsum Deum gloriosum cognoscentes per speculum rationis in quo est quaedam imago ipsius." Endless other examples might be quoted, but this one suffices in that it contains the very words of Dante, *speculum rationis*.'

A third passage is in Bk III, ch. 3, ll. 116-18. In the previous passage, the proposed emendations in each case had, with one insignificant exception, the unanimous support of the MSS. In the present case the position is reversed. The emendation here proposed by Bigongiari has not the support of a single MS., nor of any of the printed editions. But it is worthy of consideration nevertheless. In the accepted text the passage in question runs as follows: 'His itaque sic exclusis, excludendi sunt alii, qui, corvorum plumis operti, oves albas in grege Domini se iactant'—'These, then [that is, the Decretalists], being excluded, we must likewise exclude others, who, though they have the plumage of ravens, boast themselves to be white sheep in the flock of the Lord.' Bigongiari remarks, 'it seems strange for *black crows* [*sic*] to palm themselves off as *white sheep*,' and he proposes the obvious emendation *aves* for *oves*—the substitution of the latter by the copyists being due presumably to the natural association of *grex* with *oves*, and to the familiar Scriptural metaphor of the Shepherd and his flock. The objection to the reading *aves*, that *grex* is normally used, not of birds, but of sheep or cattle, is met by Bigongiari's interesting suggestion, which is a strong argument in favour of the proposed emendation, that Dante here had in mind the well-known lines of Horace in the third epistle of the first book:

Ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grege avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus.

(vv. 18-20.)

Here we have the very phrase *grex avium*, together with *plumae*, and *cornicula* as the equivalent of Dante's *corvus*.

There are at least two passages in Dante's works which indicate acquaintance, direct or indirect, with the Epistles of Horace, namely the list of poets in *Purgatorio*, xxii, 97-8, which recalls the list in ll. 58-9 of

the first epistle of the second book; and the unmistakable reminiscence in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Bk II, ch. 1, ll. 80-1, of the line at the end of the fourteenth epistle of the first book:

Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus,

though this, as I pointed out in my *Dante Studies and Researches* (p. 112), may have been taken at second-hand from the *Magnae Derivationes* of Ugucione da Pisa¹.

As against the proposed emendation, on the other hand, it must be admitted that, to judge by the boldness of some of his other metaphors, it is quite conceivable that Dante may have been responsible for the mixed metaphor involved in the reading *oves*. For instance, in the *Monarchia*, Bk II, ch. 8, l. 9, we have 'humana ratio propriis pedibus'; in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Bk I, ch. 6, l. 22: 'spatulas nostri iudicii'; in *Epistola*, VI, l. 143: 'malesanae mentis pedes'; and in *Paradiso*, III, 26-7: 'piè del coto.'

Consequently, it would be hardly justifiable, I think, to admit this emendation into the text, in face of the MS. evidence, in spite of its plausibility.

IV.

SOME MISTRANSLATIONS OF DANTE.

The following are some of the mistranslations I have noted at various times in the course of my Dante studies. The list of mistranslators includes some illustrious names, among them being Landor, Ruskin, Carlyle, and, strangely enough, John Addington Symonds. First on the list, taking the writers in chronological order, is Du Plessis Mornay, minister of Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot Pope, as he was called. In his *Mysterium Iniquitatis sive Historia Papatus*, which was published at Saumur in 1611, with a dedication to James I of England, and of which an English translation by Samson Lennard was published in London in the next year, Mornay quotes and translates sundry passages from the *Commedia* tending to prove that Dante was an opponent of the Papacy. One of these passages is *Paradiso*, XVIII, 130-6, in which Dante denounces the greed and venality of Pope John XXII. We are concerned here only with l. 130:

Ma tu, che sol per cancellare scrivi,

¹ What have every appearance of being other reminiscences of the first book of the *Epistolae* of Horace were noted by Professor Edmund Gardner in his 'Notes on the Lyrical Poetry of Dante,' in *Mod. Lang. Review*, XIX, p. 309.

'But thou who writest but to cancel,' that is, who issueth censures and excommunications only in order to be bribed to revoke them. Mornay, mistaking *cancellare* for *cancellario*, renders this: 'At tu qui per Cancellarium tantum scribis'; in which Lennard blindly follows him: 'Thou which by the Chancellor onely writeth thus.' The author, however, of the French translation of the *Mysterium Iniquitatis* which was published at Geneva in 1612, evidently had his doubts as to the accuracy of Mornay's rendering, for he gives an alternative translation: 'Mais toi, qui n'escriis que pour effacer, ou par un Chancelier.'

The next example is furnished by an Oxford Professor of Poetry, a Fellow of Trinity College, and Poet Laureate, namely Thomas Warton, who in the third volume of his *History of English Poetry*, published in 1781, gives a prose version of *Inferno*, III, 1-9, the inscription over the gate of Hell. Lines 7-8:

Dinanzi a me non fur cose create,
Se non eterne, ed io eterno duro

('Before me things create were none, save things eternal, and eternal I endure'), he renders: 'Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain'—thus perpetrating not only a mistranslation, but a 'bull' of the first order into the bargain.

Landor's lapse is a curious one, considering that he resided in Italy for more than a quarter of a century. In his *Pentameron* (published in 1836), which is a dialogue between Boccaccio and Petrarca as to the merits and demerits of Dante, he represents Petrarca as inveighing against Dante's 'licentiousness of inhumanity'; to which Boccaccio replies:

'Messer Dante Alighieri does not indeed make the most gentle use of the company he has about him in hell and purgatory. Since, however, he had such a selection of them, I wish he could have been contented, and could have left our fair Florentines to their own fancies in their dressing-rooms.

'The time,' he cries, 'is not far distant, when there will be an indictment on parchment, forbidding the impudent young Florentines to show their breast and nipples.

'Now, Francesco, I have been subject all my life to a strange distemper in the eyes, which no oculist can cure, and which, while it allows me to peruse the smallest character in the very worst female hand, would never let me read an indictment on parchment where female names are implicated, although the letters were a finger in length. I do believe the same distemper was very prevalent in the time of Messer Dante; and those Florentine maids and matrons who were not afflicted by it, were too modest to look at letters and signatures stuck against the walls.'

The reference, of course, is to the passage in *Purgatorio*, XXIII, 98-102, in which Dante by the mouth of Forese Donati rebukes the women of

Florence for their shameless manners. But there is nothing here about 'an indictment on parchment'; what Dante says is:

Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
Cui non sarà quest' ora molto antica,
Nel qual sarà in pergamino interdetto
Alle sfacciate donne Fiorentine
L' andar mostrando con le poppe il petto—

'At no distant date such shameless conduct shall be forbidden from the pulpit' (*in pergamino* not *in pergamena*).

Carlyle's lectures *On the History of Literature*, and *On Heroes*, delivered respectively in 1838 and 1840, abound with misquotations (such as, *fue* for *ebbe*, in *Inf.* x, 68; *il tremolar dell' onde* for *il tremolar della marina*, in *Purg.* i, 117; *nunquam revertar* for *nunquam Florentiam introibo*, in *Epist.* ix, § 4), and mis-statements (such as, that the mother of Beatrice Portinari treated Dante with *barbarezza* (a word apparently of his own coining); that Dante nowhere speaks of the *Commedia* as a vision; that Malebolge is a lake or a pool; that Dante was exiled during his Priorate; and so on); but of actual mistranslations I have noted no more than two, namely *Inf.* v, 100:

Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s' apprende,

which he renders: 'Love, which soon teaches itself to a gentle heart,' instead of 'Love, which is quickly kindled in a noble heart,' Dante's line being an echo of Guido Guinicelli's

Foco d' amore in gentil cor s' apprende;

and *Inf.* xvii, 129, where he renders the falconer's cry to his hawk 'oimè, tu cali,' by 'come down,' instead of 'alack! thou stoopest.' In his mistranslation of *Inf.* v, 100, it may be noted, Carlyle is in good company, for Cary has 'Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learnt'; and A. J. Butler has his identical phrase: 'Love, who soon teaches himself to the noble heart,' though he actually quotes Guinicelli's line in his note.

Perhaps the most interesting mistranslation is that of Ruskin in the third volume (published in 1856) of *Modern Painters*. 'Virgil,' he says (in ch. xiv, § 34), 'tells Dante, as he enters the terrestrial paradise: "Henceforward, take thine own pleasure for guide; thou art beyond the steep ways, and beyond all Art"; meaning, that the perfectly purified and noble human creature, having no pleasure but in right, is past all effort, and past all rule. Art has no existence for such a being.' The passage translated by Ruskin is *Purg.* xxvii, 131-2:

Lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce;
Fuor sei dell' erte vie, fuor sei dell' arte.

But Dante makes no mention of *art* here—what Ruskin took for the substantive *arte* is an adjective agreeing with *vie*, and the meaning is, ‘Thou hast now left behind thee the steep ways and the narrow ways’; so that Ruskin’s comment is somewhat irrelevant. Had *arte* been the substantive it would have involved the riming of the word with itself in the same sense, since *arte* occurs at the end of l. 130:

Tratto t’ ho qui con ingegno e con arte.

This is a licence of a kind which Dante never permits himself, save in one or two exceptional cases in which, out of reverence, as in the case of *Cristo* (*Par.* xii, 71–5; xiv, 104–8; xix, 104–8; and xxxii, 83–7), or for the sake of emphasis, as in that of *ammenda* (*Purg.* xx, 65–9), he repeats the same word in rime three times in succession.

The mistranslations in Symonds’s *Introduction to the Study of Dante*, first published in 1872, are somewhat surprising. Some must be put down to sheer carelessness; yet they are reproduced in the second edition (published in 1890), in the preface to which Symonds claims to have ‘attended carefully to the correction of mistakes.’ The following are a few instances. In *Monarchia*, iii, 16, ll. 138–40, the concluding sentence of the treatise, Dante says that the Emperor (Caesar) ‘ab Illo solo prae-fectus est, qui est omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator,’ which Symonds renders: ‘He is appointed by that Sun who ruleth all things spiritual and temporal.’ I may observe that, so far as I am aware, no MS. nor printed text has the variant *sole* for *solo* here. Dante’s description of Virgil, in *Inferno*, vii, 3, as

Quel Savio gentil, che tutto seppe,

he renders: ‘That wise Gentile who knew all things.’ *Purg.* xvii, 1–3:

Ricorditi, lettore, se mai nell’ alpe
Ti colse nebbia, per la qual vedessi
Non altrimenti che per pelle talpe—

he renders: ‘Remember, reader, if ever in the Alps a thick mist overtook thee, through which one sees (instead of, “thou sawest”) just like a mole through its skin.’

Purg. xxi, 99, where Statius says of the *Aeneid*,

Senz’ essa non fermai peso di dramma,

‘without this I had not weighed a drachm,’ literally, ‘had not made stationary in the scale (i.e., “balanced”) a drachm’s weight,’ Symonds renders: ‘Without it I dared not fix a drachm’s weight,’ which he explains: ‘that is, I suppose, Statius used Virgil’s poem as the canon of

all he wrote.' Lastly, the description in *Par.* xxiii, 8-9, of the bird with nestlings awaiting daybreak:

Con ardente affetto il Sole aspetta
Fiso guardando, pur che l'alba nasca,

he renders: 'With fervent desire it expects the sun, looking intently where first the dawn has birth,' instead of 'watching intently for the breaking of the dawn,' literally, 'if haply the dawn may break.'

In 1882 was published a remarkable Dantesque performance in the shape of a modern Greek translation of the *Inferno*. This, which was followed in 1884 and 1885 by similar versions of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, was the work of Constantine Musurus Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in London, at that date in his seventy-fifth year. He makes a curious mistranslation of *Inf.* iv, 131-2, where Dante speaking of Aristotle says:

Vidi il Maestro di color che sanno
Seder tra filosofica famiglia—

'I saw the Master of them that know seated amid the company of philosophers.' Musurus renders this

Εἶδον τὸν διδάσκαλον τῶν ἐδρεύοντων
Ἐν τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων οἰκογενείᾳ,

that is, 'I saw the teacher of those that sit in the household of the philosophers'; from which it appears that, ignoring the punctuation, he construed *sanno* with *sedere*: 'I saw the master of those that know how to sit in the philosophic household.' It may be noted that Musurus as a good Musulman omits Dante's uncomplimentary references to Mahomet and his son-in-law Ali, adroitly substituting Arius for the former, and disguising Ali as Ἄλλος, 'another.'

We now come to the last name on my list, that of Arthur John Butler, of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose prose translation of the *Commedia*, to do him justice, he himself claimed to be no more than 'a crib, pure and simple.' As a 'crib,' however, it is at times decidedly misleading.

To begin with, Butler makes the elementary blunder of invariably translating *terra* by 'land' or 'earth,' in blissful ignorance of the fact that Dante and other writers frequently use it in the sense of city. In the *Commedia*, for instance, it is so used of Ravenna, *Inf.* v, 97; of the City of Dis, *Inf.* viii, 77, 130; ix, 104; x, 2; of Florence, *Inf.* xvi, 9; of Mantua, *Inf.* xx, 98; *Purg.* vi, 75, 80; of Lucca, *Inf.* xxi, 40; of Forlì, *Inf.* xxvii, 43; of Rimini, *Inf.* xxviii, 86; and of Marseilles, *Par.* ix, 92. Consequently in *Inf.* viii, 130, where Virgil tells Dante that a mysterious personage shall open for them the way into the City of Dis which had been barred against them, Butler makes nonsense of the passage by

translating 'per lui ne fia la terra aperta,' 'by him will the earth be opened to us.' Again, after they have entered the city Dante speaks of the city wall, 'il muro della terra' (*Inf.* x, 2), which Butler renders 'the wall of the land.'

In *Inf.* xxiii, 38-42, Dante describes a mother awakened by fire, who seizes her child, and flies

e non s' arresta,
Avendo più di lui che di sè cura,
Tanto che solo una camicia vesta,

'and caring more for him than for herself, stays not even long enough to put on a shift.' It must be remembered that people went to bed naked in those days. Butler, who goes wrong here, in company with Cary, Wright, Longfellow, and others, translates: 'she seizes her boy and flies and stays not, caring more for him than for herself, insomuch that she puts on only a smock,' thereby altogether destroying the force of the illustration.

In *Inf.* xxiv, 109-10, Dante says of the Phoenix:

Erba nè biado in sua vita non pasce,
Ma sol d' incenso lagrime ed amomo—

'in life she feeds neither on herb nor grain, but solely on tears of incense and on amomum.' Butler says, 'only on tears of incense and of amomum,' which implies the reading 'e d' amomo' (adopted in the *Testo critico*), whereas he reads 'ed amomo.'

In *Inf.* xxix, 73-4, Dante says:

Io vidi due sedere a sè poggianti,
Come a scaldar si poggia tegghia a tegghia.

Butler translates: 'I saw two sit propped on each other, as tile is propped on tile to burn'; but the simile is taken from the kitchen ('as pan is propped against pan to warm'), not from the kiln.

In *Inf.* xxix, 112-17, Griffolino d'Arezzo tells Dante, 'Albero da Siena had me burnt because after telling him in joke that I could fly, I would not show him how to':

Volle ch' io gli mostrassi l' arte; e solo
Perch' io nol feci Dedalo, mi fece
Ardere—

'he wanted me to show him the trick, and only because I did not make him a Daedalus he had me burnt'; Butler has 'only because I did it not, a Daedalus.'

In *Purg.* xxvi, 118-20, Guido Guinicelli says of Arnaut Daniel:

Versi d' amore e prose di romanzi
Soverchiò tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti,
Che quel di Lemosi credon ch' avanzi—

'Love verses and prose romances, he excelled them all, and let the fools talk who think that Giraut de Borneil is his superior.' Butler, taking *lascia* as indicative instead of imperative, renders 'and lets the fools talk'; but the imperative is clearly right, as in *Purg.* v, 13: '*lascia dir le genti*,' 'let the folk talk.'

In *Par.* xvi, 152-3, Cacciaguida says that in the old days

il giglio
Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,

which Butler translates: 'the lily had never at the spear's point been put to retreat,' whereas the meaning is 'the lily of Florence was never reversed on the lance,' the allusion being to the custom of dragging the captured ensign of the vanquished foe on the ground with the staff reversed.

Finally, Butler by adopting a reading in *Par.* iv, 141, which has been rejected by every competent textual critic, makes Dante appear guilty of the inconceivable disrespect of turning his back upon Beatrice. The accepted text reads:

Beatrice mi guardò con gli occhi pieni
Di faville d' amor, così divini,
Che vinta mia virtù diede le reni—

'Beatrice looked upon me with her eyes full of love's sparks, so divine, that my powers overcome took to flight.' For *diede* in the last line Butler reads *diedi*, and translates, 'my powers overcome, I turned my back.'

In conclusion I must confess to two mistranslations of my own, which were pointed out by a reviewer. These occur in my volume of selections, *In the Footprints of Dante*, published in 1907. Lines 101-2 of Canzone viii (the third in the *Convivio*):

È gentilezza dovunque è virtute,
Ma non virtute ov' ella,

in a moment of aberration I translated:

Nobility is found wherever virtue is,
But virtue may be where nobility is none,

instead of 'But nobility may be where virtue there is none.'

Again, *Convivio*, II, 9, ll. 55-8: 'Dico che intra tutte le bestialitadi quella è stoltissima, vilissima e dannosissima, chi crede, dopo questa vita, altra vita non essere,' I translated: 'I must say that of all senseless opinions that is the silliest, the vilest, and the most damnable, which holds that there is no other life after this life'—whereas *dannosissima* should be 'most hurtful' not 'most damnable,' though, as my critic remarked, Dante is not likely to have dissented from that.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

‘BEOWULF,’ ll. 848 ff.

atol yða zeswing. . .
...heoro-drēore wēol
dēað-fæge dēoƷ.

In this passage *dēoƷ* is now usually emended to *dēaf* or to *dēof*, as the northern form of *dēaf*, the preterite of *dūfan*, to dive. This emendation, which was first suggested by Zupitza in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXIV, p. 125, and about the same time independently by Trautman, has been accepted by Schücking, Sedgefield, Holthausen, Chambers and Klaeber in their notes or glossaries, whatever each keeps or adopts in his text, and it makes very good sense. It is certainly to be preferred to the earlier suggestion of Sievers (*Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, ix, p. 138) to read *dēaðfæge dēop*. ‘Deathdoomed’ as an adjective for *dēop* is too great a straining of the meaning. Bugge's *dēaðfæges dēop*, ‘deep of the doomed one,’ gives a better sense, but is open to the objection that it requires the emendation of two words instead of one.

Is there, however, any need to emend at all? Can we not as earlier editors did, keep to the MS. reading and justify it? Grein took it as the preterite of an unrecorded verb *dēazan*, ‘to dye.’ This is no doubt possible as far as form is concerned. There is a weak verb *dēazian* and a noun *dēaz*, ‘dye,’ and a strong verb from the same root may have, and probably did, exist originally, either a reduplicating *dēazan*, pret. *dēoƷ*, or a non-reduplicating *dēoƷan*, pret. *dēaz* or *dēoƷ* (N.). The difficulty here is in the meaning. ‘To dye’ would require an object and this would have to be supplied from the preceding nominative *atol yða zeswing*. It is true that there are other passages in *Beowulf* which show a similar looseness of construction, as, for instance, that beginning at l. 30 (*Ʒenden wordum wēold*), but one hesitates to accept such a construction if any other explanation can be found. If, however, we take the reading of Leo, adopted by Heyne, Socin and others, and connect *dēoƷ* with O.H.G. *tougan*, all difficulty disappears.

Tougan is accepted by O.H.G. scholars as an old past participle of a lost verb **tougan*, ‘to conceal.’ Having come to be used as an adjective, it survived in that capacity when the rest of the verb died out. Both O.H.G. and O.E. have many formations from this stem (Germ. **dauƷ*).

O.H.G. has an adj. *tougali*, 'occultus,' an adv. *tougalo* and a noun *tougani*, 'concealment'; O.E. has two adjectival forms *dēazol* and *dīezel*, 'secret,' with an example of ablaut in the suffix which in itself suggests a much used word.

May we not then keep to the MS. reading and put *dēo3* into the category of old Germanic words which have survived in *Beowulf* and O.H.G. just as others have survived in *Beowulf* and O.N.?

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GRENDEL'S DESCENT FROM CAIN.

Beowulf, ll. 107-14, etc.

Since writing my note on the above subject (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxiii, pp. 207-8) I have come across the following illuminating passage, which proves that the belief that monsters were the descendants of Cain overwhelmed by the Flood was prevalent in Ireland. The passage occurs in the Irish Nennius from the *Lebhar Na Huidre*, edited by E. Hogan, and is to be found in the Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series vi, pp. 7-8. For the benefit of Irish scholars I reproduce the original, which is followed by Mr Hogan's translation:

Atracht Noí iar sin as a chotlud 7 rofallsiged do, Cam día fochaitbuid; (romallach Cam) iar sin 7 robennach in dis n-aile. Conid hé Cám de-side cet duni romallachad iar n(d)ilind, 7 conid he comarba Cáin iar n(d)ilind 7 conid huád rogenatar Luchrupain 7 Fomóraig 7 Goborchind 7 cech ecosc dodelbda archena fil for doinib, 7 conid air(e sin) tucad dilgend for clannaib Cam 7 tucad a ferand do maccaib Israel i comarda na mallachtan cétna. Conid hé sen bunad na Torothor 7 ní de síl Cain doib, amal adfiadat na Goedil, ar no ri mair ní día sil-side iar n(d)ilind; ar ropé fochond na dilend do bádu clann Cáin 7 robátea cid clanna Sed ule immalle friu acht Nóe cona maccaib 7 cona cethri mnáib, amal innises Moisi macc Ammra insin Genis ind recta.

'Noah rose thereafter out of his sleep, and it was made known to him that Cham had been mocking him. (He cursed Cham) thereupon, and blessed the other two. And Cham was thus the first person that was cursed after the Deluge, and he was the heir of Cain after the Deluge, and from him sprang the Luchrupans and Formorians and Goatheads and every unshapely form in general that there is on men. And it is therefore that overthrow was brought on the descendants of Cham, and that their land was given to the sons of Israel in fulfilment (token) of the same curse. And that is the origin of the Torothors (monsters), and they are not the seed of Cain as the Gaels relate, for there lived not aught of his seed after the Deluge, for it was the purpose of the Deluge to drown the descendants of Cain, and all the descendants of Seth were also drowned with them, but Noah with his sons and their four wives, as Moses, son of Amram, tells in Genesis of the Law.'

S. J. CRAWFORD. *

SOUTHAMPTON.

THE POEMS OF CHIDIOK TICHBOURNE (1558–1586).

Of Chidiok Tichbourne, priest and martyr, only one poem is known. This poem, 'My prime of youth is but a frost of cares¹,' is said to have been written on the night before he was doomed to die. The tragedy of the death of one young, well-born and favoured with the lavish gifts of fortune, who had, moreover, recanted², made this poem famous in the later Elizabethan period and has kept it popular with the anthologist of to-day. The conceits and antitheses in the style, which recall the Latin epigrams of the Jesuits, and the poems of his fellow-martyr, Southwell, no doubt increased its appeal to many in Tichbourne's day.

A manuscript in Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS. Div. II, 69, to which my attention was directed by Mr Lauriston Sharp³, contains this poem and two others all ascribed to Chidiok Tichbourne. This is a bound volume of MSS. of a miscellaneous character, but chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These MSS. include the will of John Mabb, 1577, recipes by 'Wm Heyward,' Latin epitaphs on Richard Maitland of Lethington, 1585, and Polemo-Middinia. The Tichbourne poems are written on a single sheet, Poems I and II on the recto side, Poem III on the verso.

A transcript follows, with variant readings of Poem I from other MSS. and printed copies. In the MS. there is no stanza division.

I

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares
 My feast of joy is but a dish of payne
 My crop of corne is but a feilde of tares
 And all my good is but vayne hope of gayne
 5 The day is fled and I sawe noe son
 And now I live and nowe my life is don.
 The springe is past and yet it hath not spronge
 The frut is deade and yet the leves be grene
 My youth is gon and yet I am but yonge
 10 I sawe the world and yet I was not seene
 My thrid is cut: and now my thrid is spon
 And now I live and now my life is don.

¹ Described, however, in Brit. Mus. MSS. Lansd. 777, f. 66 b, as 'Throgmorton's verses a little before he was executed' and in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 30982, f. 160, as 'Song: Jo. Ward.'

² Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, p. 1571.

³ I am indebted to the Library Committee for permission to publish a transcript of the poems in this MS.

I sought my death and found it in my wombe
 I looked for life and saw it was a shade
 15 I trode the earth and knewe it was myne tombe
 And now I dy and now I am but made
 The glass is full and now the glass is ron
 And now I live and nowe my life is Don.
 finis qd. CHIDIOCK TICBURNE.

II

A silly housdove hapt to fall
 amongst a flock of crows
 W^{ch} fed and filled her harmless crawe
 amongst her fatall foes
 5 The crafty fouler drew his nett
 all his that he could catch
 The croes lament their hellish chaunce
 The dove repents her mach
 But to to late it was her chaunce
 10 The fouler did her spye
 And so did take her for a croe
 W^{ch} thinge causd her to dye.
 CHIDIOCK TICBURNE.

III

Good sorow cease, false hope begone, misfortune once farewell
 Come solemn muse The sad discourse of our adventures tell
 A frend I had whose spetiall harte made myne affections his
 We ruled tides and streames ourselves no want was in our bliss
 5 Six years we sayled, sea Roome enough by many happy lands
 Till at the length a streame us tooke and cast us one the sands
 Their lodged we were in a gulfe of woe despairing what to doe
 Till at the length from shore unknowen a Pilote to us drew
 Whose help did sound our grounded ship from out Caribdaes mouth
 10 But unadvised on Sylla drives the winde w^{ch} from the South
 Did blustering blow the fatall blast of our unhappy fall
 Where Driving leaves my friend and I to fortune ever thrall
 Wher we be worse besett wth sandes and Rockes on every side
 Wher we be quite berest of ayde of men of wind of tide

- 15 Where vayne it is to haile for healp so far from any shore
 So far from Pilotes course Dispaire shall we therfore
 No: god from out his heape of healpes one us will som bestowe
 And send such mighty surge of seas or els such blasts to blowe
 As shall remove our grounded ship far from this gangerus place
 20 And we shall ioy each others chaunce through gods almighty grace
 And keep our sellves one lande secure, our sayle on safer seas
 Swete frend till then content thyself and pray for our release.

CHIDIOK TICHBURNE.

I. 1 frost] Brit. Mus. Eg. 923: feast 3 tares] Eg. 923: teares 4 good is]
 Brit. Mus. Add. 30982, f. 34: goods are vayne] Eg. 923: meere 5 fled] Eg. 923,
 Add. 30982, and Holinshed, loc. cit., *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 2nd ed., 1654, p. 511:
 past and] Sources just quoted and Brit. Mus. Harl. 6410, Lansd. 777, Bodl. MS.
 Tanner 169, etc.: and yet (required by the metre) 7-9, 11] Eg. 923, Add. 30982,
 Malone 19 and Holinshed:

My tale was heard, and yet it was not told,
 My fruit is falne, and yet my leaves are greene;
 My youth is spent and yet I am not old...
 My thrid is cut, and yet it is not spun.

11] Bod. MS. Tanner 169: My thread is cutt and yet it was not shown 16] Add.
 30982: And now I live, and now I am (Eg. 923, Holinshed: was) as dead 17 The
 glass is full] Eg. 923, Brit. Mus. Sl. 3769, Add. 30982, Holinshed: My glass is full
 now the] Eg. 923, Add. 30982, Add. 38823: yet my

III. 9 sound] *read* save (?) 14 berest] *read* bereft 19 gangerus] *read* dangerous?

The variant readings in the first poem show that, just as there are two differing but authentic versions of some of John Donne's lyrics¹, so there are two distinct versions of this poem. On that ground it is difficult to believe that 'My prime of youth' was composed by Tichbourne on the night before his execution as is alleged in the MS., from which the version in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* was printed, and in Harl. MS. 36, f. 269 b, and repeated in Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, III, p. 105, *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVI, p. 375, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV, p. 129, and in Hannah's *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton*, p. 68. It is well to remember that the poem is merely described as *Tychborne's Elegie written with his owne hand in the Tower before his execution* in the black letter tract² in which it was first published, and that Bodleian MS. Tanner 169, f. 79, gives a version described as 'Written by himsealfe 3 dayes before his exequution: I have the originall written with his owne hand.' 'I,' the owner of the MS., was Sir Francis Colepepper, the Keeper of the Common Pleas.

H. J. L. ROBBIE.

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¹ E.g., *The Flea, Good Morrow*; cf. *Poems*, ed. Grierson, vol. II, p. cxxi.

² *Verses of Prayse and Ioye*, London, Printed for John Wolfe, 1586. Cf. Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Part X, p. 336.

WHO WAS CARDENIO?

We know now that the author of *La Estrella de Sevilla* (one had almost written Lope's *Estrella de Sevilla*) was not Lope but a certain Cardenio. It is certain also that the poet of Córdoba, Don Pedro de Cárdenas y Angulo, was known in Arcadia as Cardenio¹; and, since he was also a dramatic author, it is extremely probable that he was the author of this celebrated play. But Cárdenas was a common name and there were several Cardenios in literature; and the identity of or relations between the various Cardenios makes an intricate study. It seems to have been used nearly always as a pastoral disguise for a real name, but the name Cárdenas was not always so disguised: there is, for instance, a Don Gutierre de Cárdenas in Lope de Vega's *El Mejor Mozo de España*, and, on the other hand, Cardenio did not invariably stand for the surname Cárdenas: Suárez de Figueroa metamorphoses Doña María de Cárdenas into Amarilis. Cardenio is not very frequent in the drama. Not Cardenio but Cardonio is a character in one of Encina's eclogues². M. Foulché-Delbosc³ mentions a Cardenio as occurring in Lope's *Alejandro el Segundo* and in Ambrosio de Arce's *Cegar para ver mejor*. The Cardenio who figures in Baltasar de Caravajal's *La Bandolera de Flandes*⁴ is a peasant, and a servant Cardenio is mentioned in Tirso de Molina's *El Celoso Prudente*. There is a Cardenio in Tirso's *La Ninfa del Cielo y Condesa Bandolera y Obligaciones de Amor*, but this is founded on Lodovico Blosio:

Y aquí
da fin La Ninfa del Cielo,
cuya prodigiosa vida
por caso admirable y nuevo
Ludovico Blosio escribió
en sus morales ejemplos⁵.

Cardenio does not appear in another text of Lope's play, entitled *La Condesa Bandolera*⁶. The only important Cardenio in the Spanish drama is the Cardenio of Lope de Vega's *La Arcadia* (1602), and this was founded on the same author's prose pastoral novel of the same name (1598). In Cervantes' play *La Entretenida* a Cardenio figures as a student⁷. In Cervantes' *novela ejemplar*, *Las Dos Doncellas*, Don Enrique and

¹ Cf. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, col. 1086.

² Encina, *Teatro Completo*, Madrid, 1893, p. 198.

³ *La Estrella de Sevilla* (1920), pp. 36, 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵ *Comedias de Tirso de Molina* (ed. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles), II, p. 466.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁷ *Obras*, 1917 facsimile ed. f. 194. The feminine, Cardenia, occurs in Alonso Perez' *La Segunda Parte de la Diana* (1564).

Don Sancho de Cárdenas are connected with Osuna. Don Sancho's daughter is 'una de las más nobles señoras de Andalucía.' In Lope's *Virtud, Pobreza y Mujer*, Isabel when disguised as a *morisco* is called Cardenio. In the seventeenth-century story *No hay desdicha que no acabe*, Cardenio (imitated from Cervantes) is a Portuguese of Setubal. Where Cardenio attains a real and mysterious importance is in three works published in the last years of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth. The most famous of these is *Don Quixote*. In a note to Part I, cap. 28, Señor Rodríguez Marín tells us that Cardenio is a Cárdenas of Córdoba, while Don Fernando is the second son of the Duke of Osuna; and that the love between this Don Pedro Girón and Dorotea (Doña María de Torres) began in the year 1582¹. Many previous attempts had been made to discover the identity of the persons of this most vivid story of Cardenio and Dorotea. According to Don Adolfo Bonilla, Cardenio was Cristóbal Calderón²; others have identified him tentatively with Antonio Fernández de Cárdenas³. In that very year, 1582, was published Luis Galvez de Montalvo's *El Pastor de Filida* in which, as we are now informed⁴, Filida represents Doña Magdalena Girón, daughter of the Duke of Osuna, and in which Cardenio plays a prominent part. What is chiefly dwelt on here is Cardenio's wealth: he is 'el caudaloso Cardenio,' 'el heredado,' 'caudaloso y apuesto⁵.' To marry him at her father's will Clori has left Castalio. Cardenio is not represented by Galvez de Montalvo as a very accomplished poet: he is 'menos músico que enamorado⁶'; he is celebrated for his strength and skill as compared with others famous for 'la divina alteza de la poesía⁷'; but he is a close friend of Mendino (Hurtado de Mendoza) and is present at the discussion between Mendino and Bato as to the rival merits of the old versification and the new.

It seems clear that Cervantes considered that his friend (and perhaps relative) Cárdenas of Córdoba had been badly treated by the Osunas, and it was natural that his friend Galvez de Montalvo, who is one of the shepherds of Cervantes' *Galatea*, should have been on the side of Cervantes in the literary feud which seems to have followed on the events in

¹ *Don Quixote*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, II, p. 383.

² See *ibid.*

³ R. Ramírez de Arellano, *Juan Rufo*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 61, 292. In 1604 a Miguel de Cárdenas Calmaestra addressed a sonnet to Mateo Alemán.

⁴ See Don Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *La Filida de Gálvez de Montalvo* in *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia en la recepción pública del Excmo. Señor Don Francisco Rodríguez Marín*, Madrid, 1927, pp. 5-71.

⁵ *Orígenes de la Novela* (*Nueva Bib. Aut. Esp.*), II, pp. 401, 410, 461, 464.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

Andalucía. It was equally natural that Lope de Vega should take up the cudgels in defence of the ducal family of Osuna.

To go fully into the relations between Lope and his contemporaries and rivals would require a volume, several volumes. Lope more than once deprecates the sin of envy: 'la envidia siempre infame'¹, 'la envidia a lo que piensa que destruye añade fama'². The fact is that Lope could scarcely conceive himself as envying other writers; he simply surpassed them, or when, as in the case of *Don Quixote*, this was manifestly impossible, he adopted other methods. It was his weakness that he wished not so much to excel as to excel others. Tirso de Molina shows that he knew Lope's character well when, in praising him, he says that he had surpassed the poems of Ariosto and Tasso³. It is not that Lope stinted his praise of contemporary writers, he scattered promiscuous praise, although he was inclined to feel aggrieved when its recipients thrived on it:

Alabo mil indignos poetas
Que, viéndose alabar, con arrogancia
De mínimos se suben a mayores⁴.

His idea was that he should permanently possess the 'mayorazgo de la fama'⁵ and that other writers should be content to gaze upwards, but without envy. From Lope de Vega's point of view his method of universal eulogy was not without its merits: obviously, if a writer was omitted from the catalogue, his absence would be exceedingly conspicuous. Lope's praise or silence was not always due to merely literary reasons. In his silence concerning San Juan de la Cruz literary considerations can have had little weight. In the case of Mariana Lope was on the side of the angels, he calls him the Spanish Livy; and he wrote to the Duke of Sessa that Mariana's critic Mantuano had no sense; but then Mantuano wished to abolish Bernardo del Carpio, and Lope de Vega Carpio fondly imagined that that legendary hero was his own ancestor.

What was Lope de Vega's attitude towards Galvez de Montalvo, Cervantes and Cardenio? He certainly praises Montalvo. He speaks of his 'floridas coplas' and in the *Laurel de Apolo* says of him 'así Galvez Montalvo dulcemente' [escribió las coplas castellanas]⁶; in *La Viuda*

¹ *Obras no dramáticas*, Madrid, 1856, p. 265.

² *Relación de las Fiestas in Obras no dramáticas* (Bib. Aut. Esp. Madrid, 1856), p. 149.

³ Tirso de Molina, *La Fingida Arcadia*, Act I, sc. i (*Comedias*, ed. Cotarelo y Mori, I (1906), p. 435.

⁴ Lope de Vega, *Epistolas in Obras no dramáticas* (1856), p. 412.

⁵ Dedicatory preface of *Los Locos de Valencia* (*Comedias Escogidas de Fray Lope Félix de la Vega Carpio*, I, p. 113).

⁶ Silva iv.

Valenciana (Act I, sc. xv) he praises both the *Galatea* of Cervantes and *El Pastor de Filida*:

Y Galvez Montalvo fué,
Con grande ingenio, su autor.

Of the *Galatea* he says that you could not ask for a better book:

Que si buen libro desea
No tiene más que pedir.

It is difficult not to suspect that Lope was deliberately insidious in his treatment of Cervantes. In a private letter of 1604 he wrote that there was no poet so bad as Cervantes and none so foolish as to admire *Don Quixote*. But in public Cervantes, with his growing fame and the immediate success of *Don Quixote* on its publication in the following year, was not to be ignored. Lope therefore praises him, but he praises him as a writer of pastoral novels and as a poet; that is, on the ground on which Cervantes was inferior to Lope. In the *Laurel de Apolo*, a poem published twenty-five years later than *Don Quixote*, and by no means confined to the praise of poets, Cervantes is praised as a poet only: his 'versos de diamantes'

dulces, sonoros y elegantes,
Dieron eternidad a su memoria.

In *La Arcadia* Cervantes is again praised as a poet: Góngora, Liñan de Riaza, Dr Salinas, Cervantes, Pedro de Padilla, Rufo Gutierrez, Galvez de Montalvo¹. To Cervantes as novelist he refers at the beginning of *Las Fortunas de Diana*, but in so ungracious and grudging a fashion that silence would here have been better for Lope's fame. He never forgave the success of the outsider, unacademic Cervantes. In the *novelas*, he says, Miguel Cervantes did not lack charm and style; his *novelas* are amusing and might have been exemplary, like some of those of Bandello; but they required to be written by 'hombres científicos².' Lope himself therefore supplied some *novelas*, and *his*, he is careful to add, are not translations from the Italian. In an unhappy hour did Lope's emulation (for we may not call it envy) induce him to compete with the master, for here the superiority of Cervantes is manifest on every page. In *Guzman el Bravo*, published after Cervantes' death, Lope undoubtedly hits out at his great contemporary in the person of Guzman, a hero of Lepanto who returns to his country, 'donde yo le conocí, si bien en sus mayores años pero con el mismo brío, porque el defecto de

¹ *Bib. Aut. Esp.* (1856), p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1. In the *Prólogo* to the *Relación de las Fiestas*, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 149) there can be little doubt that Lope has Cervantes in his mind in speaking of two great rivals and the presumption of one of them: 'así se abraza la ignorancia con la ciencia.'

la naturaleza del cuerpo no ofende el valor del ánimo¹; nothing is said of his literary success, but Lope's bitterness escapes him when he records that those who did not praise Guzman-Cervantes were considered envious (and envy, as we know, was not to be permitted): 'era tenido por envidioso el que faltaba a esta voz comun, por circunspecto que fuese².' (Is not this an open confession of Lope's insidious, circumspect treatment of Cervantes' literary reputation?) In the realm of literature there are many mansions, and there should be no room for petty spite and malice, and literary cliques are a cruel outrage; but it is no wonder if Cervantes, ó ευκολος Cervantes, thus constantly belittled as a man of slight learning, sometimes hit back.

As to Cardenio, Don Pedro de Cárdenas is not mentioned in Lope's *Laurel de Apolo* although he was known as a 'gallardo ingenio' and although a painter Cárdenas finds a place there; but in both *La Arcadia* the play and *La Arcadia* the pastoral romance, Cardenio has an important place, and our interest increases when we remember that Lope had intended to dedicate this pastoral romance to the second Duke of Osuna and did dedicate it to the third duke, Don Pedro Tellez Girón³. In the play *La Arcadia* Cardenio is known to all the shepherds as the clown, 'rústico,' 'el más rústico villano' (I, x); yet both Bato and Flora consider him a shepherd of great cunning:

el más socarrón
Pastor que guardó ganado. (I, ix and xi.)⁴

There is an obvious wish to make it appear that Cardenio may be a fool, but is malicious and not to be trusted or believed. In the play Cardenio determines to revenge himself on the shepherds and he takes them all in by his wiles; but he is found out at the end and the goddess Venus appears and openly denounces him, so that he ends as he began, a fool (III, xxii): 'siendo el que todos conocen.'

In Lope's pastoral romance Cardenio is similarly always 'el Rústico,' a simpleton (*inocente*); he is strong (*hombre robusto*) and, like Goya's Martincho, can force a bull by its horns to the ground⁵. He is an unskilled poet, but can make men merry with his *donaires*⁶. He is represented as being rowed between sleep and sloth⁷, or riding on a sorry ass⁸ singing

¹ *Bib. Aut. Esp.* (1856), p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³ Hugo A. Rennert and Américo Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 95.

⁴ *Comedias Escogidas*, III, p. 160.

⁵ *La Arcadia* in *Bib. Aut. Esp.* (1856), III, pp. 57, 62, 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 94.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁸ Pp. 67, 123, 126.

harshly no epic songs but humble fables¹. We are given an example of his 'rústicas endechas².' Certainly before we take leave of him, it is prophesied from the lines of his hand that he will have a long life and prosperity and will have no enemies; and that he will never be fickle, treacherous nor envious; but this seems to be a piece of half-contemptuous derision³.

Possibly in order to redress the balance in favour of one whose poetical powers had been thus denied, Salas Barbadillo, who was Lope's junior by twenty years (they both died in 1635) and whom Lope effusively praised in his *Laurel de Apolo*⁴, introduced Cardenio as the Martial of our time, a 'valiente ingenio' who had even exceeded Martial and had been the first to introduce epigrams into Spanish literature⁵. The peregrino and subtle poet thus introduced in *El Caballero Puntual* (1614) may have been a different person from the Cardenio who, in Galvez de Montalvo and in Lope's *Arcadia*, is a poet of small attainments; on the other hand he may quite as probably have been the same; Lope de Vega may even have smarted beneath the lash of one of Cardenio's epigrams. On the whole we are inclined to believe that the Cardenio of Cervantes, Montalvo, Lope and Salas Barbadillo is one and the same person, and that this person is none other than Don Pedro de Cárdenas, poet of Córdoba and author of *La Estrella de Sevilla*.

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'ARCO DA VELHA.'

Commenting on the Spanish translation of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*⁶, Karl Pietsch mentions the Portuguese expression *arco da velha*, meaning 'rainbow,' and adds in a footnote 'Warum *da velha*,' confessing his inability to find a satisfactory explanation. The matter in all probability pertains as much to the domain of folk-lore as to that of philology, and if parallels are to be found anywhere, it is in folk-lore collections that one must expect to meet them. At all events, it is in a work of this nature that I happened to run across a few sayings which might with a certain show of reason be quoted in this connexion.

¹ P. 67: 'el Rústico sobre un flaco asnillo todo enramado de árboles y cubierto de rosas [llevaba] un tamboril destemplado, a cuyo son cantaba, no las grandes victorias de los dioses ni las transformaciones de Júpiter sino las fábulas y apólogos de las ranas y los gallos, cantando los amores del cuervo y la paloma, lo que dijo el ruiseñor a la oropéndola y el cernícalo a la calandria.'

² P. 119.

³ P. 125.

⁴ Silva vii.

⁵ *Obras de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1907-9, vol. II (1909), pp. iii, 146.

⁶ *The Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature*, Chicago, Ill., 1923, p. 324.

In the Seille valley in Lorraine, according to a French folklorist of the last century¹, the peasants would speak of a certain 'vieille qui court par le temps' to designate the cause of the spring frosts so dangerous to fruit trees. They would also call 'les jours de la vieille' the last three days of March and the first three days of April, supposed to be particularly dangerous to the seeds and the grape-vine. Who that 'old woman' is, an evil witch or a fairy, the writer was not informed, but it may be taken for granted that she is a supernatural being of some sort. One might also mention in this connexion the *tchause-villha* of the Swiss Alps with her numerous pendants still believed in from one end of the continent to the other² and the German *Altweibersommer* denoting the gossamer. Nor is it possible to dissociate from this class of *Elementargeister* the Portuguese designation of the rainbow, connected as it is with the ancient figure of Iris. No doubt, the more popular hag, *la velha* of mediaeval times, was readily substituted for the classical figure, as the reminiscences of the ancient Olympus began to fade after the fall of the Empire.

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¹ Désiré Monnier et Vingtrinier, *Croyances et traditions populaires recueillies dans la Franche Comté, le Lyonnais, la Bresse et le Bugey*, Lyon, 1874, p. 26.

² Cf. my forthcoming book, *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques*, Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. 101 ff.

REVIEWS

The Seege or Batayle of Troye, A Middle English Metrical Romance. Edited from MSS. Lincoln's Inn 150, Egerton 2862, Arundel xxii, with Harley 525 included in the Appendix, by MARY ELIZABETH BARNICLE. (Early English Text Society, Original Series, clxxii.) London: H. Milford. 1927. lxxiv + 274 pp. 25s.

The Seege or Batayle of Troye is a capital example of a minstrel romance, to be recited to an uneducated audience in village or hall. There is none of that attempt to realise the ancients as different from the mediaevals which there is in the *Roman de Troie* and above all in Chaucer's *Troilus*. The author threw away scholarship in order to adapt himself to peasants; though he used the Latin Dares, at the judgment of Paris he transforms the three goddesses Juno, Venus and Minerva into 'four ladies of elven land,' Saturnus, Mercurius, 'Jubiter' (amazingly glossed 'Juno' by the editor, p. 234) and Venus, because deities who had given their names to planets were familiar. He wisely changed Dares' epitomising manner into narrative interspersed with situations, and enlarges on the fighting with loving interest—the series of jolly good fights by glorious and celebrated men which gave the Troy story its extraordinary vogue for three hundred years among light-thinking and heavy-hitting Englishmen.

Miss Barnicle has taken great pains that her work shall not need to be done over again, as she has had to do over that of previous editors, Zietsch and Wager. She prints the four extant texts completely, improving over her predecessors' readings in countless small points; though without the running summaries which make earlier publications of the Early English Text Society so convenient, and, when the editor was Furnivall, so racy. She provides a list of names and a glossary which show few omissions and errors. Her introduction so commends itself to the reader's judgment by its general conclusions as to dialect, date and sources that he is ready to forgive any little lack of precision and restraint of manner. She has studied the MSS. and their history with meticulous care, and makes some clever observations. Her most significant conclusion is that there is no evidence whatever that a longer version of Benoît's *Roman de Troie* once existed substantially different from the extant one, a sort of theory which was used to excess a generation ago. She recognises that mediaeval writers were much freer in altering their material than has always been realised.

She does not perceive, however, that the variations among her three chief texts are due to the fact that two of them at least (or their ancestors) were written down from memory. To recite from more or less perfect memory a poem of a thousand short couplets was no more of a feat for a minstrel than for a modern actor, and at times (of a winter evening for example) would be almost as necessary. The innumerable pointless and

extensive variations, omissions and additions in these MSS. can be explained only thus. A scribe who had a written text before him would find it easier to follow the text rather closely than to vary so much. It is usually not difficult to distinguish between mediaeval MSS. meant to be copied exactly, those deliberately revised and those reproduced forgetfully. An illuminating study could be made of the kind of alteration introduced into texts of different degrees of sophistication; into mediaeval texts of the Latin classics, into mediaeval Latin poetry and prose, the *Divina Commedia*, the *Canterbury Tales*, popular vernacular verse, and vernacular prose works.

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Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography. By HOPE EMILY ALLEN. Published by the Modern Language Association of America. New York: D. C. Heath; London: H. Milford. 1927. xvi + 568 pp. 30s.

The fortune of the works and fame of Richard Rolle is curiously illustrative of the growth of interest in mysticism in this country. Horstmann's two volumes published in 1895 and 1896—which had been preceded by the Philological Society's edition of the *Prick of Conscience*, the E.E.T.S.'s edition of the short English pieces of the Thornton MS. with the *Office*, and H. R. Bramley's edition of the *Psalter*—had sunk to the condition of an unregarded 'remainder' for some years before their emergence as a book so sought for as to have become almost unprocurable. With all their deficiencies, Horstmann's volumes laid the foundation for the revived cult of the Hermit of Hampole, and are the source of most, though not all, of the modernised versicns reproduced for devotional purposes. It is remarkable that more scholarly investigation has been chiefly concentrated upon the *Prick of Conscience*, regarded as his chief and most characteristic work, but which Miss Allen has shown cannot with any confidence be ascribed to him. Indeed, in the present work, she goes so far as to conclude that, 'when all the evidence is presented, Rolle's authorship of the *Prick* seems more than ever impossible' (p. 397).

Miss Allen has crowned her long researches on mediaeval English religious literature with this elaborate and in many respects exhaustive study of the famous hermit who has been called the father of mysticism in England. For the first time the confusion that surrounded Rolle's work has been reduced to order, and a canon has been firmly and clearly established. Miss Allen gives a full and lucid account in succession of the principal manuscripts, the *Office* prepared for his canonisation (a narrative which she shows in detail to be supported by research in every important particular), his authentic works in Latin and English, followed by a survey of the works of doubtful authenticity, those in Latin and English wrongly attributed to him, mediaeval quotations and references. The non-specialist reader will be more attracted by the final chapter, 'Materials for Rolle's Biography,' which includes a singularly interesting

study of the localities in Yorkshire associated with the Hermit's life and cult, and the personages—Margaret de Kirkeby and others—with whom he came into contact. In an appendix we are given, for the first time, the 'Defence against the Detractors of Richard,' by Thomas Basset Hermit, edited by Mr J. A. Herbert from the unique manuscript at Upsala.

The mysticism of the Hermit of Hampole, with its guiding devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, the 'opening of the heavenly door,' and the successive stages of 'calor, canor, and dulcor,' has a truly individual colour, even when we remember his chief predecessors and masters, the Victorines and St Bernard. I would suggest that, in the place in the *Canticles* where Richard speaks of 'plurimi sanctorum' who have asserted the rarity and momentary character of the mystical ecstasy (p. 70), one of the passages that he would have had specially in mind must surely have been Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, xxiii, where there is a noteworthy similarity of expression. An echo may also be heard of the famous tenth chapter of the *De diligendo Dei*. I should rather question any possible influence of Joachim of Flora (p. 333), though the chronicles of Roger of Hoveden and Ralph of Coggeshall bear witness to English interest in the Calabrian abbot 'di spirito profetico dotato' quite independent of the later Franciscan spirituals. Miss Allen notes that 'the undisciplined strain' in Richard's character at times makes him appear 'something very far from our conception of a Christian saint.' In one respect, at least in the phraseology she adopts, she seems to me to over-emphasise this. There is a familiar story (I forget its source) of a nun with a reputation for sanctity. A skilled director of souls came to the convent room where the sisters were assembled, and asked, 'Which is the saint?' And, when the nun in question answered, 'Here I am, Father,' he went away in sorrow. Now Miss Allen speaks of Richard 'writing the *Melum* to prove himself a saint' (p. 137), as convinced of 'his own sainthood' (p. 139), and even has several pages dealing with his 'claims to sanctity' (pp. 488-490). It would be almost as difficult to reconcile such an absence of the fundamental virtue of humility with true mystical elevation as it is to regard the visions of Tommaso Campanella as of real religious significance, and Swinburne's 'too sublime for pride,' applied to the latter, certainly does not help us. It seems to me that we can interpret the passages cited as laying claim, not to personal sanctity, but to having been the recipient of direct mystical experience, and Richard himself declares in a passage from the *Contra amatores mundi* (quoted on p. 207), curiously resembling an analogous one in Dante's Letter to Can Grande, that God may vouchsafe His revelations even to a sinner.

Miss Allen's book will certainly mark an epoch in the study of Rolle and his work. May I express the hope that she will follow it up with one of a more popular character, which will be less a collection of materials than a finished picture for the general reader?

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Tottel's Miscellany. Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Vol. I, Text. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. xx + 346 pp. 23s.

Tottel's collection of *Songes and Sonettes* has long awaited fuller study than it has received, and it is well that the indispensable first step of textual revision should have been taken up by so competent and experienced a master as Professor Hyder E. Rollins. Here we have a rigidly controlled print of the first edition (June 5, 1557) followed by a list of the variants found in all existing editions, eight in number, up to 1587. The later editions have little value for the text, but the list provides wonderful material for the study of textual vicissitude, and its presence adds to our sense of security.

So far as the reviewer has been able to check it, Professor Rollins' text appears, as we would expect, strictly accurate, and it may be trusted as giving (along with the notes) an authentic copy of the original. Professor Rollins prints a conservative text, firmly on his guard against aesthetic motives, and conceiving his business strictly as the correction of misprints. He is right, of course; yet one has a lingering doubt, for, lacking the manuscript, one may differ in opinion as to which readings are misprints. Thus on p. 29 (Poem 33, *How no age is content*), he leaves *yongman*, presumably because it occurs twice, but divides *oldman*, presumably because *olde man* occurs in the line above. It is a correction which the careful, disinterested shop-reader might make, but which a sensitive author might damn with a large *stet*! The emphasis—the meaning—differs in the two lines:

I saw the lytle boy in thought, how oft that he
Did wish of god, to scape the rod, a tall yongman to be.
The yongman eke that feles, his bones with paines opprest,
How he would be a rich olde man, to lyue, and lye at rest.
The rich oldman that sees his end draw on so sore,
How he would be a boy agayn, to liue so much the more.

The argument may be tenuous, but it is less tenuous than any I can devise for preferring (p. 20, ll. 37–8):

For yf by chance I winne
Your person the in feeld

to the *in the feeld* of the second edition, in a poem of simple phrasing, whose running rhythm would be interrupted by this rhetorical trick *your person—thee!—in field*. The *A* reading at p. 12, l. 7 makes grammar which will hardly pass as Surrey's. It is possible to make out a thin case for the *A* reading at p. 41, l. 18, difficult at p. 42, l. 20. At p. 134, l. 25, *B* is clearly correct; at p. 158, l. 24, in several lines of Poem 220, and at p. 208, l. 41, it is as certain as need be, and vastly superior as literature; and surely *sugred talke with eloquence* (p. 153, l. 38) is preferable to *surged talke*. Only a diplomatic text could evade such differences of opinion, however, and these are very few. With the table of variants given, anyone can reconstruct the original editions, and is at liberty to choose his own readings.

A useful purpose—though not one, perhaps, which occurred to the

publishers—is served by the collation of Arber's reprint in a separate appendix. The number of English students (or their seniors) who can afford to pay twenty-three shillings for 'Tottel' is limited; but with this in the libraries they can easily amend their Arbers. For despite the note on the dust-cover—Professor Rollins' bibliographical accuracy does not extend to his publishers—Arber's reprint is still in common use and circulation, and will continue, unless Professor Rollins takes pity on stricken Europe and produces a cheap edition. Price apart, this beautiful volume would command only admiration, were it not for a sentimental suspicion that it is too large and heavy for its contents. There is a sort of heraldic propriety in these matters. Master Slender would require an extra boy to carry this edition for him when he went visiting about Windsor. That is a light sentiment, however, to set in the scale against the gratitude we owe to Professor Rollins for a new and reliable 'Tottel,' enriched with the harvest of long and tedious labour, and so finely set forth. All students of the times will welcome his achievement, after so many lesser collections, of the greatest of them all, and will look forward to the companion volume of notes.

W. L. RENWICK.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

André Marvell, poète, puritain, patriote, 1621–1678. Par PIERRE LEGOUIS.

Paris: Henri Didier; London: H. Milford. 1928. xii + 516 pp. 16s.

Marvell has at last come into his own.

A few months ago Professor H. M. Margoliouth gave us the first critical edition of Marvell's poems and letters, to be followed by a third volume of his prose writings: and now at the hands of Professor Legouis of Besançon we have an elaborate study of the poet's life and works, a worthy successor of Angellier's *Burns*, Huchon's *Crabbe* and Feuillerat's *Lyly*.

The fact that the English and the French scholars have been working for years in friendly co-operation has been of advantage to both. M. Legouis' help is gratefully recorded in Mr Margoliouth's edition, and he here acknowledges Mr Margoliouth's kindness in allowing him to see proofs before publication and in reading his own proofs. Both men have already published papers on points of difficulty in connexion with Marvell's life.

M. Legouis is abundantly equipped for his task. The son of the finest literary critic of the age, he possesses great qualities of his own, a perfect command of our language, a wide knowledge of our seventeenth-century poets, a delicate literary taste, a marked skill in presenting a complicated subject—although there are some disadvantages in studying the Satires apart from the historical facts to which they are related—and finally incomparable industry in research. His book is a great contribution to our knowledge of Marvell.

It is not M. Legouis' fault that after all his labours we still find Marvell's character and mental history very baffling. The son of a Puritan preacher, at an early age, like Gibbon, he was converted to Catholicism. As in Gibbon's case, the escapade was soon over, but it probably had the

result here also that the young man never returned to the fold he had left. How much of Christian faith and practice he retained during the rest of his life it is hard to say. From the poem *Clorinda and Damon* one might think that he had then lately experienced a sort of religious conversion. But the poem cannot be dated, and was probably written after Marvell's four years' tour on the continent and after his association with Lovelace and other cavaliers in London. And if there was a conversion, were its effects lasting? How was his mind working during the years spent in the house of Lord Fairfax? His poetical imagination was at its strongest, and the country appealed to him not only as a poet but as a naturalist and an angler. But had he ambitions which made him chafe, like Swift, in a position of dependence, and perhaps led to a breach with his patron? We hear nothing of any relations with Lord Fairfax after this time. There can be little doubt that he had a genuine admiration, if not love, for Cromwell and accepted his rule as inevitable, as in the same spirit he accepted the Restoration. One can believe that, as the years passed, he was indignant at the misgovernment and degradation of his country and furious against religious persecutors. But the grossness to which he sank in his Satires is hard to reconcile with any kind of religious fervour, and the spring of pure poetry that had once flowed so freely seems now to have been stopped at its source. Was he in these days a recluse from society, an embittered man eating out his heart alone? Was he or was he not married? How is it that we have no pleasant pictures of him from friends; no literary work like Cowley's *Essays* breathing resignation and happiness? Such are the questions raised by M. Legouis' biography, questions which even his industry and penetration have only partially answered. As he confesses, 'la personnalité de Marvell dérobe le secret de son unité.' All the same, the scrutiny to which the critic has submitted everything known or reported of his author has cleared up the poet's life in a way for which we cannot be too grateful.

M. Legouis would however prefer to be judged by the analysis he has made of Marvell's literary work. It is a field in which the Englishman who has access to the original author is less dependent on the critic than the French reader who is specially addressed. He will not however fail to appreciate the excellence of M. Legouis' translations and the delicacy of his criticism. Here and there he may not share the critic's view, for example on the question whether any of Marvell's poems are love-poems in the sense that Donne's are. But he will accept M. Legouis' contention that Donne had an especial influence on the younger poet¹. Most of all, probably, he will benefit from M. Legouis' interpretations of Marvell's three poems on Cromwell. The picture of Cromwell in his home given

¹ M. Legouis does not, I think, point out that the poems in dialogue ending with a chorus (*A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure*, *Clorinda and Damon*, and *A Dialogue between Thyrsis and Dorinda*) were clearly written to be set to music. Probably *Ametas and Theslytis making Hay-Ropes* and *Musicks Empire* are in the same category. The songs for the marriage of Lady Mary Cromwell confessedly are. There is a setting of *Thirsis and Dorinda* by Matthew Locke in Playford's *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, 1676, but that is the only setting I have seen.

in the last is one not very familiar to us, and M. Legouis has done well to insist on its beauty and importance.

To many lovers of *The Garden*, the lines *To his Coy Mistress*, and *Bermudas*, Marvell's Satires mark an unpleasant descent into personality and coarseness, and are the less interesting as the authenticity of no one of them can be considered to be proved. Mr Margoliouth, for example, disputes Marvell's authorship of *Britannia and Rawleigh*, while according to M. Legouis it 'constitutes the principal title (though precarious) of Marvell to a superior rank in the satiric hierarchy.' We shall not lose much if in appraising Marvell's literary importance we leave the Satires out of serious consideration.

A word of praise must be given to the admirable section in which M. Legouis recounts the very interesting history of Marvell's reputation during the two and a half centuries that have followed his death. He concludes that as a poet, Marvell never stood higher than he does to-day. But it would be an endless task to select illustrations of our author's critical ability and erudition. Packed away in footnotes, for example, on pp. 407-417, we find valuable excursuses on forms used by Marvell which are now obsolete, on his use of pedantic terms, on his borrowings from French, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek, on his happy coinages. These notes in a hundred points correct or supplement the *N.E.D.* The work throughout is that of an indefatigable scholar.

It is to be hoped that the book, long as it is, will be translated into English. The need of studying the French reader becomes a nuisance when it leads to poems and prose passages of Marvell appearing, as many here do, in French only, and when even names and titles are translated, 'Mr Smirke' becoming 'Monsieur Minaudier,' 'Sir Fopling Flutter' 'le chevalier Petitfat Papillonnant,' 'Mr Bayes' 'Monsieur du Laurier,' 'Clarindons House-warming' 'Clarendon pend la cremaillère,' etc. In an English translation one would not insist on forms like 'Sir Peter Bayard' or 'the Earl of Buffon.' But one would hope that William III, the invited Deliverer, would not be curtly referred to as 'l'usurpateur hollandais' (p. 430, n. 28) nor Elizabeth charged with persecutions which made her Catholic subjects 'foreigners in their own country' (p. 47). M. Legouis here forgets that in 1570 Pope Pius V had pronounced the 'pretended queen of England' excommunicate, absolved all her subjects from their allegiance, and forbidden them, under pain of excommunication, to obey her. If Catholics felt themselves 'foreigners in their own country' it was the Pope, and not the great Queen (to whom most of them were loyal), that they had to thank for it.

It is very difficult to quarrel with anything in M. Legouis' work, but at p. 12 note 49, for '1633' read '1632'; p. 14 note 63, for 'Mrs (Strickland)' read 'Miss'; p. 243 note 80, when Marvell wrote 'Magis occidere metuo quam occidi,' I think he cannot possibly have meant 'occidere'; p. 262 note 148, 'We have had as secretaries of state Bristols and Cecils' may mean 'men like Bristol and Cecil'; it is not necessary to look for two Bristols or two Cecils.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

Pre-Restoration Stage Studies. By WILLIAM J. LAWRENCE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. viii + 435 pp. 23s.

Mr W. J. Lawrence has a long and honourable record as a student of the Elizabethan stage, a study to which he has attached himself with singular and unalloyed devotion. We now have, in this volume, the latest and most considered fruits of his labours. The preface informs us that these studies are selected from courses of lectures given at Harvard and Radcliffe. Indeed, they frequently bear the imprint of their original form, as on pages 1 and 72, for example. The book suffers naturally from the defects incident to its form, and to the miscellaneous nature and subject of its component parts, within its general subject. It is not, and does not set out to be, a complete treatise upon the Elizabethan stage.

Mr Lawrence seems to have read, with extraordinary industry, not only the dramatic literature of his period, but all that has been written in the way of comment. On occasion, indeed, he is apt to waste powder and shot, in his all-embracing view. On the other hand, such a phrase as 'hare-brained commentator' (p. 404) is entirely uncalled-for in the context in which it appears. And one might fairly protest against a certain intolerance of conjecture which does not preserve Mr Lawrence from conjectures on his own part. His account of the use of Lenten dispensations, for example, is arguable. But why suggest, what no probability supports, that 'though the proceeds of Lenten letting were the prerogative of the theatre owners, they doubtless shared them, by arrangement, with the players'? This conjecture merely attempts to get over a notable difficulty in his view of this question (p. 329). Conjecture, in fact, alternates with logic throughout in Mr Lawrence's processes of thought. Indeed, it is inevitable at the present stage of our knowledge.

In general, however, no student can afford to neglect this book. For on every aspect of the subject touched upon by Mr Lawrence, he invariably offers new light or a valuable re-consideration of the problem involved, with an original outlook and a mastery of the facts. The chapter upon 'The Inn-Yard Playing Places,' for example, presents a view, with confidence, for which there is, in fact, documentary support that was unknown to Mr Lawrence. A Chancery suit, of which I hope shortly to publish an account, contains the clearest evidence concerning the permanency of the stage at the Boar's Head, as of the scaffolds erected in the yard for the use of spectators. It was hardly necessary for Mr Lawrence to press beyond reason his interpretation (pp. 13-14) of Flecknoe's phrase, 'at this date to be seen.' So also, in his chapter on 'Early Dramatic Collaboration,' his principal conclusion is borne out by Dekker's account at first hand, in certain Star Chamber proceedings which I had not published when Mr Lawrence was writing, of his own share in a lost play (*The Library*, July and October, 1927). Mr Lawrence very rightly expresses 'doubts concerning the scientific accuracy of the conclusions arrived at by latter-day analysts of old collaborated plays, whose habit it is to base on stylistic analogies, iterations of phrase, and what not' (p. 345). I cannot imagine that 'Sill. Clark' is a probable printer's error for 'Will.

Carp.' This reference to Carpenter, by the way, is indexed p. 312 instead of p. 412.

The competent reader will, however, if he exercises due caution, find himself in frequent disagreement with Mr Lawrence. I, for one, cannot accept his views concerning the publication of plays (p. 42), the necessity for giving undivided attention to eating and drinking and consequently for intervals (p. 39), the staging of *Hamlet* (especially pp. 105-7), the position of the prompter (pp. 378 ff.), or marginalia in prompt-books (pp. 384 ff.), to take a few examples. Miss Eleanore Boswell informs me that his account of Davenant's *A Playhouse to be Let* (pp. 193-4) is in conflict with the facts. Davenant wrote for the Duke's company, a reference in the play to 'Room for Scenes' establishes the theatre to have been the Lincoln's Inn Fields house, and an unpublished Chancery suit of 1663-4, discovered by her, explains this allusion.

The book is admirably printed and produced by the Harvard University Press. Misprints are few. 'Douse' for 'Douce' (p. 279) is unfortunate. It appears that Mr Lawrence is responsible for 'Edmond Ironsides' for 'Ironside' (p. 402), since it is repeated in the Index (p. 422).

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

Shakespeare Improved: The Restoration Versions in Quarto and on the Stage. By HAZELTON SPENCER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. 406 pp. 23s.

This is one of the most considerable works on the Restoration drama which have appeared in the post-War period. As everyone knows, a goodly band of workers is now encamped on that interesting field, and the American researchers, among whom Mr Spencer must rank high, have been indefatigable. The particular scope of the book is to tell the story of the Shakespeare plays on the Restoration stage, but the author makes it the occasion to wander over the whole field of theatrical production in that age. In the earlier part of *Shakespeare Improved* (the title, we are unnecessarily assured, is ironical), the fortunes of the rival theatrical companies are recorded at length, and the innovations in stagecraft are duly described. Perhaps the chief interest to the modern reader centres in the debated question of the elaboration of the Restoration stage as compared with that of earlier times. Scholars have been divided here. Mr Spencer disposes, perhaps a little summarily, of the view expressed by (among others) Professor Odell, that scenery was not extensively used during the first Restoration decade. No doubt Sir William Davenant, the foremost figure in post-Restoration stage management, expresses all due contempt for 'the coarseness of the former age,' and hoped to reform it by his 'rich Vests and Scenes,' and there is plenty of documentary reference to such 'Scenes,' but we do not think that, until the production of the 'improved' *Tempest*, there is much evidence of a striking change from Elizabethan poverty to eighteenth-century elaboration. Still, Mr Spencer's thesis seems a reasonable one, that we owe much of the intolerable 'improvements' of Shakespeare to the excessive passion for

scenery which inspired Davenant and his fellows. That they interpreted the taste of their age correctly is proved by the longevity of the new acting versions, or perversions of Shakespeare, which transformed *The Tempest*, for example, from being a supremely imaginative work into an affair of wires and pulleys. Whether we have any reason to feel superior to Davenant and his age here, may be decided by those who saw the late Sir Herbert Tree's production of the play in the early years of this century.

But while insisting on the mechanistic explanation of the degradation of the Elizabethan drama, Mr Spencer understands that there were graver causes to be found in the inferior mentality of the Restoration mob. There was the passion for balance which is always a mark of decadence in the arts. Here Davenant was himself a great offender. If he found a novel or sensational character in Shakespeare, he must give him a counterpart or mate. Thus we do not think that the providing of a sister for Miranda, a spirit-mate for Ariel, and a male counterpart for Ferdinand in the Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* is due merely to the desire to exhaust the sensational possibilities of the original play. It is due also to the Restoration principle that every Jack must have his Jill, and that parts must be balanced. A false idea of symmetry was as much the cause of the degrading of Shakespeare's art, as the desire to explore every avenue of prurient feeling.

Again Mr Spencer is right when he points to the woman of the Restoration drama, the 'Woman in Love,' as the source of most spiritual havoc in the serious drama of that day. It is not that this female is invariably vicious. On the contrary, she is often meant to be an ethical improvement on Shakespeare's women. But the supposed necessity of making all turn on the vagaries of 'heroic' love ruined most attempts to modernise Shakespeare. Needless to say, the idea of ethical improvement then current consisted largely of cutting out the franker expressions of the original. It is doubtful if the writers of that age could conceive a truly natural and moral woman. But the great blot is exaltation of love and the consequent multiplying of female parts. Mr Spencer might have considered the connexion between this senseless extension of love interests and the recent discovery of the seductive powers of women as actors. Apart from this, Restoration critics were genuinely concerned with the looseness and incoherence of Elizabethan drama. The best means of 'making it into a play,' to use Shadwell's phrase in the preface to his *Troilus and Cressida*, was to introduce a number of intrigues. Thus Aufidius in *Coriolanus* is in love with Virgilia, Edgar and Cordelia in *Lear* are lovers, and Timon's Melissa is loved also by Alcibiades. Dr Johnson, no doubt, had these 'improvements' in mind when he pointed out that Shakespeare has very properly given a subordinate place to the passion of love, knowing it to be only one of the passions.

But Mr Spencer does not fall into the error of indiscriminate condemnation of all this intruded love business. We must, for example, in the light of Restoration ideas, allow something for the attempt to mend the structural weakness of Shakespeare's *Lear*, which lies in the failure to explain Cordelia's sullen reticence in the scene where the kingdom is

divided. Tate adopts the wrong method in obedience to the taste of the day. The same can hardly be said of Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*, which we agree with Mr Spencer in regarding as 'the best, or at any rate the least objectionable, of the Restoration alterations.' There we believe that the invention of Timon's lover Melissa, cold-hearted coquette as she is, does 'add greatly to our interest in the central figure,' and that it 'exercises throughout the play a unifying force, which brings the Alcibiades subplot into closer relation with the main theme.' It is in his attempt to indicate and allow for the Restoration point of view that we find the chief value of Mr Spencer's criticism. He is as contemptuous as need be of their more obvious follies—their happy endings, for example, to situations whose only dramatic solution is death—but he never runs into the amused abuse which is so easy.

We should like to have seen more emphasis laid on the political element in these alterations. The great interests of the day were gallantry and politics. It would make an excellent thesis to show how many of the alterations were inspired by politics. The great period of the 'improvements' was 1678–82, precisely the period when the struggle between Whig and Tory was most embittered. The Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* belongs indeed to the previous decade, but it is instructive to notice how the 'improvers' have cut out the Utopian conversation of the lords in Act II, sc. 1, and greatly amplified the comic political talk of the human scum, Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban. Here is a direct reflection of current politics. So the clergy in the new *Lear*, as Mr Spencer points out, are accused of plotting in the Whiggish interest. Tate's *Coriolanus* (*The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth*), too, is clearly intended as a tract for the times (1682). It is as direct a contribution to the 'loyal' cause as his continuation of *Absalom and Achitophel*.

The method imposed on Mr Spencer by the plan of his book makes it necessarily hard reading. In the second part he undertakes a digest and criticism of all the 'Improvements' between 1660 and 1710. We think he performs this formidable task with sufficient thoroughness and critical acumen. He spices his analysis with a wittiness which is sometimes a little disconcerting to the English reader, who is not yet accustomed to the sudden drops of the American style to the language of the 'movies.' For ourselves we find it rather refreshing! Let us say in conclusion that we would all no doubt prefer the plays themselves to any analysis. If only Mr Montague Summers or someone else could be prevailed upon to give us another volume of *Shakespeare Adaptations*, to include, say, Shadwell's *Timon* and perhaps Tate's *Coriolanus*!

G. KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett. By HENRY R. PLOMER and TOM PEETE CROSS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1927. xi + 89 pp. 10s.

This book fills a gap in Elizabethan biography and intensifies our regret at Mr Plomer's recent death. Bryskett, the son of an Italian,

Antonio Bruschetto, who had settled in London, started life in the service of Sir Henry Sidney and was one of Philip Sidney's companions during his famous travels on the continent, 1572-4. Following Sir Henry to Ireland, he held various official posts there and became the colleague and friend of Edmund Spenser. Bryskett's only known literary works are two elegies on Sidney (printed with Spenser's *Astrophel*), *The mourning Muse of Thestylis* and *A pastorall Aeglogue*, both (as has been shown by Professor W. P. Mustard) based on poems by Bernardo Tasso, and *A Discourse of Civill Life*, translated from Baptista Giraldi, but with a new setting, the Discourse being supposed to be read by Bryskett to a party of friends met at his cottage near Dublin—among them Edmund Spenser. Though put together probably by 1586, the work appeared only in 1606.

The present book is based on much research. It gives a number of letters of Bryskett's from the Irish State Papers and the Hatfield MSS., and tells far more about Bryskett's parentage and character and the incidents of his life than was known before. Not that the authors make quite as much of their sources as they might. From the account of Anthony Bryskett's will, given on p. 6, one might think that his only property was his house in Fenchurch Street. From the 'Inquisitio post mortem' taken on October 21, 1574 (not here referred to), in which the will is recited, it appears that in the City of London alone Bryskett was seised of five messuages in St Sithes Lane, one large messuage in Fenchurch Street occupied by his widow Elizabeth, and nine other tenements in the same parish of St Gabriel. The Inquisition states that the eldest son Sebastian is now 'aged 38 years and more.' This agrees with the statement quoted on p. 1 here that Sebastian was 27 in 1563. Bryskett's 'houses lands and tenements at Hackney, Middlesex,' mentioned in the will, did not come under the 'Inquisitio.'

The letters are reproduced from the MSS. with tolerable accuracy—such mistakes as occur not generally affecting the sense. On p. 11 'the following letter' is misleading, as the passage quoted is only the end of a letter. Note 1 on the same page is ambiguous: for 'he lent,' read 'Bryskett lent.' On p. 33, l. 9, 'or' should be 'a.' On p. 70, l. 11, one wonders if 'lend it my despatche' should not be 'lead to my despatche.' On p. 78, l. 13, '*quis*' should be '*qui*.'

There is a rather serious muddle on pp. 87, 88, besides small errors of reading (on p. 87, l. 2, for example, 'Mr^e' should be 'Ill^{re}'). After the first letter, written on February 1, 1564, should come as a postscript the paragraph of p. 88, 'Subito... Antonio Bruschetto.' The completed letter is addressed 'All' Ill^{re} Sor Secretario Cecill etc. Sor mio osservan^{mo} Alla Corte,' and endorsed in a different hand 'p^o [= primo] febr. 1564 Anthonij Bruschet.' Then follows the second letter given on pp. 87, 88, 'Ill^{re} Sor mio osser^{mo} Io mandai... Antonio Bruschetto' (in this letter 'auisa' should be 'auiⁱ', 'Thomas' should be 'Thomaso', 'in piacere' should be 'ui piacerà', 'Affeccionatisso' should be 'Affettionatisso'). This letter is addressed 'All' Ill^{re} Sor Secr^{io} Cecilio etc. Sor mio osseruan^{mo} Alla Corte' and endorsed in a different hand '16 febr. 1564 Anthonij Bruschet.'

On p. 2 our authors state that the Acts of the Privy Council for 1546 mention 'Ant. Bruschetto, merchant of Veane' (the printed Acts have 'of Irune'). But the MS. reads 'Jeane' [= Genoa] (given correctly by Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. XXI, Part I, p. 734).

P. 3. At the end of line 2, the word 'five' has dropped out.

P. 4 (bottom). The argument rests on the assumption that 'Jan. 20, 1571' was an earlier date than 'April 7, 1571.' It was probably later, 1571/2.

P. 14. 'Sir H. Malbie' should probably be 'Sir N. Malbie.'

Pp. 41, 81. 'Lord Arthur Grey' should be 'Arthur, Lord Grey.'

P. 64, l. 11 from bottom. 'of hundreth' should be 'of two hundreth.'

P. 64, l. 2 from bottom. 'AL²' should be 'alz.' (= alias). This document is from *Lismore Papers*, Series 2, vol. I, pp. 19-22. The editors are much to be thanked for throwing so much new light on a remarkable man who, though of pure Italian blood, cast in his lot with the English garrison of Ireland, was a friend of Sidney and Spenser, and wrote the admirable English of *A Discourse of Civill Life*.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century. By D. NICHOL SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. 91 pp. 5s.

In these three lectures, originally delivered in Birkbeck College, London, in November 1927, Dr Nichol Smith deals tersely and lucidly with a subject which he has long since made his own. It is a quarter of a century since he produced his admirable collection of Shakespearian criticisms entitled *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, with an excellent Introduction, and it is now twelve years since that work was followed by a similar volume, *Shakespeare Criticism*, containing a selection of Shakespearian criticism from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth.

The present volume makes a most welcome and useful supplement to its predecessors. The first of these lectures deals with the leading seventeenth-century critics of Shakespeare, and with the representations of Shakespeare's plays upon the eighteenth-century stage. The subject of the second lecture is the textual labours of Shakespearian critics in the eighteenth century, and that of the last lecture is the intellectual and aesthetic criticism of Shakespeare during that period.

Thus, Dr Nichol Smith's small volume provides us with a most useful and interesting summary of Shakespearian scholarship in these three aspects, throughout the eighteenth century. Nor is it merely a summary. Again and again we find terse and illuminating comments, not only upon Shakespearian criticism, but also upon the Shakespearian critics of the time, and upon the eighteenth century in general, as, for instance, when Dryden's essay *Of Dramatic Poesie* is happily described as 'one of the greatest examples of thinking on paper in all English literature.'

There is too a well-timed reminder that the eighteenth century was not so completely dominated by 'the rules' in criticism, as is often supposed:

It was the crabbed men and the little men, the Rymers and Dick Minims, who exalted the 'rules'; and they were satirized for it. We must not mistake them for representative critics. If we are right in judging other periods by the best work, rather than the second-rate, or the worst, we had better judge this period by its best work too; and if we confine our attention to what its great men said about Shakespeare, we who can boast of wider and more detailed knowledge may begin to doubt if we can claim pre-eminence in appreciation.

With a detachment and balance worthy of the age with which he deals, the author offers various wise cautions against rash conclusions which literary critics and historians have made, as when he warns the reader that theatrical representations 'are always a dangerous criterion.' Very pertinent too is his comparison of the part which Shakespeare played in the life of the eighteenth century with that of our own day:

Every great actor from Betterton to Garrick, and from Garrick to Kean, made his name by acting Shakespeare. . . . The ordinary man who made a habit of going to the theatre had, as a consequence, a wider knowledge of Shakespeare than the corresponding man can boast to-day. For our knowledge we are very little indebted to the stage. We are much more indebted to our educational system and, if the truth must be spoken, to the machinery of examinations. What Shakespeare himself would have thought of this we may well wonder.

It is well to have 'the truth spoken' in this way. There is also high praise for eighteenth-century research: 'we may well wonder if research was ever undertaken with greater enthusiasm, and carried on with more notable achievements, than in the second half of the eighteenth century.'

In an excellent outline of the development of textual criticism during the period under review, Dr Nichol Smith emphasises the fact that the scholars of the time anticipated our present attitude to such matters as original spelling, Elizabethan handwriting, and punctuation. The outline of intellectual and aesthetic criticism at the time is equally valuable, tracing as it does the principal developments, from the age of Dryden to the days immediately preceding the work of Coleridge. There are also suggestive remarks on Shakespearian criticism in eighteenth-century periodicals.

One statement however admits of debate. It is by no means a pleasure to deprive Pope of the sole original contribution to the estimate of Shakespeare, which Dr Nichol Smith is able to discover, but it must, I fear, be done.

'When we turn to Pope's estimate of Shakespeare in the Preface to his edition,' says Dr Nichol Smith, 'we find little with which we are not already familiar. Pope has read Dryden; he has also read Rymer, and Farquhar's *Discourse upon Comedy*, and Gildon's *Essay on the Stage*, and Dennis's *Letters on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare*. He has made himself familiar with what is sometimes called the literature of the subject. I doubt if he contributes any new idea beyond shifting the blame for Shakespeare's faults from the Elizabethan age to the Elizabethan theatre, and the acting profession.'

But if Pope had 'made himself familiar with the literature of the subject' (and he certainly had), if he had read Gildon's *Essay on the Stage* (and he must have done so), did he not also read Gildon's then well-known

Reflections on Mr. Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, published in 1694, in which this very point of the influence of the Elizabethan audience and actors upon Shakespeare is stressed as an excuse for his failings? A comparison of the corresponding passages in Gildon and in Pope can surely leave little doubt that the latter was merely paraphrasing the former, for occasionally even the words are the same. Thus Pope's sole original contribution to his estimate of Shakespeare disappears.

For the light they throw upon the eighteenth century as well as upon Shakespearian studies, these lectures are most welcome.

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

LONDON.

The Three Wartons: A Choice of their Verse. Edited with a Note and a Select Bibliography, by ERIC PARTRIDGE. London: The Scholartis Press. 1927. 192 pp. 7s. 6d.

This selection from the poetry of the Wartons must be welcome to all students of eighteenth-century English literature. Mr Partridge has done well to include with the work of the younger Wartons, Joseph and Thomas, the best verses of the elder Thomas Warton, their father. This is the first reprint of his verses since the appearance of the original volume, *Poems on Several Occasions*, dated 1747, produced by Joseph Warton shortly after his father's death. Nor have the poems of the younger Wartons been reprinted separately, since the early days of the nineteenth century, when Wooll published verses of Joseph in the *Biographical Memoirs of Dr Joseph Warton*, which appeared in 1806, four years after Mant's edition of the *Poetical Works* of the younger Thomas.

The poetry of the Wartons preserves very clearly the character and development of eighteenth-century romanticism, revealing as in a mirror one of the most complex and fascinating aspects of the age. The younger Thomas Warton in particular absorbed the various influences of the time: its love of melancholy, of solitude, of the 'picturesque,' of 'gothic,' reverie, introspection and retrospection, all the threads in short which ultimately mingled in the tangled skein of romanticism. By his very mediocrity, he is most representative of the general romantic spirit of his age, a spirit which influenced and changed all departments of life, from the refashioning of gardens and architecture to that of songs and pictures. Thomas the younger fell early under the romantic spell; he cultivated, at least in his verse, superfine feelings, sentimental enthusiasms, gothic towers, twilight and graveyards, with all the zest of a really robust temperament. With the artless imitateness of youthful mediocrity he clearly and effectively expressed the general romantic fashion rising about him. This romanticism finds its most complete expression in Warton's *Pleasures of Memory*, 1747.

But Thomas Warton junior was by no means solely romantic. In actual life he was a characteristically social eighteenth-century don, who loved his pipe and glass much better than university committees. This side of his character found expression in verses such as *A Panegyric*

on *Oxford Ale* which is included by Mr Partridge. It derives from such poems as Gay's *Wine* and *The Splendid Shilling* of John Philips. Warton sings in this mood:

My sober evening let the tankard bless
With toast embrown'd, and fragrant nutmeg fraught,
While the rich draught with oft-repeated whiffs
Tobacco mild improves.

This was the real Thomas Warton as distinguished from the romantic dreams he so loved to express in poetry—the unachieved potentialities of his nature.

Shakespeare's lyrics and the romantic glamour and verbal beauty of Spenser also led Warton to imitation of them, and to him the sonnet revival of the later eighteenth century owed much.

Joseph in many ways resembles his brother, but his verses have less force and individuality. In 1740, his poem *The Enthusiast or the Lover of Nature*, which has much of the quality of Thomas Warton's *Pleasures of Memory*, appeared, at a time when the avowal of 'enthusiasm' was still a dangerous heresy. Joseph also longed for solitude amidst the grandeur of nature. He too wrote also in lighter vein, verses on a butterfly, and an *Ode to Fancy* reminiscent of Milton's earlier poems. And of course he made odes to evening and solitude.

The work of the sons is an enlargement and continuation of the father's. Warton père wrote little, or at least little was published. He too was touched by the early work of Milton. He too shows a love of twilight and natural beauty, a sympathy for the 'gothic,' a romantic tendency, but as we should expect, his romanticism is less developed than that of his sons.

Many no doubt will regret that Mr Partridge, having undertaken to resurrect the Warton family, has not gone farther, and given us a complete edition of their poems. At any rate his selection is sufficiently representative to suit the needs of the average reader, and this was his aim. He has added a useful 'Note' on the Wartons and a reading list which, while making no pretence of being a full-dress bibliography, adds considerably to the value of the work. Print, paper, and binding are admirable. The volume is a model of cheap but artistic book production.

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

LONDON.

La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française depuis la Guerre de Cent Ans jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle. Par GEORGES ASCOLI. (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Droit-Lettres, Nouvelle Série, Fascicule XI.*) Paris: J. Gamber. 1927. viii + 352 pp. 50 fr.

The University of Lille is already noted for the excellence of its work on English subjects, and new lustre is added to its record by Professor Ascoli's study of early Franco-British relations. It is a scholarly work based on wide documentation, and a most valuable contribution to the literature of international understanding.

Step by step, Professor Ascoli traces the increasing contacts between Great Britain and France, and the resulting changes in public opinion. We see how, thanks to the unaccountable obstinacy of the islanders in persisting in the use of their own uncouth tongue, mutual understanding was almost entirely limited to the scholars who communicated in Latin and whose reputation was international. That England had a literature of her own was a thought that never entered the Frenchman's mind; even Eustache Deschamps only knew Chaucer as the translator of the *Roman de la Rose*.

The islands were a far, and, the story went, a barbarous land, separated from France by wide and stormy seas. Only those whom stern duty called to undertake diplomatic missions, or soldiers sent to help the Scots against their ancient enemy, ventured to penetrate these unknown isles. The great mass of the French people acquired their knowledge of Scots and English alike from the troops which swarmed over their lands during the Hundred Years' War. The Scots archers of the French King's body-guard were popular figures. Strangely enough, there was little real hatred of the English, in the earlier stages at least; national feeling hardly existed, and the side which ravaged least was the peasant's choice. The rule of Henry V of England was not unpopular in France, and although the mission and exploits of Joan of Arc had aroused widespread enthusiasm, her death was more a symbol of failure at the time than a dastardly deed calling for vengeance. It was the violent death of Richard II and, later, the execution of Sir Thomas More and that of Anne Boleyn, the sufferings of the Catholic martyrs in the reign of Elizabeth, and, above all, the death of Mary Stuart, which gave birth to and fostered the deep-rooted tradition, confirmed later by the death of Charles I, of a bloodthirsty, treacherous and revolutionary people,

la fière nation
Qui ne voulut sans force oncque endurer
Un roi sur eux pour un long temps durer;

and again:

Vous ne fûtes à nulles gens fidèles,
Mais avez fait mourir en grand desroi
Par plusieurs fois votre seigneur et roi.

Not the least valuable part of Professor Ascoli's work is to be found in his careful study of the growth of traditions. It was not yesterday that the English were first accused of taking their pleasures sadly. The idea was voiced by Froissart in the fourteenth century. The Scots were early characterised as poor and proud, the English as perfidious, and both as great drinkers and swearers—'*les godons*,' as they were called. Strangest of all was the legend which attributed to the English that most unexpected appendage, a tail. '*Coués*'—from the Latin *caudati*—they were called by jeering crowds.

Professor Ascoli has devoted several chapters to English, Scottish and Irish colleges and scholars on the continent. He has given us in valuable appendices a collection of rare, and in most cases not easily accessible poems on the death of More, the execution of Anne Boleyn and of

'Millort de Rocheffort,' and particularly the tragic fate of Mary Stuart. He has made extensive use of sources of all kinds, published and otherwise. We note, however, with surprise, that he does not seem to have consulted Mr John Scott's excellent *Bibliography of Works relating to Mary, Queen of Scots, 1544-1700* (*Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, vol. II). It would certainly be a valuable addition to his otherwise comprehensive bibliography, and it may be of interest to Professor Ascoli to know that, thanks to the munificence of the Earl of Rosebery, the National Library of Scotland now possesses a unique collection of works relating to the Scottish Queen, including many of the rarer ones described by Scott.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

MANCHESTER.

Women's Costume in French Texts of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.

By EUNICE RATHBONE GODDARD. (*Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, VII.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1927. 263 pp. \$1.25.

This study is a useful addition to the literature of the subject. A large number of texts have been consulted, in particular those 'fashion journals of the Middle Ages,' the romances, a rich source of information untapped by Winter's monograph, *Kleidung und Putz der Frau nach den altfranzösischen Chansons de geste*, 1886. The evidence thus collected has been carefully worked over and the testimonies of different, sometimes conflicting, passages compared. The standard histories of costume, such as Enlart's, are thus supplemented on the philological side, while constant reference to these works and to the iconography of the period has been employed to check the evidence of the texts.

To the philological and archaeological merits of the study, a third, humbler, but equally essential, may be added. Miss Goddard may or may not be a practical dressmaker, but she has certainly a fund of common sense and a thorough grasp of the practical considerations involved. She deals honestly with her material and does not attempt to force its significance, though a completely objective interpretation may not always be possible. By contrast with her scholarly thoroughness elsewhere, a curious lapse on p. 138 is the more surprising. The quotation there given from Keller's edition of *Les Sept Sages*, '...ot guimpe en sa frenee(?)...' (the query is Miss Goddard's), appears in Godefroy in what is clearly the correct form 'ot...ensafrenee,' where 'ensafrenee,' also occurring elsewhere as 'safrenee,' means dyed or perfumed with saffron, as explained also by Enlart (*Le Costume*, p. 60). A word to which we have not been able to find any reference in the work is 'dras,' used in the sense of 'clothes,' given by Godefroy, e.g.

As roïnes font tos lor dras oster

Et en cemie lor manteax afubler. (*Aspremont*, v. 10976.)

Here 'dras' seems to be equivalent to 'robe,' the outer clothes. Miss Goddard's argument for the meaning 'material' as well as 'garment'

attributable to 'bliaut' (pp. 41-7), based on passages where 'bliaut' occurs in conjunction with such words as 'dras' and 'samit,' might have been completed by reference to the double meaning of 'dras' and possibly also of 'samit' (cp. Scots 'semmit').

It may be noted that Miss Goddard's references to *Galeran de Bretagne*, which she frequently quotes, are based on Boucherie's edition (1888). Since then M. Foulet has published his edition (1925) with a glossary containing many valuable notes on costume.

The material is conveniently arranged in the form of a glossary, with numerous cross-references. This is completed by an introductory chapter in which an outline of the evolution of fashion during the period is given, and by an index, four bibliographies, and a few well-chosen plates. The somewhat numerous misprints are probably inevitable in an English work printed in France.

C. I. WILSON.

BIRMINGHAM.

La Fée aux Miettes. Essai sur le rôle du subconscient dans l'œuvre de Charles Nodier. Par JULES VODOZ. Paris: H. Champion. 1925. xvi + 321 pp. 20 fr.

Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Auteur dramatique. Par RODOLPHE PALGEN. Paris: H. Champion. 1925. 93 pp. 12 fr.

Les Manuscrits d'Antoir, l'ami de Lamartine. Extraits publiés par URBAIN MENGIN. (*Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Florence*, II, ix.) Paris: H. Champion. 1925. 160 pp. 16 fr.

Un Aventurier intellectuel sous la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet: le Docteur Koreff (1783-1851). Par MARIETTA MARTIN. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, XX.) Paris: H. Champion. 1925. vii + 169 pp. 20 fr.

It is too late to do more than notice very briefly the above volumes. M. Vodoz' study of *La Fée aux Miettes* is a remarkable piece of work, dispassionate and convincing, which all lovers of Nodier will welcome and have indeed already welcomed. It is valuable, not only because it adds to our knowledge of Nodier, but because the psycho-analytical method employed by the author is still on its trial as an adjunct to the resources of the literary critic. The sub-title of M. Vodoz' book gives a fair indication of its character: it is an 'Essai sur le rôle du subconscient dans l'œuvre de Charles Nodier.' More particularly this essay deals with the moral crisis occasioned in Nodier's life by the marriage of his daughter Marie. If M. Vodoz is right, Nodier sublimated the excess of his natural affection in *La Fée aux Miettes* and converted it thus into an 'amitié supérieure' (p. 259). Underlying the personal conflict was a more general 'malaise,' that of the first generation of the French Romanticists, of whom it was Nodier's misfortune to be a more than typical example. There is no doubt that, on both points, M. Vodoz is, with perhaps a little more insistence on the preposition and a little less

on the noun, 'dans le vrai.' We have not read many books of this quality. M. Vodoz is a scholar as well as a thinker and a very worthy disciple of Jung. There are, of course, as with all interesting books, difficulties. M. Vodoz' enquiry is scientific rather than literary. We have not the least doubt that the author is technically correct in his interpretation of the bewildering succession of symbols invented by Nodier's 'sub-conscience' and which appear to the ordinary reader as the mere play of a pleasant (and Hoffmannesque) fancy. But these symbols, as such, have no currency in present literary criticism. It is difficult to conceive of their ever having such currency. They are, and are likely to remain, as cryptic to the layman as the symptoms diagnosed by the doctor. A boar's fang may be a sexual symbol to the initiate: but for the purposes of literature (by which we mean art), and of literary criticism incidentally, it will always be a boar's fang *sans plus*. A dog always will be a dog and will only be occasionally a symbol of impurity. Behind this there is perhaps a profounder matter. Literature may be explicable in terms of psycho-analysis, but it is not literature for that reason. It is literature because of its separateness and uniqueness. No psycho-analysis will account for the unique. Like all sciences, psycho-analysis is based on the comparison of the common. It disintegrates the man (or the artist) as God made him, and merges him downwards and backwards into common humanity. There is no harm in that, so long as the process, and its limitations, be properly understood. M. Vodoz himself readily admits that such is the general tendency and result of his enquiry. 'La source de la *Fée aux Miettes*,' he says (p. 297), 'ne se trouve pas dans l'inconscient personnel, mais dans la sphère de la mythologie inconsciente dont les images primordiales sont devenues le bien commun de l'humanité.' He admits also that he has not been able to discover whether Nodier was manipulating these symbols in part consciously (in other words whether he had his tongue in his cheek), or whether he was manipulated by them. The point is important. It is, for the ordinary reader, the crux of the whole matter. Presumably Nodier was aware, to some extent, of his moral dilemma. He was aware, M. Vodoz tells us, of the universal significance of at least some of his symbols. The author does not suggest that *La Fée aux Miettes* was written in a trance and otherwise than intelligently. So far as we know, and so far apparently as M. Vodoz knows, Nodier made no deliberate and medium-like surrender of his proper self. None the less, our author asks us to withdraw the whole matter from the ken of the 'conscience' and charge it integrally to the account of the 'sub-conscience.' In other words, we are required to treat this genius, because of his genius which invented the symbols, as a moral imbecile. We do not for one moment dispute the importance of the 'sub-conscience.' But it is not the whole man. A more complete setting-forth of the condition of Nodier's 'conscience,' as we commonly understand it, at the time of the writing of *La Fée aux Miettes* (1831) would have cleared up this ambiguity. We should like to have had the unfantastic and unsymbolic prose of Nodier's letters under our eyes, without suggestion or interpretation or prejudice.

With these it would have been perhaps possible to judge whether Nodier in his story was speaking as a (humorous) wise man in parable or babbling incoherently and amusingly as a fool. It is easy to write these commonplace on the margin of M. Vodoz' admirable book. They do not alter the fact that M. Vodoz has done his work well and that his analysis will not be forgotten.

Of the other volumes before us, the best is certainly Mlle Martin's biography of the German doctor Koreff who spent the years of his prime (1823-37) in Paris as a fashionable practitioner and magnetic-healer. He seems chiefly to have devoted his tireless energy to the increase of his professional reputation and practice. But his unholy zeal in this direction made him useful in others. In the third chapter of the second part of her book, Mlle Martin discusses Koreff's 'rôle dans l'introduction d'Hoffmann en France.' This rôle was perhaps greater than it appears now on paper, for Koreff wrote little and talked much. A lawsuit with the Duke of Hamilton in 1837 destroyed his social prestige. He died in 1851 and was promptly forgotten. Mlle Martin's book has a useful bibliography. It is a great pity that Koreff did not write his memoirs. They would have made his name immortal.

Thanks to M. Mengin's publication, we now know all we want to know of Joseph Antoir, whom Lamartine met at the French embassy at Florence and who was the poet's colleague there for three years (1825-8). Lamartine mentions Antoir in his commentary of 1849 to the poem *L'Abbaye de Vallombreuse, dans les Apennins* (*Les Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*), and he there says that he had him in mind as he painted the composite figure of Jocelyn.

Les journées passées... au-dessus de l'horizon des agitations terrestres, en compagnie d'un homme né philosophe, dans les confidences de ces arbres, de ces murs, de ces eaux, de ces déserts bourdonnants de végétation, de sources, de vols d'insectes, de rayons et d'ombres, me laissèrent une longue et forte impression de recueillement et de rafraîchissement dans l'âme. Je m'en suis souvenu, en décrivant, dix ans après, les sites de Valneige, dans le petit poème de *Jocelyn*: la figure de M. Antoir se retrouve aussi dans celle de ce pauvre prêtre.

These lines were written shortly after Antoir's death, perhaps, indeed, immediately after it, and they may be a trifle over-generous. Antoir left behind him a narrative of his life, the first part of which is in French (*Notices sur la naissance et la vie de Joseph Antoir ou histoire d'un homme sans prétention qui n'a eu que l'envie d'enregistrer des souvenirs*), the second in Italian (*Ricordi di me Giuseppe Antoir, scritti tutti di mio proprio pugno e carattere*). The earlier document was begun apparently in 1824 and concluded in 1836: the *Ricordi* continue the story up to 1840. The Antoir family was driven out of Toulon in 1793 by the gunfire of an artillery captain, Napoléon Bonaparte, and sought refuge in Italy, where Joseph, then a boy of twelve, remained to the end of his days. Chance made him attaché at the Florence embassy. He became a model functionary, faithful in small things and ambitious only for the timely and proper increase of his modest salary. Excerpts from his manuscripts had already been published in 1923 by Mario Foresi in the *Rassegna*

Nazionale; and M. Mengin now presents a more continuous narrative. Antoir appears to have been, apart from his official virtues, his botanising and his general pleasantness, an unremarkable man. His autobiography is colourless and written (we speak here of the French part) in the invertebrate prose of the 'refuge.' It tells us nothing of Lamartine, except that he too was a good-natured and faithful friend¹.

M. Palgen's criticism of Villiers de L'Isle-Adam's dramatic work falls between two stools. It is half critical, half historical and neither adequately. As criticism, the four essays which his book contains, tend to be banal, and as 'Quellenforschung' they are not exhaustive. It is a pity he printed his reflections in this form. They are not unsound, but their publication strikes one as premature.

D. G. LARG.

LONDON.

The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century. With a Bibliography of the *Novela* from 1576 to 1700. By CAROLINE B. BOURLAND. (*Smith College Fiftieth Anniversary Publications.*) Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 1927. x + 217 pp.

This conscientious study of one aspect in the history of Spanish novels is, by a happy thought, dedicated to the memory of that American lady to whom we owe the standard account of Spain's principal chivalrous novel, namely, to Miss G. S. Williams. Miss Bourland brings to the task she has now accomplished qualifications both national and scholarly; national, inasmuch as, like Mr E. B. Place, she may feel a special interest in that literary *genre* which is regarded as the most characteristic in American letters; and scholarly by virtue of her notable studies on 'Boccaccio and the *Decamerone* in Spanish literature' and on the two lady-novelists, María de Zayas and Mariana de Carabajal. Her *Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century* must be opened, like an Oriental classic, at the end, for its permanent worth and present novelty lie in the admirable bibliography of novelettes published during that period, to which for special reasons the authoress adds Juan de Timoneda's *Patrañas* (1576 ff.). The list complements those titles which can be culled from Menéndez y Pelayo's discussion of their sixteenth-century predecessors in his *Orígenes de la Novela*. A good hand-list has been compiled recently in Mr E. B. Place's *Manual Elemental de Novelistica Española* (Madrid: Suárez. 1926). The works are described with great competence, generally at first hand, and arranged in chronological order, but a useful addition to these descriptions is the shelf mark of books that are to be found in the libraries of national standing. The National Library of Scotland, into which (as is well known) the valuable Astorga collection entered, stands outside the range of Miss Bourland's researches, and it may be of some service to cite the works reported in its published catalogue. They are: José Camerino, *Novelas Amorosas*,

¹ On p. 2 (n. 1), a misprint: 'il fut ensevelit'; p. 43, 'le satellite de Foucher' (for 'Fouché': this may be Antoir's mistake); p. 73, notes wrongly numbered.

Madrid, 1736, and *La dama beata*, Madrid, 1655, 4to (this latter is not recorded by Miss Bourland); Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, *Historias Peregrinas*, Madrid, 1733; Antonio Liñán y Verdugo, *Guía y Avisos de Forasteros*, Valencia, 1635, and Madrid, 1753; Juan Pérez de Montalbán, *Para Todos*, Madrid, 1640, 4to (edition not listed by Miss Bourland), and *Sucesos y Prodigios de Amor*, Madrid, 1723; Matías de los Reyes, *Para Algunos*, Madrid, 1640; María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Novelas Amorosas*, Barcelona (1730), 4to (edition not listed by Miss Bourland), and Barcelona, 1734. The Astorga collection, therefore, appears to augment Miss Bourland's list by one book and two unrecorded editions; that the additions are so trifling is evidence of the skill and patience with which this bibliography has been compiled.

As we progress towards the front cover, we next note the thirty pages of notes, printed in small type and packed with many more quotations and references than are actually used for the text of her essay. These notes are almost a classified source-book for Spanish society of that age as reflected in novelettes. The introductory essay on the 'Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century' is disembarassed of critical and bibliographical anxieties; it is agreeably written, light and clear. The authoress has wisely denied to Cervantes a full-dress treatment of his *Exemplary Novels*, which might have disturbed the equilibrium of her book, and she consequently has no subject of prime literary importance. The essay is in the main concerned with the integrity of the short story as a portrait of contemporary society, an integrity apparently greater than can be accorded to the contemporary stage, at least with regard to certain aspects of family life. Miss Bourland sticks close to her text and makes her deductions from the novelettes alone, so that her work gains by being read *pari passu* with Sr Castro's *Pensamiento de Cervantes*, which frequently completes, documents and explains her observations. Thus, Miss Bourland remarks that Cervantes could 'depict with truth and accuracy . . . the thieves' community in Seville' (p. 8), while Sr Castro also sees Cervantes' pedagogic zeal in his too systematic account of Monopodio's organisation. Again, in the novels the heroine who has extracted from a willing or unwilling gallant the 'fe de esposo' 'maintains marital relations with him with little or no sense of wrongdoing, since she regards herself as his wife' (p. 33), and Sr Castro elaborates the conflict of this novelistic convention with the decrees of Trent. Miss Bourland's remarks on justice and its ministers can be profitably compared with the Spanish professor's analysis of that aspect of Cervantes' thought. The information systematised and coordinated by Sr Castro can be carried, through Miss Bourland's material, from the works of Cervantes into the whole area of the short story in his century.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Il Romanticismo nel Mondo latino. By ARTURO FARINELLI. 3 vols. (*Letterature moderne.*) Turin: Bocca. 1927. viii + 297, 304 and 227 pp. L. 96.

Some eight years ago Professor Farinelli published a suggestive and fruitful series of lectures on German Romanticism. This he now supplements with three volumes—the third devoted to an exceedingly full and valuable bibliography, to which is appended an ‘Indice-Sommario’ of the whole work—on Romanticism in the Latin world. The reader who looks for a historical survey of Latin Romanticism, even to the degree in which the earlier volume provided a survey of German Romanticism, will experience some disappointment. In fact, these volumes are rather a collection of stimulating chapters on various aspects of the subject—Romantic aesthetics, philosophy and religion; Romanticism and the dream, music, the passions; Romanticism and death, melancholy, solitude, pessimism; the Romantic attitude to politics and history—than any attempt to outline as a whole this great movement of the nineteenth century in Latin lands. Professor Farinelli moves with sovereign ease in all the Latin Romanticisms, and a reviewer whose familiarity with these literatures hardly extends beyond the fringe and the outstanding writers, feels peculiarly unable to do justice to the brilliance and acuteness of his criticism. But in spite of such ignorance, I am interested, as we all are in these days, in the co-ordination and synchronisation of Romantic phenomena, to which so many literary historians of our time have been contributing. Here, I must confess, Professor Farinelli’s studies have proved less helpful than I had hoped to find them; ideas, however acute and penetrating, are not enough; one feels the need of documented fact and chronological detail. He is perhaps hardly to be blamed for not committing himself to a precise statement of what Romanticism is; but he has a marked aversion to definitions; he refuses to discriminate between ‘un’ anima germanica’ and ‘un’ anima latina’; ‘una movenza dello spirito che non ha confine,’ he asks, ‘come restringerla nell’ ambito di una sentenza?’ Within the range of this work are to be found writers whom it is usual to regard as belonging to what French critics call the ‘Préromantisme,’ and again writers whose centre of gravity, so to speak, lies beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. In fact, even such modern phenomena as impressionism, expressionism, futurism, have, he tells us, a kinship with Romanticism: ‘una parentela coi romantici si vuole scorgere in tutte le esaltazioni dell’ arte che si deplorano, nell’ espressionismo e impressionismo come nel futurismo.’ And again we hear: ‘L’ Europa romantica, quella latina particolarmente, non differisce gran fatto dall’ Europa classica.’

This may be the only way of looking at Romanticism: after all, admittedly a most evasive and indefinable phenomenon. And yet it is difficult to write a work about a subject without facing in some measure the responsibility of limitation and definition. Moreover, during the last twenty years German scholars have produced much excellent work which has helped to give form and clearness to the Romantic ‘idea’; and it

would have been interesting to see how these conclusions appeal to the Latin mind and are adaptable to Latin literatures. The German Romantic movement—and we have necessarily to keep in view the German movement, for it first gave the expression ‘romantic’ literary currency—is a fairly concrete and definite entity; it sprang into existence in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and it was discredited after the July Revolution of 1830. German historians have always been careful to differentiate between the Romantic movement and that associated with eighteenth-century ‘Sturm und Drang.’ It is true they have never succeeded in providing a satisfying definition of their Romanticism; but, at least, they have sufficiently defined it to allow us to say that it excludes a very great deal which is described as Romantic in other literatures. To the Latin world, for instance, Byron is essentially a Romantic poet, but it would be difficult to include him in even the most widely drawn of German definitions of the movement. Schiller, again, is one of the pillars of Romanticism in Latin lands—this is brought out strongly by Professor Eggli’s work on *Schiller et le romantisme français*, recently reviewed in these pages—but from the German point of view he cannot be described as a Romantic poet at all. The truth is, Latin Romanticism is a very different phenomenon from German and Scandinavian Romanticism; and any comparisons which may be made hardly get beyond vague generalisations, or they emphasise the differences. For that part, are there not very considerable variations in what is known as Romanticism in the Latin lands themselves?

Although by the nature of the case a certain vagueness has thus been imposed upon Professor Farinelli by the width of his survey, I cannot but regret that he has forgone definition and evaded synchronism, in fact, definitely repudiated anything approaching them. Still, it is manifestly unfair criticism to take the work, not for what it is, but for something it might conceivably have been. It does not profess to be a history of Latin Romanticism; it is rather a series of lectures illuminating the Romantic attitude to life and thought. Seen in this light, it leaves nothing to be desired in brilliance and suggestiveness; it is strewn with resplendent phrases which remain in the memory; and it displays a marvellous range of knowledge of the Romantic literatures of France, of Italy and the Spanish peninsula. In such knowledge Professor Farinelli is surely unique among modern scholars.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide. Zweite berichtigte Auflage mit ergänzenden Aufsätzen über die altdeutsche Lyrik. Von KONRAD BURDACH. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1928. viii + 440 pp. 14 M.

Zu Wesen und Form mittelalterlicher Dichtung. Von HENNIG BRINKMANN. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1928. vii + 204 pp. 8 M.

The first of these books is a re-issue of the author’s well-known work on Reinmar and Walther (pp. 1–234) and of various essays on Middle

High German poetry, first published 1882–1903 (pp. 237–438). The first part had been out of print since 1910, and most of the second part had become almost inaccessible. The author's desire to avoid the labour of revising his early work and the fact that a photographic reproduction is cheaper than setting up the type of a new book explain the practically unaltered reproduction. Burdach tells us in his postscript (p. 439) that his views, in the main, have not altered during the last twenty years.

It is a pity that Burdach did not write a new book. A more orderly and systematic arrangement of the material and the suppression of long quotations giving the opinions of others, set up like ninepins only to be knocked down again, would have been welcome. But it may seem ungracious in view of the value of the matter to quarrel with the form. This very lack of plan, however, has had evil results. Burdach complains that his investigations have suffered neglect of late. Now for this neglect the author himself may, to some extent, be responsible. Much of his work is so scattered, and the arrangement sometimes so chaotic, that only those readers who have kept a running index have been in a position to make full use of it. Who, for example, would expect to find a valuable discussion of Hartmann's lyrics and of the aims and methods of research in literature hidden away in a review of a student's doctor dissertation (pp. 288–293)?

The only part of the book which is new is the essay on Walther's 'Owê war sint verschwunden' (pp. 344–356), written in 1903 and now published for the first time—at least, in this form. Burdach explains the passage 'die möhte ein soldener mit sinem sper bejagen' as a reference to the Longinus legend. He has to read *mohte* for *möhte*, of course, to which there is no objection, and to take *ein* as an example of the deictic use of the article.

The second book deals with the scholastic theories of art, especially of the art of poetry and rhetoric, and attempts to show the relation of these theories to the theory and practice of the Middle High German poets. It would be scarcely too much to say that the book was inspired by the work of Burdach. To him Brinkmann is indebted for his distinction between the mediaeval poet and the modern poet, and for the suggestion that the influence on Middle High German poetry of Greek and Latin writers on poetics and rhetoric (through various channels) should be further worked out. And just as Burdach stimulated this interesting investigation, so Brinkmann, in his turn, will probably stimulate further research in this fruitful field, so rich in virgin soil. This book is likely to prove a landmark in the investigation of Middle High German poetry.

The insistence on definite essential and fundamental differences between mediaeval and modern poets is, however, dangerous. Brinkmann gives us a picture of the modern poet as sufficient unto himself and independent of his audience, whilst the mediaeval poet is the exact opposite. This all leads to the fallacy of contrasting the mediaeval mind with the modern mind. Is there any ground for assuming any difference in mind? What distinguishes mediaeval man from modern man is, pre-

sumably, not any quality of mind, but the material the mind had to work on, its whole environment in fact, which, of course, includes accepted beliefs, methods of scientific investigation, conventions, and so on. We cannot accept the view that the modern poet feels an irresistible impulse to pour out his feelings, that he is satisfied to please himself, that he divorces himself from his audience, and that the mediaeval poet felt no such impulse because he was a 'Glied der Gesellschaft.' In fact by adopting this attitude Brinkmann finds himself compelled to try to explain away Konrad von Würzburg's comparison of himself with the nightingale and his 'mîn kunst mir selben sol gezemen; wan mir ist sanfte gnuoc dâ mite' (p. 25). This sounds like 'Ich singe, wie der Vogel singt,' so why not accept it at its face value? Walther's poem, 'Owê hovelîchez singen,' too, would cause some difficulty to this theory. Moreover, too much stress has often been laid on the 'persönliches Erleben' in the work of the modern poet (p. 18), in the case of Goethe, for instance.

In dealing with mediaeval poetics we should remember that our field is Western Europe and not any single country. It is unfortunate that Brinkmann has limited his investigation to German poetry. If he had included English, he would have found the theories of mediaeval Latin writers put into practice in a vernacular in England much earlier than in Germany. Thus, for instance, when dealing with *conformatio*, personification of things without life (pp. 52 and 87), he would have found a good and early example in the Old English *Dream of the Rood*, where a long speech (ll. 28-89) by the Cross is introduced by 'ongan pā word sprecan wudu sēlesta.' Discussing 'Lichteindruck' Brinkmann says, 'Schon um 1200 wird an den Gegenständen vornehmlich der Glanz erlebt' (p. 144). He would find this again earlier in Cynewulf.

Of course the field is too large for any one worker. It is to be hoped that someone will do for English what Brinkmann has done for German. Brinkmann has shown us what to do, and how to do it.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

LONDON.

Hölderlin. Von WILHELM BÖHM. Erster Band. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1928. viii + 502 pp. 16 M.

Professor H. A. Korff has recently, in his masterly fashion, formulated for us 'den Weg, auf dem die deutsche Geistesgeschichte zur Klassik emporgestiegen ist: Freiheit, Gesetz, Schönheit und Entwicklung!' Perhaps it is because Hölderlin's poetry and philosophy symbolise for us better than Schiller's, sometimes even better than Goethe's, the strenuous march of the German spirit along this path, that now at last, after more than a hundred years of comparative misjudgment, he takes rank as 'one of the choicest poetic spirits German literature ever knew.' Only a searching review of nineteenth-century literary taste—a much-needed work, for which the time begins to be ripe—could account for the fact that Dr Wilhelm Böhm's biographical and critical study of Hölderlin is

the first serious attempt to do justice to this great theme. It may be that the contributions of Gustav Schwab, Haym, Jung, the Litzmanns and the rest were good enough to be the enemy of the better. It may be that the first quarter of the present century, with its special enquiries and its brilliant general essays, had to pass, before any scholar felt himself able to make adequate use of all the old and all the new material available. It is possible that even yet it is too early for anyone to produce the 'standard' biography of Hölderlin. It seems to me that what Hans Brandenburg recently called 'die schwierigste' of all the questions, 'diejenige nach Hölderlins Griechentum,' demands a deeper and fuller answer than has yet been given it, and that the Germans themselves have done less than one would expect in this section of the task. It is none the less true that Dr Böhm has boldly seized the chance to become the first scholar of our century to sum up, organise and make fully available for future students all the work, including his own, that has gone to the elucidation of an 'Erscheinung,' which seems, as Brandenburg says, to some 'eine Erscheinung von grösstmöglicher vornehmer Schwäche,' to others, 'eine von grösstmöglicher vornehmer Stärke.' Beside this problem the other—whether to regard him as Classic or Romantic—is, in the last analysis, less important, since here compromise is easier.

Dr Böhm has been at work on his chosen poet for at least a quarter of a century. He serenely takes the importance of his subject for granted, untroubled as to whether the champions of the 'neue Gegenständlichkeit' will be as enthusiastic over Hölderlin as were the leaders of the expressionist movement. Let it be granted that 'der grosse Jüngling' was less universal than Herder or Goethe, less massive than Schiller or Hegel, less experienced than Wieland or Lessing, less humorous than Jean Paul, less systematic than Schelling, less dramatic than Kleist. Like art, poetry and philosophy are judged by their quality, not by their quantity, not by the qualities which they do not possess, but by their peculiar fusion of form and substance and by the peculiar spirit which pervades their form-substance and renders it different from, however much akin to, the work of other artists. Hölderlin's Hyperion was not an 'Eroberer der Welt,' but an 'Überwinder des eignen Ich,' his Empedokles not a statesman comparable with Charles the Great or the Freiherr von Stein, but a mighty seer and prophet, who commits the crime of 'Selbstvergotung' and condemns himself to die in the flames of Etna 'um eines Wortes willen.' Dr Böhm has deep and searching things to say of both these works, as of the lyrics and the poet's philosophy. So here of Empedokles' confession to Pausanias ('...ich allein War Gott und sprach im frechen Stolz heraus...'):

Der Schlüssel zu diesen Erkenntnissen liegt in der ganzen bisher betrachteten Weltanschauung, nach der die geformte Erscheinung nie mit dem Ideale zusammenfallen darf. Im besonderen aber ergänzt diese Stelle alles, was schon über Verwendung der Mythen in Hölderlins Äusserungen zu verfolgen war, zu einer tiefbegründeten Sprachphilosophie. Die Sprache als Erzeugnis des menschlichen Geistes unterliegt, wie das Kunstwerk, den Gesetzen des Weltgeschehens und Seins....

It is impossible to follow Dr Böhm's analysis of Hölderlin's life and works, which in this first volume takes us from the poet's birth in 1770 to his farewell ode to his 'Diotima' in 1800. Deep knowledge, great industry, penetrating thought, characterise every section of this analysis, which formally suffers from too much subdivision, but inwardly hangs closely together. Dr Böhm says of *Hyperion* that the apparent 'Zersplitterung' is superficial and the same judgment applies to his own work. We are to expect his second volume shortly and to find there the rest of the life-story and 'eine Einzelanalyse der gesamten weiteren Philosophie und Dichtung.' While interest has centred in the last few years on Hölderlin's so-called *baroque* or *chiaroscuro* period, Dr Böhm believes we may find in this first volume 'vieles, was man heute als "Wendung" oder als "Synthese" erst in Hölderlins Spätzeit sucht.' If he has a general fault at all, it is perhaps his tendency to discount the extent of Hölderlin's evolution, but he does well to make us face this problem anew. His volume, as a whole, is so valuable that one is the more anxious to avoid the appearance of injustice, but there are some points which it seems impossible to pass by without at least a question.

The impression is given that Chandler's *Travels* form *one* volume and were known to Hölderlin 'in französischer Übersetzung' only. My copy of the *Reisen in Klein Asien* belongs to an edition published at Leipzig in 1776; the *Reisen in Griechenland* followed only a year later. They must surely have both been available for Hölderlin, whose interesting references to the goddess Panagia (*Hyperion* fragment, *Werke*, ed. Zinkernagel, II, pp. 258 f.) would seem to be directly due to Chandler's account of the temple of Diana at Ephesus and of how 'ein Glaube an übernatürliche Vermittelung der Panagia, oder Jungfrau Maria, und, Tags oder Nachts, in Gesichtern erscheinenden Heiligen, Beyfall fand, und gelehrt wird' (*op. cit.*, p. 192). The passage, which I cannot quote here in full, appears to be unknown to most of the German commentators, just as, in general, the possible sources of Hölderlin's knowledge of modern Greece and Asia Minor have been neglected. So, too, his interest in the Jesuits. Böhm contents himself with an *ignotum est* as to the source of the 'Grabschrift des Lojola' and seems to have missed my remarks on this subject. The key may lie in the writings of Professor Lebret, the father of Elise. But the point has also been missed that the attribution of the remarkable Latin motto: 'Non coerceri maximo, contineri minimo, divinum est' to the 'Grabschrift des Lojola' was dropped when *Hyperion* appeared independently. The inference I draw is that Hölderlin had himself discovered his ascription to be erroneous. Can no one learned in mediaeval or Reformation Latin help us to a clue? It might be of signal value.

Dr Böhm's desire to see Hölderlin as he really was is undeniable, but as Herr Alfred Kuhn makes Herr Bildhauer Hermann Haller observe, 'Man meint, etwas sklavisch nach der Natur gemacht zu haben, besieht man es nach einiger Zeit und spricht mit jemandem darüber, der etwas versteht, so merkt man, dass man doch wieder stilisiert hat.' Dr Böhm reduces the influence of Stoicism on Hölderlin to a minimum, thinks his

'Weltanschauung' remains undisturbed when he passes from Schiller's tuition to Plato's, and rather oddly seems to end by presenting us with a Christian Platonist who chances to sing beautifully to a Platonised 'lyra germanica.' Is perhaps orthodoxy somehow here at stake? Is there no undue warmth in the contrast between Hölderlin's pure 'intellectual' Platonism and 'die romantische Hochspannung...mit der Nietzsche an die Griechen herantritt'? Is it quite so certain that 'So wenig wie Hölderlin Vorsokratiker wurde, wurde er Orphiker'? The interesting section of chapter VI labelled 'Hemsterhuis. Plato' may seem to some not quite adequate: it closes with a phrase which shows some irritation: 'aber eine auf Nachdruckswirkungen in der Kunst ausgehende Zeit stempelt Hölderlin leicht zum Primitiven, Archaiker und Pessimisten.' That raises too many questions to be entered upon at the tail of a long notice. Let me end by assuring Dr Böhm of my gratitude and deep respect for his first volume and my keen desire to possess his second. No one who desires to know the truth about Hölderlin will dare to do without them. The late Franz Kafka wrote down this aphorism: 'Eine durch Schritte nicht tief ausgehöhlte Treppenstufe ist, von sich selbst aus gesehen, nur etwas öde zusammengefügtes Holzernes.' Dr Böhm is building for us a new and carefully wrought 'Treppenfucht' up to the temple of Hölderlin's spirit. May its steps become worn by many readers able to say to themselves in Hermann Hesse's words: 'Erkenntnis blüht auf diesem Pfade dir.'

MARSHALL MONTGOMERY.

OXFORD.

SHORT NOTICES

The Modern Humanities Research Association may be congratulated on the continued excellence of its *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*. Volume VII (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. 1927. 6s.) which covers the output of 1926 has been edited jointly by Miss D. Everett (who in 1925 succeeded Miss Paues as sole editor) and by Miss E. Seaton, both of them highly qualified for their tasks. They have made some slight alterations in classification which are no doubt improvements. They acknowledge the help given them by a band of workers in foreign countries (why does 'Louvain' appear here in the unfamiliar form 'Leuven'?), help which has swelled the number of entries, rather against their desire, from the 1925 number, 2401, to 2727.

G. C. M. S.

Much of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* for 1927 (Band LXIII, Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 315 pp. 8 M.) is occupied by the second part of Fräulein J. Engelen's elaborate tabular analysis of the number of performers required for each of Shakespeare's plays. This she finds fairly stable throughout, ranging around nine or ten men and three or four boys. The figures do not therefore afford any basis for inferences as to the chrono-

logical order of the plays. *Pericles* could be taken by the unusually small number of four men and two boys, but it is perhaps a hasty conclusion that it must therefore have been originally written for an unimportant company of little strength. We know, of course, that it was performed by the King's men, and it cannot be assumed that, because parts could be doubled, they necessarily were doubled. Sir Denis Bray supports his theory that the original order of Shakespeare's sonnets can be reconstructed by the help of rhyme-links, with an interesting study of the methods used in linking sonnet-cycles by other poets, and a statistical argument designed to show that the recurrence of rhymes cannot be due to the accidents of a rhyme-poor language. The annual address to the German *Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* at its Weimar meeting was by Professor Hecht of Göttingen on Shakespeare's handling of tragedy, and this is supplemented by two other addresses for a Shakespeare festival at Bochum, by Professor Keller of Münster on the histories, and by Professor Schick of Munich on the genius of the dramatist. Fräulein Helene Richter describes Stefan Zweig's adaptation of Jonson's *Volpone*; Fräulein Elise Richter records some parallels to Falstaff in the early sixteenth-century plays of the actor Ruzzante; Professor F. Wölcken has an interesting note on a quotation from *Julius Caesar* in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, which he thinks must have been introduced by an actor. Very likely something of the sort happened. The undated text of the *Massacre* is extremely corrupt. The usual bibliographical and theatrical surveys complete a substantial volume.

E. K. C.

Mr Edgar Fripp's *Shakespeare's Stratford* (London: H. Milford. 1928. x + 86 pp. 2s. 6d.) is a very complete and interesting little book, which may be recommended to all who visit Stratford either in the flesh or in the spirit. This may fairly be urged, without subscribing to all Mr Fripp's interpretations of his facts, which he has gathered together in admirably succinct form, many of them the fruits of his own wide knowledge of local archives. It is regrettable that a number of statements of fact are made without reference to the authority on which they are based, apart from such *obiter dicta*, for example, as that which asserts Shakespeare's superiority in horsemanship to King James (p. 5). There are, as usual in such books, too many expressions of faith in what was 'probably' the case. Nor is Mr Fripp's literary criticism (e.g., p. 26) very helpful. His marked leaning towards a Puritan point of view leads him to foist similar views upon Stratford and upon his heroes. And certainly none of the Lucys was as popular in Stratford as he suggests. The book has thirty-seven excellent illustrations, including a most useful plan of Stratford in Tudor days. We are grateful to Mr Fripp for making his knowledge accessible in such a cheap and acceptable form.

C. J. S.

In spite of the great amount of brilliant criticism which has gathered of late round the poems of Donne, the poet's lovers will find much that is fresh and stimulating in M. Pierre Legouis' study (written in admirable English), *Donne the Craftsman, An Essay upon the Structure of the 'Songs*

and *Sonets*' (Paris: H. Didier. 1928. 102 pp.). The author's thesis, in the development of which each of Donne's lyrics is subjected to a very delicate and searching analysis, is that the poet, far from being a merely volcanic genius disregarding of the form into which he poured his discharges of passion, was on the contrary a highly conscious artist, capable of great variety. His lines range from two syllables to fourteen, his stanzas from two lines to fourteen, and all the longer and more complex stanzas were of his own invention and were little copied by his successors. He never used free verse or the pseudo-Pindaric strophes adopted by Cowley. If in the first stanza thought and feeling framed their own mould, in the later stanzas they had to adapt themselves to this mould: and so very often, though not invariably, we find the first stanza of a poem the best. Donne shows himself a craftsman in his letters and sermons, where a seemingly barren thought is turned a hundred ways. We are prepared then to find ingenuity in his verse. Its chief characteristic however is a closely knit logical structure, often covering something of the nature of a discussion *pro* and *con*. Many poems, as M. Legouis thinks, are 'dialogues in one,'—two characters are involved though one is mute and the reader must fill the logical gaps 'with kisses and embraces, sighs and sobs.' But they are not dramatic so far as to have the detachment of Browning's *Men and Women*; they are generally the intellectual or sentimental expression of Donne's own nature, though we must not seek to find a particular experience behind each poem nor a consistent metaphysical system in the group. An Appendix on the irregularities of Donne's verse is less satisfactory than the earlier part of the book: the subject is one on which no two people agree. The proposal to treat a number of lines on p. 92, for example, as having four feet instead of five seems to me thoroughly mistaken.

G. C. M. S.

Richard Brathwait's many works are so difficult to come at, and there is such uncertainty about a number that have been attributed to him, that the modest dissertation by Matthew Wilson Black, *Richard Brathwait: an Account of his Life and Works* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1928. 176 pp.), will be widely welcome. Four chapters are devoted to Brathwait's life; his works are then discussed under the headings Satires, Characters, Burlesques, Verse, An experiment in realistic fiction, Didactic and Religious Works. A Bibliography follows with the headings Signed Works, Works signed R. B., Pseudonymous (the pseudonyms are, however, not always given), Anonymous, and finally Works variously attributed to Brathwait, but wrongly, or on insufficient grounds (subdivided 1 Signed R. B.; 2 Pseudonymous; 3 Anonymous). If the dissertation cannot be called striking or brilliant, it is a useful compendium of what is known on its subject. Some further evidence is found for Brathwait's part-authorship of *Cornelianum Dolium*, but Dr Black was unacquainted with the discussion of the authorship of this comedy in *Rev. of Engl. Studies*, I, pp. 311-319. On p. 57, disproving the tradition that Brathwait had commanded a troop of horse during the Civil Wars, the author asks: 'Is not the tradition...probably the result of a con-

fusion of the poet with Richard Braithwait of Warcop who liked years afterwards to remember his services during "the Revolution"? Unfortunately in a footnote he informs us that Richard of Warcop was baptised in 1639, and was therefore too young to command horse in the war that broke out in 1642. Richard's reference in 1721 to his activities during 'the Revolution' relates no doubt to the Revolution of 1688. What are described on p. 117 as 'trochaic octosyllables' are all 7-syllable lines. On p. 118 Brathwait is said to write 'realistically' of flowers, but in the lines quoted Pinks and Rosebuds and Violets ('so fresh... As they foretold the Spring-time now drew near') are mingled with Prim-rose banks and Cornell trees 'whose checkerd berries beautifi'd the shore.' This is hardly realism. The suggestion (p. 108) that *Barnabees Journall* was Brathwait's exercise as 'Terraë Filius' is quite untenable. The nineteenth-century 'Silvæ (surely not 'Šilvœ') Filius' was probably a Woodison. On p. 15 'my Grandhams sin' must mean Eve's, not Adam's; on p. 18, last line, 'son' should be 'nephew.'

G. C. M. S.

The remembrance of references in Lockhart's *Life* to various 'Terryfications' of the Waverley novels, and a slight acquaintance with Donizetti's and Sullivan's operas, are probably all that most of us could offer in answer to an enquiry about the dramatisation of Scott's novels. Actually only four seem not to have been dramatised, and Mr Henry A. White, in his *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (*Yale Studies in English*, LXXVI. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1927. 260 pp. 10s. 6d.), gives a formidable list of dramatic and operatic adaptations, in English, French, German, Spanish and Italian. He has, fortunately for his sanity, not been able to obtain copies of all these versions, but he has shown great industry in his collection and collation of those which are accessible either directly or through contemporary criticisms. Here and there, indeed, his knowledge of the derivatives appears to have tainted his memory of the originals. It is otherwise difficult to explain his repeated allusions to Meg Merrilies as the old nurse of Harry Bertram, or his statement (p. 81) that in Ducange's *Fiancée de Lammermoor* 'the story follows the main outlines of the novel... but here Lucy does not kill the bridegroom.' He is possibly thinking of Donizetti's opera, as earlier in his account of Dibdin's play, in which 'Edgar does not stab himself, but is killed by a domestic' (p. 76), but, as he has not yet described the opera, the words are at least ambiguous. There are also curious lapses from ordinary usage, and even downright mistakes in names; which of us has any affection for Jean Deans, and who are young Hazzlewood and Dick Monopies? It would seem that Mr White is more familiar with the object of his special study than with Scott's novels and the Scott background, but this special study has produced a careful thesis which throws light, sometimes unexpected, on the extent of Scott's influence on the nineteenth-century stage.

E. C. B.

A double number of *Englische Studien* (Band LXII, Heft 1 and 2. Leipzig: O. Reisland. 292 pp.) celebrates the seventieth birthday of Professor Arnold Schröer, a distinguished student of Shakespeare and English lexicography, whose career of learning at Freiburg and Cologne is sketched in an editorial preface by Professor Hoops. Many eminent scholars have contributed. The longest article is by Professor Zachrisson, who surveys, with luminous appreciation and helpful criticism, the notable work done during the last five years in the study of English place-names, and in particular that of the Society directed by Professor Allen Mawer. Prof. Luick discusses, with some scepticism, the possible development of new word-forms through the emphatic pronunciation of older ones. Professor Franz has a similar theme in the changed senses acquired by words through ellipsis. Professor Funke handles some fundamental problems of the relation between speech and logic. Professor Otto Ritter furnishes lexicographical notes on Old English words, and Professor Max Förster gives full descriptions of the few Old English manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Professor Schröer's interest in the earlier English drama is represented by Professor Holthausen's translation of the Towneley *Cain and Abel* play into German and by Professor Eckhardt's analysis of the various metrical forms used for serious and comic episodes respectively in the moralities; and his interest in Shakespeare inspires Professor Kellner's notes on the use of rhetorical forms in the *Tempest*, and an elaborate study by Professor Schücking of the treatment of family relations in the plays. Professor H. Schöffler uses the instances of Milton, Richardson, Fielding and others to illustrate the extent to which the literary reputation of an author tends to be determined by other than literary considerations. Professor Fehr prints two unpublished letters by Swinburne, of which one is of some interest; Professor Walter Fischer describes the work of Louis F. Klipstein, an early student of English in the United States; and Professor Imelmann considers the literary problem of Brentano's *Drei Nüsse* and its possible English source. Altogether a number of wide range, and a worthy tribute to the work of the scholar in whose honour it is compiled.

E. K. C.

In *Englische Wortkunde* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1926. viii + 130 pp. 5 M.) Dr P. Aronstein seeks to make the study of English words a part of 'Kulturunterricht.' An extensive historical section deals adequately with the various ingredients of our vocabulary and has some remarks on the consequences of its variegated character shown in malapropisms and the devitalisation of the Germanic basis. The greater part of the book (pp. 22-123) treats of the living language and prevalent tendencies in word formation, e.g., truncation, liking for 'verba sesquipedalia,' grammatical interchangeability of many words (e.g., *black*), etymological doublets (e.g., *dainty* and *dignity*). The relative values of the Germanic and Romance constituents for English style are discussed, and well-filled sections exemplify reduplications (*tomtom*), 'vocal gestures' (*flurry*), euphemisms and appellative use of proper names. In the concluding

chapter the characteristic features of English as compared with German are stated to be (1) richness of concrete vocabulary (Fleisch = *flesh* and *meat*; *herd*, *flock*, *drove*, etc.) on the one hand, and (2) poverty in expressions for the products of abstract thinking (*Weltanschauung*, *Kultur*, *Geist*). The book will no doubt prove useful and stimulating to the German student, but in preparing a further edition it would be advisable to get an Englishman to overhaul the material carefully, as much antiquated matter is most unpractically mixed up with modern expressions. The following points, too, might be considered: p. 21 *All-hallows* should be *All Hallows*; p. 36 add *Liverpudlian*, *Mancunian*, etc.; p. 37 add *Shavian*; *ibid.* the *off-side* is not 'feindlich,' but often simply the right side; p. 40 *exécutor* not *executor*; p. 44 *tragic fate* more usual than *tragical*; p. 58 *Ruskinite* as well as the rarer *Ruskinian*; p. 61 *sprite* is hardly 'volkstümlich' to-day; p. 69 *script* also in *script-writing* and *script shorthand* (graphic system); p. 71 insert *down* before *dale* in *up hill and dale*; p. 72 *an erudite* is hardly the current equivalent for *Gelehrter*; p. 75 we *take a liberty*, not a *freedom*; p. 81 substitute *tumble* for *trouble* in *rough-and-tumble*; p. 95 correct *miew* to *mew*; p. 96 substitute *splash* for *plash* and *fizz* for *fuzz*; p. 98 *ping-pong* is not 'ähnlich wie Billard'; p. 103 (quoted from Jespersen) we certainly no longer—if we ever did—call a ram a *male sheep* or a turkey-cock a *gentleman-turkey*; p. 104 *Big Ben* is not 'die grosse Glocke der St Pauls Kirche'; p. 105 spell *Jill*; p. 106 *Gladstone claret* surely out-of-date. Some of the author's reflections cannot be taken seriously. When he says 'England ist das Land zwar nicht ohne Philosophie, aber ohne Metaphysik,' we must refer him to Berkeley, Bradley and many a lesser thinker. Speaking of the difficulty of translating *Schadenfreude* he leaves undecided 'ob auch das Gefühl dem Engländer unbekannt ist'—a glaring example of the dangers of arguing from the presence or absence of certain words or linguistic forms to the mental characteristics of the language users. *Kulturpsychologie*, that much-vaunted term, for which we fortunately have no equivalent, is shown at its worst when we read such facile generalisations as that the German's attitude to his language is 'gefühlsmässig' while the Englishman's is 'verstandesmässig' and utilitarian! That sort of superficial observation will never bring Germany the psychological insight she is so strenuously and so pathetically seeking.

W. E. C.

We have received the first volume of a *Handbuch der Englandkunde*, which opens a new series, *Handbücher der Auslandskunde*, edited by Paul Hartig and Wilhelm Schellberg (Frankfort o.M.: M. Diesterweg. 1928. xv + 348 pp. 10 M.). It contains nine studies on England, each by a different author, and of varying value. The opening sentence is most unfortunate: 'England besteht aus zwei Hauptinseln, Grossbritannien . . . und Irland . . . ausserdem aus drei grösseren Inselgruppen'; and, indeed, the whole of this first contribution contains too many errors—of fact, etymology, translation and orthography. All the other sections are better. Of those which fall within our purview, Professor M. Deutschbein deals with 'Englische Volkskunde und englische Sprache' with an insight

which will be enlightening even to English readers, although occasionally he relies on literary citations of doubtful value to supplement his own remarkably sure 'Sprachgefühl.' Professor Bernhard Fehr discusses 'Die englische Lyrik' with that delicacy of perception for English literary values which his previous studies have led us to expect. A contribution on 'Der englische Roman' by Dr E. Vohwinkel stands on a lower level. Our great prose fiction is dealt with in about one-third of his article in a summary and often uncomprehending fashion—one is led, for instance, to infer that Thackeray is only a kind of Victorian Galsworthy or Bennett—while the other two-thirds are taken up with the novelists of the present day, and include many circulating-library purveyors whose names might with advantage disappear from a future edition. The book is admirably printed and contains beautifully reproduced photographs; but it would have benefited, especially in respect of English orthography, had the proofs been submitted to an educated Englishman.

J. G. R.

Professor Walther Fischer of Giessen has already shown himself one of our best guides in the study of modern America. Under the title *Hauptfragen der Amerikakunde* (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing. 1928. vi + 92 pp.) he has now published in revised form some lectures and essays, packed with valuable information and criticism. They discuss: (1) the elements of the population of the United States, (2) the American mental attitude, (3) American culture from an American point of view, (4) American Universities, (5) American English. Under the last head Professor Fischer, like Professor Jespersen, thinks it highly improbable that the written language of America will differentiate itself from that of England as rapidly as some Americans prophesy.

G. C. M. S.

Professor W. P. Mustard of Johns Hopkins University has a field of his own in the Renaissance Pastoral and its classical Latin originals. Mantuan, Sannazaro, Andrelinus, Arnolletus and Geraldini have been brought nearer to us or first revealed to us by his scholarship. He has now given us with annotations a careful text of the *De Curialium Miseriis Epistola* of Aeneas Silvius (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. 102 pp. \$1.50), the source of the first three of Alexander Barclay's *Egloges* (1514). Some long passages from Barclay, printed as an Appendix, show how closely the Englishman followed his Latin original. The Latin treatise is very readable from its realistic descriptions of the life of the times, though it is too one-sided to make us forget that it is primarily a rhetorical exercise. Some letters of Aeneas Silvius which are also included in the volume are astonishing from their bold plagiarism. One of them written to a priest who presumably had never read Horace is an almost complete paraphrase of the 'Beatus ille' epode.

G. C. M. S.

In *Les Troubadours et l'Angleterre. Contribution à l'Étude des Poètes Anglais de l'Amour au Moyen-Age* (Paris: J. Vrin. 1927. 136 pp.) M. Jean Audiau has given us a revised and enlarged edition of the thesis submitted

by him to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Toulouse for the Diplôme d'Études Supérieures, and published at Tulle in 1920. In the interval Mr H. J. Chaytor issued his *The Troubadours in England* (Cambridge, 1923), in which, *inter alia*, the same topic is treated, except that Mr Chaytor has not attempted, as does M. Audiau, to estimate the influence of the troubadours upon Gower and Chaucer as well as upon their predecessors. In a short review (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July 1924, pp. 353-4) of Mr Chaytor's book I endeavoured to show why his thesis could not be upheld; and the reasons I advanced against it then are equally applicable to M. Audiau's contribution. Anyone who studies concurrently the troubadours and the Middle English lyric poets cannot fail to note the undeniable similarities in matter and form between them; but the result will be precisely the same if a comparison is instituted between the Middle English lyricists and the *trouvères* of the North of France. The natural conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that the English poets were inspired by their immediate neighbours the *trouvères*, whose productions are often close imitations and not infrequently almost translations of troubadour originals. Moreover, during the period in which the English lyric was developing, the English public likely to be interested in poetry were conversant with French as well as with their own tongue; whereas there is not the slightest evidence that Provençal was understood in this country even by the few, at a time, be it remembered, when the troubadour lyric no longer existed. As to Gower and Chaucer, the similarities in thought and expression, such as they are, which M. Audiau enumerates between them and the Provençal lyric can easily be traced to their French contemporaries; or to Petrarch, who had got them direct from the troubadours. L. E. K.

Not very much of new or vital interest emerges from Mr Ira O. Wade's study of *The 'Philosophe' in the French Drama of the Eighteenth Century* (*Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, No. 18. Princeton University Press. 1926. xi + 143 pp. \$1.50). Fired by 'a desire to determine the definition of the word "philosophe" as used in the eighteenth century,' and taking the drama as the mirror of contemporary life, Mr Wade has examined 189 plays containing the 'philosophe' as a character—the easiest to locate being, as the author ingenuously states, those whose title contains the word 'philosophe.' In his Introduction he dismisses, somewhat arbitrarily, we would suggest, those groups in which 'this character differs fundamentally from an avowed "philosophe" of 1760.' Mr Wade's position does not seem clear: either he is in search of a definition, in which case he does not adequately justify the summary dismissal of the 'philosophe amoureux,' the 'philosophe champêtre,' and the 'philosophe pratique,' or else he adopts the definition accepted by the 'avowed philosophe of 1760,' in which case what is the object of his monograph?

One happy result of the elimination of these classes of 'philosophes' is to reduce the plays to be dealt with to the more manageable total of 51. Even then Mr Wade is led to exhume much obscure and evanescent

material; happily he has given careful bibliographical indications which may materially assist future researches in the dim wilderness of these forgotten plays.

Mr Wade summarises in a paragraph the results of his enquiries. The 'philosophe,' though variously interpreted throughout the century as a philosopher, an 'homme de lettres,' an Encyclopedist, an amateur scientist, or an imitator of any of these, is above all a propagator of dangerous doctrines, too shallow to be of value, too fantastic to be practical, or too advanced to be acceptable. Though a little disconcerting in its classification, Mr Wade's bibliography is full and promises to be valuable to all students of the eighteenth century in France.

M. E. I. R.

Apart from its bearing on Montalembert himself, Mlle de Lallemand's study of *Montalembert et ses amis dans le romantisme, 1830-1840*, from unpublished documents (Paris: H. Champion. 1927. 364 pp. 35 fr.) has a considerable interest from the side-light that it throws on the Romantic movement. Montalembert, young—he was born in 1810—an aristocrat, an ardent Catholic and a no less ardent lover of liberty, embraced Romanticism from a spirit of reaction against the rationalism and the pseudo-classicism of the eighteenth century. He well represents the escape of the emotions and the imagination from their long confinement in the prison of reason. The poetry of Lamartine and Hugo, *René*, *Kenilworth*, *Cinq-Mars*, *I promessi sposi*, *Notre-Dame*, all made a profound impression on him. 'Il était né disciple,' says Sainte-Beuve—a little unkindly. His relations with individual Romanticists are admirably brought out by Mlle de Lallemand. He was for a time on especially friendly terms with Lamartine, Vigny, Michelet, and Hugo, but an ever-increasing difference in religious and political opinions produced its inevitable results. He was, as was natural, strongly attracted to Lamennais and he supported *L'Avenir* with great devotion and energy, till, after *Les Paroles d'un Croyant* and Lamennais' final breach with Rome, their paths separated. In contrast with these broken relations, Montalembert's friendships with his brother-Catholics, Lacordaire the great Dominican preacher, Rio the writer on Christian art, and Ozanam the student of Dante, remained unshaken, cemented as they were by a common faith and, in the case of the two last, by a common love of mediæval art and literature. Mlle de Lallemand has also published *Montalembert et ses relations littéraires avec l'étranger* (Paris: H. Champion. 112 pp. 20 fr.), in which she gives an account of Montalembert's relations with England—he was born in England and lived with his grandfather, James Forbes, till the age of ten—Ireland, and Germany. He paid a second visit to this country in 1855, as the result of which he wrote *De l'Avenir politique en Angleterre*, the greater part of which has been edited by Mlle de Lallemand for the Cambridge University Press. Montalembert's remarks on Eton and on Cambridge and Oxford are of special interest; at Oxford he received an honorary degree at the same time as Tennyson and the Crimean Generals. Mlle de Lallemand

has produced a good piece of work, well written and well put together. If she had made her index as she passed her proofs for the press, there would have been fewer misprints in proper names. A. T.

Parini is, perhaps, the one among the greater poets of Italy who finds fewest readers in England to-day, and it is the general experience of teachers of Italian here that it is difficult to inspire their students with any keen interest in the *Giorno* or with any enthusiasm for the *Odi*. It is therefore a pleasant surprise to be able to welcome a complete English version of the *Giorno* (*The Day*. A Poem by Giuseppe Parini. Translated into English blank verse, with an Introduction, Notes and Appendix, by Herbert Morris Bower. London: Routledge. 1927. vii + 208 pp. 5s.). This is practically the first English translation, its only predecessor being a free prose rendering of the *Mattino* and *Mezzogiorno* which appeared, during the poet's lifetime, in 1780. Mr Bower has done his work well. Not only are the more famous passages adequately rendered, but he has caught the spirit and atmosphere of the whole. There is little of the padding that seems inevitable in English renderings of Italian poetry; the translation is literal enough to be of real aid to the student of Italian, while it can be read with pleasure and interest apart from the original. Mr Bower is to be congratulated on the successful achievement of a difficult task which we trust will not prove a thankless one.

E. G. G.

There is not much new matter in *Das literarische Bild der Jeanne d'Arc* (1429-1926) by Eduard von Jan (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, LXXVI. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1928. xi + 199 pp. 10 M. 50), but it sums up in a concise and convenient form matter that had formerly to be sought in a number of works not easily accessible, and it brings the older reference books up to date. The author has confined himself to the purely literary presentations of the Maid's personality in France, England, Germany, Spain and the United States, but his book would have been more helpful to the general reader for whom it is intended, had a little more information been given about the controversial writings, for these had, of course, a considerable influence on the purely imaginative literature. Herr von Jan is evidently not a reader of *The Modern Language Review*, otherwise he would not have overlooked J. G. Bernhold's *La Pucelle* (Nürnberg, 1752), which I discussed in an article there (July 1927) on 'The Maid of Orleans in German Literature.' I still prefer my word 'abominable' to Herr von Jan's 'rhythmisch bewegt' to describe Wilhelm von Ising's prose. The authoritative interpretation of Georg Terramare's novel, *Die Magd von Domremy*, given here is welcome. To the criticisms noted in the section dealing with Mr Shaw's *St Joan* I would add the important articles by Max Pribilla in *Stimmen der Zeit*, vol. cx, January 1926, pp. 241-259, and Paul Fechter in *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, April 1926, pp. 193-199.

J. K. B.

Schionatulander and Sigune. An Episode from the Story of Parzival and the Graal, as related by Wolfram von Eschenbach, by Dr Margaret F. Richey (London: De la More Press. 1927. 67 pp. 5s.), is a very sympathetic, and well written study of a picturesque story, the tragic conclusion of which is related by Wolfram in the *Parzival*, while the earlier incidents are found in the less well known *Titirel* of the same writer. It is an outstanding merit of Miss Richey's work that she shows so keen and so accurate an appreciation of the beauty of Wolfram's poetry, a beauty which, no doubt owing to the difficulty of the original language, also perhaps, to a certain obscurity of style—Wolfram was no skilled juggler with words as was Gottfried von Strassburg—has been too much ignored outside his own country. The *Parzival* is undoubtedly the finest of the Grail romances, and the one which presents us with the most fascinating problems.

On p. 9 we are told that 'the suggestion of the Sigune story may well have come to him (Wolfram) from a certain isolated scene in the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes,' and a similar remark is to be found on p. 30. Now there can be little doubt that the incident of Perceval's meeting with a maiden weeping over a dead knight *was* in the source utilised by Wolfram; it is in the *Peredur*, and no doubt formed part of the early *Perceval* story, the lady being originally the hero's foster sister. But the interesting point is, In what form was the story of Sigune in Wolfram's source? Was it a mere skeleton outline, or the complete picture Wolfram gives us? Let us note that the *Parzival* is the earliest of Wolfram's works, the *Titirel* probably the latest, yet in the first the story of the loves of Sigune and Schionatulander is a tale complete in all its essentials, the *Titirel* does no more than add the details which enable us to understand the full pathos of this early frustrated passion. The *Parzival* knows Sigune's connexion with the royal Grail family, it is familiar with persons, and names, and those names are admittedly not of German origin. Nor are any of these known to Chrétien. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Wolfram found the story of Sigune and her ill-fated love already in his source, though how much the earlier version owes to the deep human insight and poetical skill of the great German author it is impossible to say. The admirers of Wolfram will probably be disposed to reckon the debt very highly.

J. L. W.

The renewed vigour of Frisian studies is attested by the recent publication of two important works by Dr Hermann Lübbing. The first, which originally appeared in the *Oldenburger Jahrbuch des Vereins für Altertumskunde und Landesgeschichte*, vol. xxxi, is entitled *Der Handelsverkehr zur Zeit der friesischen Konsulatsverfassung in Rüstringen und den Nachbargebieten* (Oldenburg: G. Stalling. 1927). It is, as its sub-title indicates, a contribution to the history of Frisian culture from the beginning of the thirteenth to just beyond the middle of the fourteenth century. In an introductory chapter the author shows the influence of

geographical position on the mentality of the East Frisians and the close connexion between their trade and their politics. Even in the Carolingian period the Frisians between Ems and Weser had brought their cloth to the inland markets. Subjugated by the Norsemen, they fell behind in competition with Saxons and Franks, but in the tenth century acted as carriers for Scandinavian goods. In the twelfth century they brought Saxon ores to Utrecht and in the thirteenth fetched Baltic produce to Flanders. In these enterprises the East Frisians are throughout of less account than the West Frisians. When Dorstad, Til, Utrecht and Stavoren were thriving centres, the East Frisians were mainly agricultural and took long to recover from the devastations of the Norsemen in the Weser region (battle of Norden, A.D. 884). In the eleventh century we even find the Weser Frisians taking part in a Polar expedition organised by Bishop Bezelin Alebrand. It is in the thirteenth century that we observe the growth of East Frisian commerce and with it of closer relations (often following disputes) with the great centres in the rear (Rüstringen with Bremen, Würsten with Hamburg, Emsland with Münster) as also with Cologne and Lübeck and Flanders. Cattle and dairy-produce were exported and wheat, building stone, timber and Bremen beer imported. In particular the Östringen horses acquired a high reputation. From the early thirteenth century the free Frisians were governed by their elected consuls, sixteen in number, but the aristocracy of the chieftains became paramount after 1350. These are but a few details from a historical survey replete with detailed information otherwise difficult of access, and provided with full bibliographies. Dr Lübbling's other work, *Friesische Sagen von Texel bis Sylt* (in the series *Deutscher Sagenschatz*. Jena: E. Diederichs. 1928), is equally welcome and will appeal to a wider public. It is splendidly illustrated and characterises a multitude of interesting features of popular life. Historical and regional traditions are gathered together and retold in their right setting and we are given much information concerning beliefs in the supernatural, in second sight, in witches and wizards, the devil, the freemasons, giants and dwarfs, water sprites and strange animals. Collections of tales from all districts and historical documents have been liberally drawn upon and the narrative retains a strong flavour of Frisian reminiscences, e.g., *Steinhaus* (castle), *Toversche* (witch), *Grüppen* ('groops,' drains), *Kluwstock* (jumping-pole), etc., cf. Glossary, p. 281. This procedure adds colour to the style which is also quite appropriately tinged with Low German idiom in a manner resembling that of F. Paasche in his Norwegian version of the Icelandic *Njaals Saga* (where the 'Landsmål' supplies the ground-colour). Several superstitions have their parallels in our country-districts, e.g., the requirement that everyone who has occasion to see a dead body should not leave it without laying his hand upon it, as otherwise he will be haunted (cf. Mrs Gutch and Mabel Peacock, *Folk-Lore concerning Lincolnshire*, London, 1908, p. 142; also the West Frisian *it lik aentaeste*). Folklorists will doubtless find many more. We are deeply grateful to Dr Lübbling for this collection, and only hope that the pessimistic tone

of his introduction in regard to the Frisian literary revival may some day be modified in view of what it achieves. W. E. C.

The useful repository of words of American Indian origin borrowed by European languages has now been followed by a naturally much larger collection of Oriental loans. Dr Karl Lokotsch in his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1927. xvii + 242 pp. 13 M.) supplies us with etymological articles under 2235 heads, the catch-words being the original Oriental forms supplying the loans. Reference is made easy by a names and subject index and by word indexes of the Arabian, Assyrian, Bulgarian, German, English, French, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Catalan, Little Russian, Latin, Malay, Netherlandish, Polish, Portuguese, Provençal, Roumanian, Russian, Serbian, Scandinavian, Spanish, Syrian and Czech words adduced. An introduction sketches the conditions of borrowing. The information in the articles seems reliable and is clearly set forth. As a curiosity one notices the difference between German and English in respect of *Amo(c)k*, *Kotaru*, *Luffa*, *Pekko*, *Sambuk*, *Tamtam*, *Teckholz* (though spellings like *Loofa* and *Teak* do occur); German shows Oriental borrowing in excess of ours with *Bäffchen*, *Joppe*, *Kandare*, *Schabracke*, *Trabant* and *Zwetsche* and the slang use of *Kadi*, *Oberbonze* and *Tintenküli*. The Hebrew etymology of *flöten gehen* (1634) may be challenged by those who point to the old Dutch phrase *gaan te fluiten* or *weggaan om te fluiten*. In the English list the following Oriental loans are missing: *alphabet*, *bdellium*, *delta*, *ephod*, *gopher*, *hosanna*, *raca*, *sanhedrin*, *shittah*, *teraphim*, *Tophet*, *Urim* and *Thummim* (all ultimately Hebrew); *avatar*, *bangle*, *banyan*, *batman*, *betel*, *Blighly*, *bo-tree*, *brahmin*, *caddy*, *karma*, *pundit*, *salaam*, *simoom*, *thug*, *tiffin*, *wallah* (various Indian languages); *bulbul*, *ghoul*, *mage*, *Parsee*, *roc*, *sesame* (some through the *Arabian Nights* from Persian). Furthermore there are the Gypsy words *pal*, *gorgio* and *Romany*, a number of Oriental words borrowed early by the classical languages: names of plants (*jasmine*, *myrtle*, *peach*, etc.), names of stuffs and garments (*diaper*, *gauze*, *sash*, *serge*, *tiara*), of minerals (*beryl*, *jasper*, *naphtha*, *nitre*), etc., together with many others noted by Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary*, ed. 1910, pp. 774 f. In a future edition the spelling of the following English words requires modernisation: *battick*, *jennyricksha*, *jogy*, *khakee*, *kotow*, *molle*, *mufty*, *orang-utan*, *taboo*, *tea-totaller*, *tripang*. These are but small blemishes on a work of great thoroughness and practical value. W. E. C.

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September—November, 1928

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'YOUNG MR CARTWRIGHT'

I.

BETTERTON and Nell Gwynn excepted, we seem to know remarkably little about the actors and actresses of the Restoration stage. Indeed the annals of that stage itself are still far from complete. The dramatists, on the other hand, have perhaps come in for more than their share of anecdote, and he who would tell their story has but to turn to the letters, diaries and memoirs of the time to tap a spring of information. To some extent this holds good for the theatrical world: Tom Killigrew was a familiar figure at court, and more actresses than one were, as Downes reminds us, 'erept by love' into the court circle. The great majority, however, were humbler folk, too busy with the daily round to attempt to record it, and too absorbed in the problem of gaining a livelihood to imitate the aristocratic pose of writing as a diversion for an idle hour. Yet there are records of the lives of these people, their quarrels, their financial affairs, their stage careers, to be found, and found where at first glance one would least expect to recapture anything of the restless life of the Restoration. The records of the Court of Chancery (and to a lesser degree those of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury), incomplete, mutilated and abominably indexed as they are, reward the searcher with a wealth of accurate and vivid detail, which, if it fails to reconstruct the entire scene, will at least do much to elaborate already familiar outlines.

One of the chief virtues of such records is that they are no respecters of persons: the most obscure sharer in a company, the woman who sold fruit and sweetmeats in the boxes, the carpenter who built the scenes, come in for as much attention as Kinaston and Betterton. I propose here to present one figure that I have encountered among the shadows of Chancery Lane: William Cartwright, actor, who, although he is the subject of a remarkably ill-informed article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and has occupied a place of some importance in the history of Dulwich College, has never received the attention which his position in the King's Company and his legacy to the College merit. In his story we shall catch echoes of much of the stage history of Caroline,

Commonwealth and Restoration days as late as the union of the companies.

The name William Cartwright first occurs in dramatic records in Henslowe's Diary under the date of 21 April 1598, when the financier lent him and 'Mr Ionnes' the sum of ten shillings¹, and it would seem from the plots of the *Battle of Alcazar*, 1 *Tamar Cam* and 2 *Fortune's Tennis*, that he was a hired member of the Admiral's company at least from 1598 to 1602. He seems to have remained with the company and prospered, for when they became the servants of the Elector Palatine and received a new patent in 1613, his name appears as one of the sharers². His son William had been born, if we may trust a statement made at the time of the younger Cartwright's death, about 1606 or 1607, and grew up during the years of his father's prosperity. Cartwright senior became joint-lessee of the Fortune Theatre in 1618, and seems to have enjoyed Alleyn's friendship and hospitality from about that date until Alleyn's death³. On 30 April 1624 Cartwright together with Andrew Caine, Charles Massey, William Stratford, Richard Price, and Richard Fowler became jointly and severally bound to Richard Gunnell in the penal sum of £80 for the payment of £40 on the following 1 October. This sum was evidently never paid and years later became the subject of a Chancery suit, from the depositions in which we learn that the real object of the bond was to hold the above-named actors together and prevent them from breaking the company⁴. Possibly the company was already fallen upon evil times when the Salisbury Court Theatre was opened in 1629, for despite the apparently substantial position he held at the Fortune, Cartwright became one of the original members of the King's Revels, a company formed for the new theatre⁵. By March 1635, when the company visited Norwich⁶, his son had joined him and begun a histrionic career which was to survive the Commonwealth and cover half a century. The father's name is to be found as late as 1640 in the *dramatis personae* of N. Richard's *Messalina*⁷, and he was still alive in

¹ W. W. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, I, p. 38 and II, p. 247.

² *Malone Society Collections*, I, p. 276 from Patent Roll, 10 Jac. I, pt 25.

³ Greg, *loc. cit.*

⁴ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *De Caine v. Wintershall*, C10. 32/31, and Town Depositions, *ibid.*, C 24. 785/53.

⁵ J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 374.

⁶ J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, I, p. 279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 281. There is one other scrap of information belonging to this period which may refer to either father or son: a memorandum by the Lord Chamberlain that John Atkins is permitted to proceed against Richard Gunnell, William Cartwright, Richard Fowler and Mathew Smith, presumably on a debt (P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Books, 5/183, not paged). The entry is dated 1631, but may well hark back to the days of the Palsgrave's Company.

1647 when he made a curious contribution to the laudatory verses prefixed to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of that year. There are two sets of verses over his signature¹, and in both of them he takes some pains to cast aspersions upon Shakespeare's genius. His references to 'bawdry' and 'scurrility' must have sounded oddly in the ears of his fellow-actors who in the dedication of the same volume spoke with something akin to veneration of the 'sweet Swan of Avon.' I regret that our last impression of the elder Cartwright should be so unfavourable, for his portrait at Dulwich College pleases me, but further reference to him I have not found.

We may perhaps assume that the younger Cartwright acquired his art but slowly. At least, the early part of his career is wrapped in obscurity: his name does not appear in any surviving *dramatis personae*, and Wright dismisses him briefly with the statement that he and Wintershall belonged to the private house in Salisbury Court². This would seem to refer to the King's Revels, who in 1635 were known to the Lord Chamberlain as the 'Players of Salisbury Court³,' but since both the Prince's and the Queen's Companies tenanted this theatre during the 'thirties, it is impossible to say from whom, his father excepted, Cartwright received his early training. It is somewhat curious that he should make his first appearance at the age of twenty-eight or so, but I suspect it is simply another case of an apprenticeship remaining to fortune and to fame unknown.

The records of the Cartwright family are scanty in the extreme. The father lived in Whitecross Street in 1623⁴, but we do not know when he died or anything at all of his personal relationships. The son lived in the parish of St Giles in the Fields, and was there twice married within three years: first to Elisabeth Cooke, 1 May 1633, then to Andria Robins, 28 April 1636⁵. The burial register for the period is missing, so that the date of Elisabeth's death cannot be ascertained. Despite the immediacy of his second marriage, he loved his first wife enough to have her portrait painted, and it is among those he bequeathed to Dulwich College⁶. It is scarcely pleasing to modern taste but does not altogether preclude the possibility of prettiness in the original. Andria was buried in the same parish on 12 May 1652⁷, and about two years

¹ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies*, 1647, sig. D1v-D2v.

² J. Wright, *Historia Histrionica*, p. 3.

³ P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Books, 5/134. 150.

⁴ C. W. Wallace, *Gervase Markham, Dramatist, Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 1910, p. 347.

⁵ St Giles in the Fields, MS. Register of Marriages.

⁶ *Vide infra*, p. 139.

⁷ St Giles in the Fields, MS. Register of Burials.

later, Cartwright married a third time, as witness the following entry in the parish registers of St James, Clerkenwell¹:

Nov. 19. [1654] William Cartwright, of St. Giles in the Fields, and Jane Hodgson, of our parish.

I have been unable to discover any record of her death, but so long did her husband survive her that, when he died, he was described as a 'single man (Haveing neither wife nor childe...)².' Her portrait too is at Dulwich, and likewise her sister's; they doubtless were good women, but not attractive.

During the Commonwealth even the better known actors became shadowy, almost legendary, figures. We hear tales of actors turned soldier, innkeeper, even Puritan, and Aubrey tells us that Cartwright established himself as a bookseller in Turnstile Alley, Lincoln's Inn Fields. I am inclined to believe him; yet it is disconcerting to find no mention of the fact in either the *Historia Histrionica* or *Roscicus Anglicanus*, particularly since the former recounts the war-time fortunes of Mohun, Robinson, Burt, Lowin and others. Writing in 1719 of Dulwich College, Aubrey says: 'Here is a Library, in which is a Collection of Plays, given by Mr. Cartwright, a Bookseller, who lived at the End of Turn-Stile Alley... This Cartwright was an Excellent Player, and besides his Plays gave many Pictures...³.' Davies, who comments upon the paucity of information about Cartwright to be found in any of the chronicles of the stage, remarks vaguely, 'It is somewhere said that he was a bookseller.' But in his second volume his tone becomes authoritative and the tradition is established⁴.

We can at least be reasonably sure that Cartwright was a bookseller rather than a publisher, for there is not one entry to him in the registers of the Stationers' Company between 1640 and 1660⁵. The only publication commonly attributed to him is the quasi-famous *Actor's Vindication*, a reprint with variations of Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612). The British Museum (Thomason's) copy of the *Vindication* has the date 15 June 1658 written on the title-page, which states that the book was printed by G. E. for W. C.⁶ The traditional identification of W. C. as William Cartwright has been accepted without query by Mr A. M. Clark in his

¹ *Registers of St James, Clerkenwell*, Harleian Society, *Registers*, xiii.

² P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Johnson et al.*, C 7. 102/66.

³ J. Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, v, p. 356.

⁴ T. Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, i, p. 213 and ii, p. 105, London edition of 1783-4.

⁵ G. E. B. Eyre, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1640-1708*, i. The entries to Master Cartwright refer to Samuel Cartwright, who with his brother Richard had a shop in Duck Lane, Smithfield (H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers*, etc.).

⁶ B.M., E 948 (4).

bibliography of Heywood's works¹, and Cartwright's interest in the stage, and the interpolated encomium on his father's friend, Edward Alleyn, would seem to justify him. I have not found any entry of the *Vindication* in the Stationers' Register.

But Cartwright did not spend all the long years between 1640 and 1660 among his quartos and folios in Turnstile Alley. Perhaps in those days he had not yet settled into the respectability which marks his post-Restoration career; perhaps he was moved by real devotion to the drama, perhaps by a right royalist desire to flout the Puritans. At any rate, he had a hand in the surreptitious theatrical venture of 1648 and may even have followed the Muse and Prince Charles to France. Among the Chancery documents in the Public Record Office are several relating to a suit brought by William Hall, a retired actor, against his former colleagues, Lacy, Clun, Wintershall, Cartwright, Hart, Mohun, Burt and Shotterel—in other words the actor-sharers of the King's Company—in January 1663/4. Hall's bill of complaint is unfortunately lost, or at least not to be found in the index, but there are preserved two identical answers *mutatis mutandis*, the one sworn to by Lacy, Clun, Wintershall and Cartwright, the other by the remaining four². These answers disclose not only Hall's grievance, the withdrawal of a weekly allowance or pension paid him since his retirement from the company, but the highly important fact that the actors specified and certain others went overseas when the London theatres were suppressed and 'did sometymes but not long' act before the King (Charles II) as his servants. Dr Hotson has recently called attention to the following passage in *Mercurius Candidus* for 11–20 November 1646³:

From France thus: The company of English Actors that the Prince of Wales had, are for want of pay dissolved —: That's newes not strange... It is probable, that the Prince thinkes it may concern his present condition to mind something else....

The English audience being there so poor and few, that they were not able to maintaine the charges of the Stage —: It is wonder sufficient to me, how they can maintain themselves.

Dr Hotson says that who these players were is unknown, and hazards the conjecture that they were identical with a group which resided in the Hague in 1644 and 1645 and perhaps with George Jolly's company of English actors⁴. Jolly's at least they were not; but, as Dr Hotson points out, Shotterel's name appears in the form of Schottnel in a list in 'an act passed by notary' at the Hague, as does that of Thomas

¹ A. M. Clark, *A Bibliography of Thomas Heywood*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, *Proceedings and Papers*, vol. I, p. 113.

² P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Hall v. Lacy et al.*, C 10. 80/55.

³ J. L. Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 167.

Loveday, an actor later closely associated with the Lacy-Hart group. The statement that all eight of the above-named actors were in Paris seems to require corroboration, and as yet none is forthcoming.

We are on safer ground when we read further that in 1648 'some of them' came together and 'did by stealth and in secret places Act together here in England some Playes and Interludes.' Witnesses were examined on this point, and two members of the company, Thomas Day and Richard Baxter, testified that Cartwright was one of this group¹. The enterprise was untimely nipped in the bud by the famous raid on the Cockpit when the actors were carried off to Hatton House in their 'habits,' plundered of them, and eventually released to make their way home, one fears, in a state of undress most distressing to the respectable citizens encountered en route. Cartwright's name does not appear as one of the unhappy victims but he may well have been among the 'others' not named.

Presumably Cartwright devoted himself to the encouragement of reading for the next ten years or more. We hear nothing further of his acting until the latter part of 1659 (i.e., the early part of 1660), when the old guard gathered together its scattered remnants and began acting once more, according to Downes, at the Red Bull². This was the group with whom Thomas Killigrew opened negotiations a few months later, and Cartwright thus became one of the original members of the new King's Company.

As an actor, he seems to have been successful in a considerable variety of parts, although he never attained distinction. His ability is testified by the number and quality of parts given him in new productions as well as in the revivals of Jonson and of Beaumont and Fletcher on which the company chiefly relied in its early days³. He seems to have made

¹ P.R.O. Town Depositions, *Hall v. Lacy et al.*, C 24. 903/48.

² *Ibid.* and J. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 1.

³ The following list of Cartwright's parts is compiled from Downes, *op. cit.*, and J. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* etc. Since Genest's dates for revivals have sometimes been questioned, I have omitted them, grouping the old plays first, and arranging new productions in their chronological order as given in A. Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, Appendix C:

Morose in *The Silent Woman*; Sir Epicure Mammon in *The Alchemist*; Corbaccio in *The Fox*; Brabantio in *The Moor of Venice*; Falstaff in *Henry IV*; Lygones in *A King and no King*; Governor of Ternata in *The Island Princess*; Cacofogo in *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*; Baldwin in *Rollo*; Whitebroth in *The Cheats*, 1662/3; Grimani in *Flora's Vagaries*, 1663; High Priest in *The Indian Emperour*, 1665; Lord Latimer in *The Black Prince*, 1667; Apollonius in *Tyrannick Love*, 1669; Abenamar in *The Conquest of Granada*, 1670/1; Don Bertran in *Generous Enemies*, 1671; Hermogenes in *Marriage a la Mode*, 1672; Mario in *The Assignment*, 1672; Harman Senior in *Amboyna*, 1673; Seneca in *Nero*, 1674; Sir Jasper Fidget in *The Country Wife*, 1674/5; Hircanio in *Love in the Dark*, 1675; Agrippa in *Gloriana*, 1675/6; Major Oldfox in *The Plain Dealer*, 1676; John in *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1676/7.

a success as Falstaff in *Henry IV*, a performance that elicited from Pepys the comment that he 'contrary to expectation was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's speaking of Falstaff's speech about "What is Honour?"'¹ Buckingham saw fit to give him a part, though a tiny one, in *The Rehearsal*: he played Thunder in Bayes' 'flash of a Prologue.' The poet says to him, perhaps maliciously as to an exponent of an older style of acting, 'Mr. Cartwright, pr'ythee speak a little louder and with a hoarser voice. I am the bold *Thunder*? Pshaw! speak it me in a voice that thunders it out indeed: I am the bold *Thunder*'². In the 'seventies he played in Wycherley's *Country Wife* and *Plain Dealer*, and he had parts in six of Dryden's plays. Downes' statement that he continued to act after the union of the companies is substantiated by a deposition in a Chancery suit, and his name, as noted by Genest, appears in the *dramatis personae* of the 1686 quarto of *Rollo*³. On the whole his value seems to have lain in giving strong support to the leads. After praising Hart and Mohun at length and Wintershall more briefly, Downes says: 'Then Mr. Burt, Shatterel, Cartwright and several other good Actors, but to Particularize their Commendations wou'd be too Tedious'⁴. Alas that Downes should have thought so! Aubrey calls him an excellent actor⁵, and his contemporaries on the stage speak of him with respect, although they have left no specific comment on his acting.

To the Restoration actors, who were sharers in the company, the business side of the organisation was of vital and intimate concern, and here Cartwright seems to have been fairly prominent. When Killigrew erected a theatre under his patent, he divided the stock into thirty-six equal shares, of which he kept nine in his own hands, and assigned nine to Lord Robert Howard, his partner in the enterprise, and two to each of the actors except Lacy who had four⁶. Cartwright held his building-shares until 1684, when he transferred them to one William Butler together with certain property in the playhouse yard and in Clerkenwell, a transaction which I propose to discuss later in connexion with his will and legacies. As a sharer he figures in a variety of documents relating to the company, but on the whole they throw more light on the organisation than on its individual members. Thus we find Cartwright and Burt acting for the company in granting to Mary Meggs the privilege of selling

¹ Pepys' *Diary*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, vii, pp. 183-4.

² George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, *The Rehearsal*, 1672, sig. C1v.

³ *Rosc. Angl.*, p. 39. P.R.O. Town Depositions, *Kinaston v. Clayton et al.*, C 24. 1197. Genest, *op. cit.*, i, p. 446.

⁴ *Rosc. Angl.*, p. 17.

⁵ Aubrey, *loc. cit.*

⁶ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Killigrew v. Hales et al.*, C 6. 246/74.

fruit and sweetmeats at the Theatre Royal¹, and together with other sharers he signed various deeds and agreements and appeared as joint plaintiff or defendant in various suits at law. When the new theatre was being built in 1673, the company was hard put to it to find the requisite funds, despite the fact that they had mortgaged the ground for £2300. From Burt they borrowed £160 for a scene-house², and from Cartwright £150, but unfortunately we do not know for what specific purpose³.

The new theatre was successfully completed and apparently prospered for a time, but by the spring of 1676 the company was in a bad way and Killigrew's efforts to retrieve his share of its fortunes soon led to confusion. But that is another story, and diverting as it is, I must leave it for more adequate treatment in the future and here content myself with noting Cartwright's share in the proceedings. On 20 March 1673 Killigrew had signed agreements with his actor-sharers which provided *inter alia* that, if any member of the company should be 'minded to desist from and leave off acting' and should give three months' notice thereof, he should be entitled to £1. 13s. 4d. *per diem* out of the profits, until he should have received a specified sum of money, in Cartwright's case £160⁴. This seems a very modest, indeed inadequate compensation if, as appears, it was intended to represent the value of an acting share. But when in 1675 Cartwright and several others, finding that the profits 'did fall much short of expectacōn and did dayly decrease,' tendered their resignations, Killigrew found himself face to face with ruin. Called in as mediator, his son Charles persuaded the actors to stay on and to sign new agreements which his father found 'more moderate and more practicable.' The price for this service was the assignment of his father's entire interest in the patent and company, a price the elder Killigrew seemingly agreed to at the time but soon found convenient to forget. During the ensuing struggle between father and son for the control of the company it very nearly met a premature death, but the Lord Chamberlain saw fit to intervene and on 9 September 1676 appointed Mohun, Kinaston, Cartwright and Hart joint managers *pro tem.*, later vesting authority in Hart alone⁵.

We hear nothing more of Cartwright until the union of the companies

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Killigrew v. Hales et al.*, C 6. 246/74.

² Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 289, from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20, and P. H. Fitzgerald, *A New History of the English Stage*, I, pp. 138-9. Cf. Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 255. I cannot agree with his interpretation of P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Killigrew v. Killigrew et al.*, C 6. 221/48.

³ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Butler et al.*, C 9. 376/8.

⁴ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Killigrew v. Killigrew*, C 6. 221/48.

⁵ Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

in 1682. Downes includes him in the personnel of the reorganised group¹, and he would seem to have escaped the general tendency to shelve the former King's men, for we find him heading the list of petitioners who complained to the Lord Chamberlain on 20 December 1682 that Charles Killigrew was not keeping his agreement². This is his last appearance in the known records of the company.

It is of course possible that he participated in its affairs even longer, but he seems to have withdrawn some time before his death, which occurred on 17 December 1686, when he was in his eightieth year³. Although, as we shall see, he had made very different plans, he was buried at St Paul's, Covent Garden on 18 December, 'in the church.' I am informed that this indicates burial in the vault, which has been closed for many years, and that there is no memorial tablet to be found on the church walls⁴.

II.

Apart from his share in the company's quarrels and feuds, Cartwright's life seems to have been peaceful enough, but Cartwright dead occupied Chancery proceedings in great volume. Following in the footsteps of his father's friend, the actor Alleyn, he planned to endow Dulwich College by will, and thence arose litigation which continued spasmodically for many years. It seems worth while to describe the legal proceedings in some detail for the light they throw on Cartwright's life, stage history, bibliographical problems, and certain chapters in the history of Dulwich College.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, Cartwright was at the time of his death possessed of a life-interest in 'two shares in thirty-six to be divided of the Kings play howse lyeing between Bridges Street and Drewry Lane, The moyetie of a howse in that Playhowse yard sometime in the possession of one Patricke Weames. . . and a howse Backside and howse of Office with its appurtenances in Clerkenwell Close within the parish of St Johns in Midlesex⁵'; of a sum of ready money variously stated as £390, £400 and £490, pictures, books, household stuff, plate and jewels; and of 'Debts well secured to him' or intrust for him by Bonds Bills Iudgem^{ts} Statutes Recognizances mortgages and in debts Oweing unto him vpon Simple contract or for Rent and allsoe in Leases

¹ *Rosc. Angl.*, p. 39.

² Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

³ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 7. 102/66.

⁴ Letter from John Sutton, Vestry Clerk of St Paul's, Covent Garden, 18 Feb. 1928, and the Parish Registers, printed by the Harleian Society, *Registers*, xxxvi.

⁵ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Thos. Alleyn*, C 10. 419/10. For Cartwright's property in the playhouse yard cf. Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

for yeares¹. The first set of assets is at any rate precise. Of the others, one bond at least certainly existed, that for the £150 borrowed by the King's Company in 1673. Various details of the personal property are given here and there and some of the references are of interest. One list includes medals and coins, limned pictures, books of cuts, 'imagery and figures.' (Was Cartwright interested in puppet-shows?) Of other items we shall hear as part of the legacy to Dulwich College.

On 10 April 1684 Cartwright had transferred his two shares in the Theatre Royal, his moiety of a house in the playhouse yard and his Clerkenwell property (all dependent upon leases) to William Butler of Cornhill in trust, the profits thereof reserved to himself for life. In further consideration of this transfer Butler was after Cartwright's death to pay an annuity of £16 to his servants Francis and Jane Johnson or whichever lived longer²; and to pay his funeral expenses and spend £10 for a tombstone³. The Johnsons, particularly Jane, proved to be the root of all evil in Cartwright's last days and when his property came to be settled. They were old servants and apparently he thought well of them. Francis later described himself as Cartwright's 'servant to look after his affairs in their (*sic*) Mat^{tes} playhouse and to receive his, the said M^r Cartwright's, allowance out of the profits of the said playhouse, . . . and to pay the same unto him, which he accordingly did for about the space of 17 years that he lived with him⁴.' He claimed that Cartwright had not paid his wages of £15 *per annum* for five years before his death. Jane undertook all the work of the house. She had a very hard time of it, so she said, and was never allowed to go out, 'by reason of which confinement [she] could not have time for near 17 years together to go to Church to serve God⁵.'

The project to endow Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich had evidently been in Cartwright's thoughts for some time. John Alleyn, the Warden, tells the story in the bill he exhibited in Chancery on behalf of the College⁶. About two years before his death Cartwright made a will by which he bestowed all or the best part of his estate on the College upon condition that he be buried in the Chapel. This proved to be contrary to the statutes under which Alleyn had incorporated his foun-

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 7. 102/66.

² P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Thos. Alleyn*, C 10. 419/10.

³ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 7. 102/66.

⁴ Dulwich, Alleyn MS. vi. 39, as printed by J. P. Collier in the Shakespeare Society reprint of Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, Introd. p. ix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁶ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 7. 102/66. The document has suffered too severely from damp and decay for quotation *in extenso*. Mr Jenkinson has very kindly had it cleaned and repaired for my use, but parts are missing and still more of it illegible. It is however possible to follow the sense of most of it.

dation, and upon the Archbishop's suggestion and promise to consecrate the ground for that purpose, Cartwright contented himself with the promise of burial in the porch of the Chapel. With the intention of making over his property to the College subject to an annuity for life and the above condition, he cancelled his former will and sent, about the first week in December 1686, for his scrivener Robert Hodson, whom he instructed to draw up a new deed of gift. He was, it seems, already ill at this time and after hearing Hodson's draft read over, he told Johnson to carry the paper to the Archbishop to see if it met with His Grace's approval. But Johnson, not being content with the provision already made for himself and his wife and finding the new turn of affairs likely to put the greater part of Cartwright's estate out of his reach, did nothing of the kind, as became evident when John Alleyn called upon the Archbishop. When Alleyn told Cartwright what had happened, Cartwright begged him to carry the paper to the Archbishop himself with word that if His Grace would send a messenger with a receipt, the money and goods specified would straightway be delivered to him. His Grace accordingly wrote out a receipt 'with his own hand' and a time was appointed for the settlement, but Hodson failed to appear with the final draft of the deed. His negligence (to put the kindest possible interpretation on his absence) and that of Robert Butler, Cartwright's solicitor, threw the old man 'into such a passion as overcame his Spiritts,' and from that day, apparently 9 December, until his death on the seventeenth he never regained consciousness.

The Warden of Dulwich was therefore left without even a properly executed deed, but he at once took steps to have Butler, the Johnsons and 'one Rich^d Harris and Margaret his wife the p^rtended next relacōns of the s^d Mr Cartwright' cited into the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to produce 'the s^d paper of donacōn¹.' After various delays and difficulties with which we need not here concern ourselves, except to note that the Court appointed John Taylor, 'a very responceable and honest man' and a tailor by trade, administrator *pendente lite*, the unexecuted draft was probated on 28 April 1687 and administration with the will attached granted to John Alleyn as Warden of the College². The brevity and interest of the document reciting the bequest are sufficient to warrant me in rescuing it from oblivion in Somerset House and I here reproduce it *in extenso*³.

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 7. 102/66.

² P.C.C. Admon. Act Book for 1687, fol. 3, and Register Foot, fol. 167.

³ From P.C.C. Register Foot, fol. 46. I have examined the 'original' which is endorsed 'December 12 : 86 a Copie of y^e Clause of Mr Cartwright's will relating to Dulwich College.' Unless the date is an error, it must have been endorsed by Butler when he took possession of the paper.

The resolucōn of W^m Cartwright
Gent

T^m
Guilielmi
Cartwright

That he will pay into the hands of the most Reverend ffather in God the Lord Arch B^{pp} of Canterbury or such other person or persons as his Grace shall appoint the Sume of ffoure hundred pounds to purchase Land of Inheritance of twenty pounds per Annum for himselfe for life the remainder for the benefit of Dullwich Colledge founded by M^r Allen That he will give two guilt silver Tankards one Indian silke Quilt one large damask Table Cloth with other convenient lynnens for the Comunion Table and the beautifying of the Chappell, and also a large Turkey worke Carpett for the dyning Roome and severall pictures of Storyes and Landskips for the beautifying the Dyning Roome and Gallery and also such of his bookes convenient for a Library as the Master Warden and Schoolmaster shall approve of for the service of them and the Schollars He is contented to be buried in the place entring into the Chappell which the Master and Warden have told him of and desires That if it shall please God to enable him to goe sometimes to the said Colledge, he may at such time have a roome in the Colledge for himselfe and a place for his Man paying the Colledge for their Dyett If he finds occasion he may doe more. That the Master and Warden [shall] for their care and kindnes have the profit of the Lands purchased with the said ffoure hundred pounds or the Interest thereof for the first yeare after his decease to be equally divided That the fower fellows of the said Colledge for their respect and kindnes shall have the profit of the Lands purchased with the said ffoure hundred pounds or the Interest thereof for the second yeare after his decease to be equally divided.

So much for the Prerogative Court, but meantime the College had taken the case into Chancery. Butler had appropriated the above draft, the Johnsons had failed to appear when summoned into the Prerogative Court, they had concealed and carried off a large part of Cartwright's personal estate when by order of that Court it was to be inventoried, and they had 'absconded themselves' so that the authorities could not find them. All this, the College asserted, was done on the advice of their pretended counsel James Tisser, who was in reality a villain of the deepest dye and the leader in a conspiracy to defraud the College. The Warden accordingly filed a bill to have the Johnsons 'discover' the estate and to have the administrator *pendente lite* take it into his hands. Apart from the information already quoted, it contains little of interest save the clauses which relate to the debt of the King's Company. The right edge of the parchment is entirely missing and at least one name (Wintershall's) has been lost. According to what remains, on 20 July 1673, Thomas Killigrew, (blank) Lewright, John Dreyden, Charles Hart, (blank) Mohun, (blank) Lacy, (blank) Burt, (blank) Shotterel and Edward Kinaston signed a bond in £300 penalty for the payment of £150. A later document discloses that there was still over £100 due on it¹, and the Warden therefore charged those responsible

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, *Dulwich v. Butler*, C 9. 376/8.

for its payment with confederacy with the Johnsons. The list of defendants thus came to include William Clayton and his wife as executors of Wintershall, Charles and Henry Killigrew as executors of their father, Lewright, Dryden, Napper as executor of Hart, Mohun, Kinaston, Burt and Shotterel.

The Johnsons made at least two attempts to settle out of Court: Tisser offered to secure the College its legacy in return for £250, the residue of Cartwright's personal property, and as much as the College would expend to make good and effectual in law the Johnsons' annuity¹. And in John Alleyn's private business ledger is a memorandum dated 26 June 1689, that Mr Coals of Gravel Lane and Mr Webster of Shoreditch offered the College '200^l, 2 Silver Tankards, and a Turkey Carpet if it might be accepted in satisfaction of y^e legacy...and that Jonson and his wife might be discharged thereof².'

The date of this entry reveals the slow progress of the suit. Fortunately it is unnecessary to report in detail all the devious ways of the law, for they contribute nothing to our knowledge of Cartwright or of stage history. The main points are quickly summarised. The bill had been filed on 10 February 1686/7³, and the College proceeded to examine witnesses between February and July of the following year⁴. The defendants with truly remarkable resourcefulness opposed first one obstacle and then another. Johnson was committed first to the King's Bench and then to the Fleet, whence he escaped. At frequent intervals he disappeared and always he was in contempt of court. When charged with making an incomplete answer, he replied that the bill was so long he could not afford to have it copied. He agreed to assign his annuity to the College; it was ordered to be brought into court pending the decision, and there it accumulated year by year. The College amended its bill to meet new exigencies and finally brought in a new one, special reports were made and reviewed, and at last, on 29 July 1696, we read that the defendants had put in a full and perfect answer and denied the whole equity of the bill. The cause was heard almost at once, that is, on 21 December of the same year, and the College obtained a decree. In all this there is no further word of information about Cartwright, his library, or the King's Company, except that Kinaston secured his dis-

¹ P.R.O. Town Depositions, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 24. 1114/31. Interrogatory 15.

² F. B. Bickley, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich*, Second Series, p. 100.

³ The date endorsed on the upper left-hand corner of the bill is partly torn off, but it is given in C 9. 376/8.

⁴ P.R.O. Town Depositions, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 24. 1114/31. There are no depositions on behalf of the Johnsons.

missal in 1696 on the grounds that he had heard nothing of the case for six years and that the solicitor and Clerk in Court who had handled it for him were dead. In 1698 the College was still trying to get a report on the costs. Johnson had died intestate some time before 1 June 1697, and Thomas Alleyn (John Alleyn's successor as Warden) became administrator for the College, which saw fit to bring a bill against him, apparently for maladministration¹. Further than that I have not been able to trace the suit, but if one had time to pursue it down the eighteenth century, it is quite possible that one would not labour altogether in vain².

How much was eventually salvaged by the College is a little difficult to say. In the Audit Book of Accounts under date of 4 September 1688, John Alleyn reported that he had discharged himself of 'all the Book's Pictures, Damask Lynnen, and Indian Quilt, being all the specifick Legacy...w^{ch}: came to the said Wardens hands, by bringing them in and delivering them to and for the use of the said Colledge, about a yeare since³.' These he was instructed by the appraisers to value at no more than £44. 12s. 0d. He also turned over to the College £20. 13s. 0d. 'for old Howsehold stuff Inventoryed (but noe part of the Legacie),' and £9 for one half year's rent from Cartwright's tenant 'Mr Chamberlaine the Hatter,' not included in the inventory. As late as 4 March 1712 we find in the same book an entry to the effect that two small diamond rings, part of Cartwright's estate, have now come to the Warden's hands and 'are to be sold to the best advantage and the money to be applyed for the use of the said College in setting up such Figures as were formerly in the porch but to be copper instead of stone.' 'The best advantage' proved to be £16, for which they became the property of Mrs Alleyn⁴. In the Chancery documents already referred to the property on which the annuity depended can be traced through several hands, but what finally became of it remains a mystery.

With the pictures came Cartwright's autograph catalogue, which had been exhibited in Chancery and reclaimed⁵. It lists no fewer than two hundred and thirty-nine paintings, of which only seventy-six can now be traced among those belonging to the College, but it is impossible to

¹ The bill seems to be lost, but Alleyn's answer is preserved, C 10. 419/10.

² For the details of the legal proceedings see in addition to the documents above quoted Town Depositions, C 24. 1191/75; Affidavit Registers, 28, 29 and 32, and Original Affidavits, C 31. 62/612; Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, C 33. 268, 269, 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 284, 286, 288, 290 and 292; Reports, 252 and 258.

³ Dulwich, Register Book of Accounts III, erroneously dated 1686 by Bickley, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴ Bickley, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵ Dulwich MS. xiv. F. G. Warner, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College...* at Dulwich, p. 202.

say how many have disappeared in the course of time or were destroyed because of their indecency. In a note preserved at Dulwich with the Johnsons' answer the missing pictures are numbered as forty-six and appraised together with 'half y^e things out of y^e blew damaske boxe' at £6. 5s. 0d., but the writer adds that they were worth much more. This memorandum of things missing includes the turkey carpet, silver gilt tankards, a 'Rich Cabbinett inlayd wth Gold of 100^{li} vallue,' several diamond rings, and three hundred and ninety broad pieces of gold¹. Of the books mentioned I shall speak presently.

By far the most interesting of the surviving pictures is the group of portraits. To those of the first and third Mrs Cartwright and of the latter's sister I have already referred. Cartwright himself is there (despite the contrary statement in the *D.N.B.*) painted by Greenhill 'in a black dress with a great doge,' and looking more respectable than endowed with histrionic ability. There is more sensibility in the face of the young man in a Vandyke collar, said to be the portrait described in the catalogue as 'Young Mr Cartwright Actour.' This picture and its companion 'Oul Mr Cartwright' set a pretty problem. The terms in which Cartwright thus describes himself and his father are certainly odd as compared with the familiarity of his other descriptions, and there is singularly little resemblance among the three pictures. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the actor called 'Young Mr Cartwright' and 'myself in a black dress' were one and the same person, as witness the Chancery suit. I believe the clue is supplied by Mr Sparkes in his catalogue of the collection². He says that the identification of both young and old Mr Cartwright is according to tradition, and it seems quite likely that some former Master of the College, at a loss to name them, applied the most suitable titles to be found in the old manuscript list. The group also includes portraits of Michael Drayton, Richard Burbage, William Sly, Nathan Field, Richard Perkins and Tom Bond.

The College was not so fortunate, or perhaps not so particular, in regard to a catalogue of its newly acquired books. That there was a list of some sort we know from the Chancery interrogatories, which refer to a paper containing the numbers and sizes of the 'stitched and covered books' produced by Jane Johnson when the estate was inventoried³. Even if the list had been preserved we could not be sure that it included

¹ Dulwich, Alleyn MS. vi. 39, Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 154. See also Wm. Young, *History of Dulwich College*, i, p. 187.

² J. C. L. Sparkes, *Catalogue of the Cartwright Collection... at Dulwich College*, p. 19.

³ P.R.O. Town Depositions, *Dulwich v. Johnson*, C 24. 1114/31. Interrogatory 8.

Cartwright's entire library, but we should at least know the meaning of that highly provocative phrase, 'stitched and covered books.' It is of course an accurate description of a manuscript prompt-book, such as *Believe as you List*¹, and if such were meant, several bibliographical theories might profit thereby. What more reasonable to suppose than that numerous prompt-books fell into Cartwright's hands during the Commonwealth²? But it is an equally accurate description of a printed book stitched into a paper cover but unbound—a popular form of publication for plays—and it would be more than unusual if in the 1680's greater importance were attached to manuscripts than to printed books. Nor is there in all the documents I have examined one other word to suggest that Cartwright's library included manuscripts. The Chancery bill refers to '8 large Bookes of Cuts, 9 of the best Bookes in folio,' and again to 'Bookes Richly Bound of great worth vallue and rarity.' Jane's answer includes the confession that she sold six books of prints for £3 and 'six volumes of playbooks' for 20s. The appended memorandum of things missing specifies

Bp. Halls works in fol.
two shakspares plays 1647
Three Ben Jonsons works y^e 1st vollum
One Ben Jonsons works 2^d vollum.

All of which were valued at £2. 5s. 0d.!

Manuscript or otherwise, the library has first and last caused a good deal of ink to be spilt. In 1695 Richard Pritchard, Fellow of the College, presented a bill of complaint to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his capacity as Visitor, one item of which was that 'the Master has detained the use of the books in the study from the fellowes he alone keeping the Keys thereof, and refuseing or neglecting to give the fellowes a catalogue of the books.' In the course of their extremely lengthy reply to Pritchard's twenty articles of complaint, the Master and Warden explain to his Grace that the founder did not leave a library for the use of the College but that 'one Mr Cartwright who had been an acquaintance of the ffounders did...bequeath a considerable quantity of bookes'; that the legacy was in litigation and 'likely to depend long,' so that the Warden who was under bond for £1000 for due administration 'did think it was fitt for him to keep the key that soe there be noe imbezilement the said Bookes not being chained but standing loose on the

¹ Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 2828. See the introduction to C. J. Sisson's edition of the play in *Malone Society Reprints*, pp. x, xi.

² For a discussion of the possibilities see F. S. Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities*, pp. 108-9.

shelves¹. The Warden somewhat hotly denied 'that he did ever refuse the said Richard Pritchard or any of the other fellowes to have the use of any of the said Bookes and to take them to their Chambers upon giving a note under their hand of what booke they tooke, that soe they may be called for againe and he is still ready and willing soe to doe and denyes that he ever refused the ffellowes or any of them to make a Catalogue....'

Of the Warden's conduct in this matter His Grace approved and said he would make an order about the manner of access to the books. Presumably as a result of this complaint a catalogue was made, for which the Warden charged £1. 10s. 0d. to the College on 18 April 1696².

Not even this catalogue has been spared to us, and the Cartwright library has remained a fertile field for speculation. Collier informs us with his customary air of authority that 'the late Mr. Malone was lucky enough to induce the Master, Warden and Fellows to exchange the old Plays [bequeathed by Cartwright] for old Sermons, and the old Plays now form the bulk of the Commentator's collection at Oxford³.' Joseph Knight makes the equally dogmatic statement in the *D.N.B.* that 'Cartwright's plays, after quitting Dulwich [by an unspecified agency], became the nucleus of the famous Garrick collection'; while Sir George Warner has hazarded a more tentative suggestion that Malone possibly lent some of them to Lord Charlemont and that Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 1994 may represent a remnant of the collection⁴. So far I have been unable to trace any Dulwich books, printed or manuscript, in Malone's correspondence with Charlemont or Steeven's with Garrick⁵. Garrick's collection of quartos seems to have been completed by 1775, whereas Malone first refers to manuscripts at Dulwich many years later. But that of course proves nothing.

There remains one curious bit of evidence for the clue to which I am indebted to Dr Greg, a pencilled note in a modern hand on the flyleaf of *The Wizard*, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10306. It has been erased, but most of it has been retraced and this part runs 'formerly in possession of Cartwright presented by him to Dulwich College then in Garrick's... there...' This manuscript was purchased by the Museum in the Heber

¹ A transcript of Pritchard's petition and the reply are to be found in Archbishop Tenison's Register in Lambeth Palace Library. Quoted extensively in Young, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 195 ff.

² Dulwich, Weekly Account Books, Bickley, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³ Collier, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

⁴ Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁵ *Manuscripts of James, First Earl of Charlemont*, Historical MSS. Commission, Report 13, App. VIII. *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, 1831-2; G. P. Baker, *Some Unpublished Correspondence of David Garrick*.

sale in 1836, the Catalogue of which contains the following description: 'The Wizard, A Comedy, *written before 1640*. This MS. was presented by Cartwright the Player, with his Collection of Old Plays, to Dulwich College. *It was afterwards sold in the Garrick Collection*¹.' And it was. Thorpe the bookseller bought it at the Garrick sale on 3 May 1823². But this time there is no mention of Cartwright or of Dulwich, and we are again left without conclusive proof. We know from Aubrey that there were plays at Dulwich given by Cartwright³, so it is evident that the redoubtable Jane did not dispose of all of them for her twenty shillings, but I am forced to the melancholy conclusion that their subsequent history must remain for the present one of the unsolved problems of bibliography. But it may well be that we are indebted to Cartwright for some of the few dramatic manuscripts that have come down to us.

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LONDON.

¹ *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Part XI, lot 1324. Price paid £4. 5s. 0d.

² *Catalogue of the Library... of D. Garrick etc.*, Tenth Day's Sale, lot 2660. Price paid 17s. 6d.

³ Aubrey, *loc. cit.*

THE INTERPRETATION AND PROBABLE DERIVATION OF THE MUSICAL NOTATION IN THE 'AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE' MS.

(Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 2168).

THE few lines of vocal melody indicated in the musical score which accompanies the text, in the unique MS. of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, have been presented in various transliterations. None of these, however, offers much definite clarification concerning the actual performance of the notes. Each interpretation differs considerably from all the others. This study is an attempt to bring together for the first time the various opinions concerning the matters of mediæval musicology involved in the score, for the purpose of dissipating the muddle into which musical scholarship seems to have reduced this comparatively simple melody. A few notes are also offered to substantiate a new theory concerning the origin of the music in this *chantefable*.

The whole problem of rendering mediæval musical notation into modern equivalence is a vexing one. It has precipitated a mass of polemical literature, and brought about breaches in friendship, to a degree equalled by perhaps no other recent question in musico-literary scholarship, save the schism over the ballad-epic issue. Although it may be impossible to settle beyond gainsaying the ultimate technical points involved in such investigation, the matter may be made the occasion of pleasurable and profitable conjecture. It is inevitable that the student or amateur of Old French literature who possesses any degree of historic imagination should ask himself how the original author or performer of the *chantefable* presented the entertainment to his audience.

The study of origins and extant parallels of this form of literature, consisting of parts alternately spoken and sung or chanted, has been so far rather meagre and unenlightening. The musical theorists who have approached it have seemed to lack sound literary scholarship, while the academic treatment of the text has left little room for adequate musical interpretation on the part of the chief editors and commentators who have presented the MS. in printed versions. The results of research upon the significance of the *chantefable*, as approached from the standpoint of comparative literature, have been practically negligible.

Any adequate study of the various extant interpretations of the musical score of *Aucassin et Nicolette* necessarily involves some survey

of the controversies which arise in the consideration of mediæval music manuscript, concerning the value of pitch and the species of rhythm indicated by the rather ambiguous musical notation of that time. When this MS. was written (variously estimated between 1150 and 1250) the whole system of musical symbology was in a very indefinite transitional state. This period was approximately half-way between the old 'short-hand' system of neumes, and the later more exact method of Gregorian notation. Time values of notes, and the indication of pitch according to many movable clefs, varied a great deal with the individual who wrote the music¹.

The MS. of *Aucassin et Nicolette* shows that fine disdain of consistency which is characteristic of the mediæval scribe, in musical notation quite as much as in matters of orthography. The music is written indifferently upon staves of four, five, or six lines. The melody is, apparently, identical for each *laisse* of the text, with a slight change only for feminine endings. Yet there are to be observed infinite variations within this simple form, which have all been carefully tabulated by painstaking scholars². In their zeal for capturing new specimens, these investigators overlook the fact that repetitions are usually varied slightly even by the most primitive poets, either involuntarily, or purposely for variety. Standardisation of writing did not set in until a much later date than this. One recalls that both Chaucer and Martin Luther were, considerably later than this, spelling the same word in two or three different ways upon a single page, without qualm.

The music is repeated in the MS. with each recurrence of a verse section of the *chanteable*, which gives ample opportunity for the scribe to record diversified readings. Some of the variations were doubtless contrived to fit the words of a particular passage. Others may have arisen from involuntary inaccuracy. It is not impossible that the MS. may have been meddled with at a later time by other hands than those of the original scribe. This appears probable from the fact that, in the places where five or six line staves are used, the music is crowded into the text in such a way as to indicate that one or two extra lines may have been added subsequently by later ambitious musicians, who aspired to critical editing. Also, some of the notes in the MS. appear decidedly blurred, as if blotted either at the time of writing (which is hardly probable), or marred through later manipulation.

¹ Jules Combarieu, *Histoire de la Musique*, Paris, 1913, I, pp. 275 ff.

² F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, London, 1897, pp. 157-9; Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1905, Vol. I, Part II, p. 238.

One of the chief elements of uncertainty in the interpretation of the music is the much-discussed matter of the note which comes at the end of the first line of each *laisse*, called a 'podatus,' which is an abbreviation for some figure consisting of several notes. This assumes various forms in the scribal notation, according to its relation to the text, and to the other notes of the line. Often the 'podatus' appears less distinct than the other notes, and it is even omitted entirely in the music for some of the verse sections, as if the scribe himself were not certain of its exact propriety. He also has a habit of perching his notes indeterminately a little distance above or below a line, so that their exact location is difficult to determine. These are a few of the indefinite points which make the interpretation of the written notes problematical.

To add to the uncertainty, there was considerable confusion among early editors as to the significance of the varied clefs employed in the MS. The history of the printing of the music of this MS. is an interesting example of falsehood begetting falsehood. Previous to the appearance of the facsimile reproduction, in 1896, the music had been printed in its entirety four times: first by Méon, in 1808, then in Moland's edition in 1856, followed by Delvau's in 1859, while Bourdillon brought out a modernised transcription of the music in 1887 (also a later revised edition in 1897). The later editions follow, in most respects, the first transcription into Gregorian notation, published by Méon, and they repeat its inaccuracies, with the exception of Bourdillon's version, which will be considered in detail.

The reasons for some of Méon's errors are revealed by an examination of the MS. itself. It is not surprising, in view of the general ignorance of mediæval notation in his day, that he treated the 'podatus' at the end of the first line of the first *laisse* as a single note. The second *laisse* in the MS. shows a single note preceding the 'podatus,' on the same line with it, which Méon interpreted as a pair of repeated notes. The third *laisse*, as it stands in the MS., reverses this order, placing the single note on the same degree after the 'podatus' instead of before it. Varying his procedure at this point, Méon gives the reading of a single note followed by the note one step higher in the scale. Most curious of all is the peculiar way in which he confused the clefs in transcribing the music for the hemistich. He used sometimes the C-clef and sometimes the F-clef, with no apparent reason for the change, since he recorded the notes upon exactly the same degrees of the staff throughout his several readings, irrespective of what clef he employed! At the points involved, the MS. indicates clearly an F-clef. Moland misreads a part of the sign for the

C-clef in the second line of the first laisse, and interprets it as an additional note of the melody. Delvau makes the same mistake in regard to the F-clef in the hemistich, adding a superfluous tone to the melody¹.

But even these slipshod readings, involving confusion of clef signs, which can hardly be explained except as the result of carelessness, are not so difficult to understand as the comments of Mr Bourdillon, who appears in most matters painstaking and scrupulous to the last degree. In his tabulation of variations, based upon a study of the original MS., he states that there occurs an extra note *before* the 'podatus' in section 3, *after* it in sections 5 and 33, and that in the last feminine assonance (section 37) it is not given at all². An examination of the MS. itself shows clearly the extra note *after* the 'podatus' in section 37, and none at all in section 33. If such inaccuracies are present in the work of the editor who has done most to make *Aucassin et Nicolette* in its original form known to the world, it is small wonder that the state of information about it is still chaotic.

It should be noted that the four versions of the published music so far discussed were given in the sixteenth-century Gregorian system, which does not render definite rhythm or pitch. There are many other interpretations printed in modern notation, but no two of them seem to agree. A German scholar, Dr Grandaur, gave an approximate rendering into notation of our present musical system in 1868³, and an English musician, W. S. Rockstro, has given a more accurate reading⁴. Neither of these attempts to assign a definite time or key signature to the melody. Other interpreters have become more daringly specific. Riemann puts the notes into a modern major scale, and march rhythm⁵; still others maintain that a three-four rhythm is required⁶. Suchier, in his latest editions, adopted a reading of this sort⁷. Thus the simple lay of the thirteenth-century *jogleor* has become the occasion of a modern musical Babel.

In the light of the history of musical notation, bearing in mind the gradual evolution of definite rhythms as well as modern scale forms which gradually replaced the old modes, it is easy to understand how variations may creep into a modern transcription of even so simple a score as this.

¹ See the musical score as reproduced in M. Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes des Poètes français des xi-xv siècles*, Paris, 1808, Vol. I; L. Moland, *Nouvelles françaises en prose du xiii siècle*, Paris, 1856, *Aucassin et Nicolette*; A. Delvau, *Romans de chevalerie des xii-xvi siècles*, Paris, 1859, p. xxii.

² F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, London, 1897, p. 157.

³ W. Hertz, *Aucassin und Nicolette*, Vienna, 1868, p. 68.

⁴ F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Manchester, 1919, p. xxxi.

⁵ H. Riemann, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁶ P. Aubry, *Trouvères et Troubadours*, Paris, 1909, p. 202, and *Zeitschr. für Rom. Philol.*, xxxiv, p. 372.

⁷ H. Suchier, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, New York, 1923, p. 139.

The purpose of the notes, when they were written, was merely to serve as a sort of musical shorthand to refresh the performer's memory, rather than to serve as an exact record. Therefore the most sensible method of interpreting it would seem to be to make as few adaptations or changes as possible, singing the notes at a pitch well within the range of the individual voice, preserving their relative intervals without addition of accidentals to create modern tonality, and making no definite rhythmic beat, but reading all notes as of approximately the same value, grouping them rhythmically according to the natural accent of the accompanying words.

The music, as it stands in the MS., is written according to the system of Franco of Cologne, who is supposed to have lived in the middle of the thirteenth century¹. His system did not define metric values, and indeed it is difficult to demonstrate that any music in that age had rhythm in our sense of the term, although some researchers in folk-music hold that practically all folk-song at that time was in two-four measure². There is another point, however, in favour of keeping the notes as they stand, at least without introducing any chromatic alterations, as Riemann, Suchier, and others have done. The only chromatic accidental commonly employed in church music was B-flat, and the Gregorian modes, which were widely in use at the time, even in secular music, could be built from each step of the natural scale, without the use of accidentals. The scale, or mode, which resulted from taking G as a key-note, and grouping the other notes of the natural C scale around it, without the introduction of F-sharp, gave what was known as the Mixo-Lydian mode. It seems evident from the reading of the music in the MS. that it was intended to be sung in this mode, rather than a major key. If the notes are read according to the clear indication of the clefs employed, the first two lines of the melody, without the unwarranted addition of any chromatic tones, stand in the mode just described, which was a perfectly normal set of intervals in the thirteenth century, when the modern tendency to raise the 'leading tone,' or seventh note of the scale, to a half-step only below the key-note, had not yet become universal.

It is true that our present diatonic scale structure gives a greater feeling of finality in its intervals, at least to our ears. If the tendency toward this feeling was already beginning to make itself felt in the thirteenth century, the desire for some such sense of an authentic cadence would account for the way in which the music falls into the pattern of

¹ F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, London, 1887, p. 160.

² J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation*, Leipzig, 1904, I, p. 120.

the major scale, as it approaches the end of the 'tirade.' It is noteworthy that the tune for the hemistich at the end of each *laisse* is written in the F-clef, which throws the concluding notes of the melody into a complete final cadence on the intervals of the diatonic major scale. The clefs are changed in this way consistently in each *laisse* throughout the entire MS. This very element of design still further strengthens the supposition that the first two lines of the melody, written in the C-clef, were intentionally kept 'up in the air.' This half-cadence effect would be entirely destroyed by the introduction of the F-sharp, according to the expedient adopted by modern German editors. There must have been some good reason for the consistent shifting of clefs, and this seems a plausible explanation.

Other explanations have been offered, of course. Bourdillon suggests that 'this change of clef was doubtless intended to lead up in some way to the prose recitation following¹.' 'In some way' seems rather indeterminate, but there are very definite means by which the verse part of the *chantefable* might have been rounded out at the conclusion. The mode of procedure would depend chiefly upon the number of performers, and the character of voice of the person, or persons, who sang the lyric passages. One supposition is that the audience may have joined in the short final line, which amounts to a very simple refrain. Andrew Lang has noted the persistence into our own time of this sort of *chantefable*, in which the audience join in singing the refrain at intervals². This interpretation is in harmony with the explanation recently advanced for the *Aoi* which recurs throughout the *Chanson de Roland*, that it was a 'sort of refrain³' in which the audience perhaps joined. This is a practice still observed at public performances by Arabian musicians.

Still another explanation of the change from treble to the F-clef (our modern bass) would be that a woman, or a boy with unchanged voice, sang the notes written in the C-clef, while a deeper man's voice furnished the cadence, or at least reinforced it, at the conclusion. Gaston Paris thinks it likely that several persons took part in the performance⁴, or that at least the *jogleor* was accompanied by his wife, who assisted him. He cites the use of the plural verb, '*or diënt*,' etc., to support this view. Moland, on the other hand, interprets this plural verb as the equivalent of the indefinite *on* in modern usage⁵. Walter Pater suggests what seems

¹ F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Manchester, 1919, p. xxxiii.

² A. Lang, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, London, 1887, p. 67.

³ T. A. Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland*, Boston, 1924, p. 4.

⁴ G. Paris, *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1900, pp. 99, 101-2.

⁵ Moland, *op. cit.*, introductory note.

a still more fanciful hypothesis, until examined in the light of contemporary Arabian practices. 'The piece was probably intended to be recited by a company of trained performers, many of whom, at least for the lesser parts, were probably children¹.'

There is still another point connected with the actual rendition of the music which has never been satisfactorily explained. There are the same incertitude and diversity of opinion as to the order in which the various staves of music are intended to be sung, that there are in regard to the rhythm and tonality of the song. There are two staves of music presented at the beginning of each tirade of verse, except the last one (section 41), which has three staves, the third being a literal repetition of the first. Hertz believes that the two segments of melody were complementary to each other, and were sung in succession over and over, without variation². Riemann is positive that the first line of melody was sung only at the beginning of each tirade, while the second line was used for all succeeding verses, until the last one, which always has its own particular line of music written with it³. G. Paris considers either of these methods of procedure possible, but favours the idea of the two phrases being used in alternation, since, in writing out the music for the final *laisse*, the scribe has indicated the repetition of the music of the first verse at the entrance of the third verse⁴. Bourdillon has made a closer study of the various ramifications of this feature of the music than has any other editor. He favours a flexible and varied interpretation. 'Either line might have been repeated alone in the course of the verse, if it so suited the sense, without any awkward derangement of the melody... probably the singer repeated now one twice running, now the other, according to his judgment⁵.'

The most plausible source of enlightenment for some of these problems which arise from the consideration of the musical score of *Aucassin et Nicolette* has been almost totally neglected by all investigators. New understanding of the whole musical setting may be gained, if it is viewed, as the text itself often is, as a product of Arabian influences upon the unknown author of this *chante-fable*. It has been frequently suggested that this *genre* presupposes an oriental prototype, but the music has yet to be approached for a thorough study in that light. The only suggestion in that direction so far advanced was that made by Bourdillon in his

¹ W. Pater, *The Renaissance*, Portland, 1912, p. 32.

² W. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

³ H. Riemann, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁴ G. Paris, introduction to Bida, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Paris, 1878.

⁵ F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, London, 1897, pp. 158-9. Th. Gérold advances practically the same hypothesis in M. Roques, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Paris, 1925, pp. xxi-xxv.

last edition of the work, in 1919, and then it is merely hinted at. 'It seems to me quite possible that the air to these verses, with its strange half-mournful drone, was originally an Arabian or Moorish chant¹.' There are many concrete evidences to support what Bourdillon here hazards as a nebulous conjecture, without substantiating it. My own slight acquaintance with contemporary Arabian musical practices reveals that the very structure of the music recorded for *Aucassin*, and even the scale in which the main burden of the melody is carried, are identical with Arabian forms which have survived into our own time.

This feeling that the music is of Arabian origin was suggested by personal experience, rather than by an approach to the subject through scholarly investigation. While travelling in remote districts of Algeria and Tunisia, I heard some oriental forms of public musical recitation and singing which seemed to me a real survival of the *chantefable*. In connexion with these experiences, my mind naturally turned back to the welter of conflicting opinions among European minds as to what the musical element of that form of entertainment originally consisted in. It is perhaps permissible, therefore, to recount in this connexion one instance of the form of Arabian entertainment which helped to solve the mystery of the musical score of *Aucassin*, at least to my satisfaction.

On one of my visits to a Moorish café, where the older inhabitants of the community were in the habit of foregathering to attend native forms of amusement which have died out in the larger cities under French influence, I was very much interested to observe the actions of a pair of strange musicians. They had evidently just come from the interior, for they wore the typical desert dress. One was a man past middle age, the other a boy of perhaps twelve, who chanted at intervals a sort of accompaniment to the older man's monologue, in a high clear treble. The older *raconteur* appeared to be half repeating from memory, and half extemporising, on some theme with which he was familiar, and at stated points, which both performers seemed agreed upon, the boy would take up the thread and chant a short lyrical interlude. The alternation of narrative scraps, first in prose and then in song, carried on by two performers, immediately suggested the *chantefable* origin about which so much has been conjectured, so I gave them my closest attention.

The pair circled the café, stopping in front of each table in turn, and

¹ F. W. Bourdillon, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Manchester, 1919, p. xxxi.

repeating a tirade, always ending with the ballad-like refrain. I noticed that the phrases of the part which was sung were varied, both in length and subject-matter, as well as arrangement of musical sequence, but the conclusion was always the same. The man in whose honour the tirade was sung would bow his acknowledgment, and drop a coin into the wicker basket which the older singer carried conveniently at his elbow.

The whole performance had the air of a highly conventionalised impromptu, made up by ringing the changes with infinite variation and new combinations of certain well-defined stock elements, with which the performers, and probably the audience also, were very familiar. It occurred to me that originally *Aucassin et Nicolette* may have been written down for just such a travelling couple as this, an older minstrel accompanied by a young boy or woman taking the second and lighter part, as has been suggested by G. Paris and others. Such an explanation would clear up many of the moot points in the score of the MS., which have been already set forth at some length. Certainly the singers whom I heard were entirely free, both in the rhythmic pattern which they shaped at will, to the same melody, and also in their varied use of recurrent identical phrases of music in constantly varying combinations. Here, too, we find substantiation for Walter Pater's suggestion that children may have been trained to take part in the original *chante-fable*.

The technical elements involved in the interpretation of the score were practically all exemplified in the performance of these Arabian singers. The puzzling change from treble to bass clef in every tirade could be accounted for by the alternation of the two voices. The matters of varying rhythm and phrase structure, chiefly adjusted by extemporaneous arrangement, would set at rest the flotsam and jetsam of rigid and inflexible readings of the score, which have led to so much confusion in the past. Most significant of all, the whole matter of what scale to employ as the basis of the melody would be conclusively settled if the postulation of a direct Arabian model be accepted. The particular series of intervals employed in the two opening phrases of the *Aucassin et Nicolette* music corresponds exactly to one of the most popular modes of Arabian music, the *Djorka*¹.

According to Boethius, it was the purpose of the mediæval church to eliminate all Arabian influence from European music, but it is not likely that the ecclesiastical ban could prohibit something of Moorish culture

¹ Francesco Salvador-Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, London, n.d., p. 93. J. Combarieu, *La Musique et la Magie*, Paris, 1909, p. 181, gives a similar Arabian mode, under the name *Adrak*.

from flowing into the sensitive and receptive mould of mind and spirit which must have characterised the composer-poet who conceived *Aucassin et Nicolette*. Personally I should like, with Walter Pater, to 'divine for it a still more ancient ancestry, traces in it of an Arabian origin, as a leaf lost out of some early *Arabian Nights*.'

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PIERRE DE PECKHAM AND HIS
'LUMIERE AS LAIS'¹

II

THE LATIN SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

THE ELUCIDARIUS.

It has generally been assumed that the *Lumiere as Laïs* is a translation of the *Elucidarius* ascribed to Honorius of Autun. It has been known that this translation is also an adaptation, and Schorbach does not include this text in his *Studien über das deutsche Volksbuch Lucidarius*; but the true facts of the case have never been definitely stated. Pierre de Peckham's original intention was to base his work upon the *Elucidarius*, but, finding that his own views were not in agreement with those of Honorius, he abandoned the project, and sought elsewhere for inspiration². The situation is explained in the Prologue:

Le premier lyvre en aukun endreyt
Est del Lucydarie estreit.
Mes pus ke jeo me aparcevoie
Ke mesprist en poinz, ne vuloie
Plus de cel lyveret treyter.
Einz comencey en autres estudier,
E moveie les questiums
Ke sunt escrist, e les respuns
Donai, come Deu me enseyneyt,
Come aillurs escrit esteyt. (f. 20 r^o, ll. 627-36.)

Actually, Pierre also used the *Elucidarius* for the first Distinction of Book II. He follows the Latin closely, and the omissions and insertions, with few exceptions, are only those necessitated by his poetic form. The following chapter, the third of Book II, will illustrate this:

D. Sentent il Deu, li element?

M. Oyl, sachez verrement.

Kar quauunke est a nus insensibile

A Deu vist, si est sensible.

D. Sentiunt³ elementa Deum? M. Deus
nihil unquam fecit quod insensibile ei sit.
Quae enim sunt inanimata, nobis quidem
sunt insensibilia et mortua. Deo autem
omnia vivunt, et omnia creatorem suum
sentiunt.

¹ Continued from p. 47.

² M. Langlois seems to suggest, on p. 69 of *La Vie Spirituelle*, Paris, 1928, which has appeared since this article was accepted for publication, that I have expressed the opinion that the authorities of Pierre are only the *Elucidarius* and the originals from which he quotes. I should like to make it clear that I have not dealt with the question of sources for the actual plan of the *Lumiere* other than the *Elucidarius*, and have not pursued the many affinities with works which may have been known to him. I also consider that his learning was probably very superficial, and acknowledge the possibility of intermediary sources for the translations, some of which I have here compared with their actual originals. But these issues were beyond the scope of my investigations, which have been concerned so far with Pierre's acknowledged borrowings.

³ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXII, p. 1113.

Le ciel ke veez si le sent,
 C'est a saver le firmament,
 Kar il se mut continuement
 A sun pleysir e a sun acenement.
 Solail e lune e esteilles ausi
 Le sentent, sachez le de fi,
 Kar a certain tens lur curs parfunt
 Sulum l'ordeynement ke il unt.
 La tere en a de ly le sens
 Kar sun frut porte a certeyn tens.
 Les ewes e les mers le sentent
 Kar en lur liu repeyrent e entrent.
 E venz lur tempestement
 Lessent par sun comaundement.
 Morts le sentent ke a sa volunté
 Relievent e sunt resucité.
 Enfern le sent, kar ices lest
 K'ad devuré, quant il li plest.
 Bestes l'entendent, kar il funt
 Sulum la ley ke receu unt.

Alas, humme ne l'entent
 Sulum ceo ke a ly apent!
 Dunke n'i avereyt pas taunt envie
 Entre la gent de ceste vie.

(f. 27 v^o, ll. 1113-40.)

Coelum quippe eum sentit, quia ob ejus
 jussum incessabili semper revolutione
 circuit, unde dicitur: 'Qui fecit caelos
 in intellectu.'

Sol, et luna, et stellae eum sentiunt, quia
 loca sui cursus invariabiliter servando
 repetunt.

Terra eum sentit, quia semper certo tem-
 pore fructus et germina producit.

Flumina eum sentiunt, quia ad loca unde
 fluunt semper redeunt.

Mare et venti eum sentiunt, quia ei im-
 peranti mox quiescendo obediunt.

Mortui eum sentiunt, quia ad ejus im-
 perium resurgunt.

Infernus eum sentit, quia quos devorat,
 eo jubente, reddit.

Omnia bruta animalia Deum intelligunt,
 quia legem ab eo sibi insitam jugiter
 custodiunt.

The closing passage is original, and finishes the argument with a suitable moralisation.

At the end of the first Distinction five MSS. (DGFJM) have this rubric: 'Hic terminantur questiones Lucidarii, et maxime solucciones.' The section which follows, on angels, is chiefly based upon St Gregory, but one or two passages from the *Elucidarius* still occur. The Disciple's questions are for the most part the same in both cases. After this section all borrowing from the answers ceases, but Pierre still follows the outline, with the result that, in glancing through the table of rubrics prefixed to the work, an impression is gained that the *Lumiere as Lais* is founded upon the *Elucidarius*, with a few slight alterations. The *Elucidarius* is in three Books, the *Lumiere as Lais* in twice as many, but the last Book of each is an account of the Last Judgment, with the subsequent fate of the wicked and of the righteous. The existence of Pierre's other sources, and still more the extent to which he used them, cannot be suspected unless the whole text be studied.

An interesting point of detail concerning the Prologue arises from the study of Pierre's treatment of the *Elucidarius*. This section of the work, as has already been mentioned, falls into two parts, the Prayer and the Prologue. From the passage quoted about his use of the *Elucidarius*,

and from his description of the contents of each Book, it appears that the Prologue proper must have been written after the completion of the work. But in Book II, chapter 2, Pierre omits a detailed description of the creation given by Honorius, dismissing it with the words:

Lamunt le avez asez oy,
Pur ceo le les jeo ore icy,
Kar sachez cest k'est la des jurs dit,
Des (s)eynz troverez tut escrit. (ll. 1109-12.)

Obviously this refers to the beginning of the Prayer, which is a summary of the opening chapters of Genesis. The Prayer, therefore, must have been written first, the Prologue last of all, and then placed immediately after the Prayer in the final draft of the work.

THE BIBLE.

Pierre made extensive use of the Bible, as was natural in a work of this kind. At times he used the Bible stories as illustrations, at others he reinforced his points with quotations. These quotations sometimes occur in the source from which the following or preceding passage is derived, though there is no indication when this is the case. Most frequently, however, Pierre supplied the texts himself, probably from memory. Thus he says:

Pur ceo comaunde Nostre Seygnur e dit,
Si cum nus trovum en seynthe escrit,
Ke cil dune ke deus coetes¹ a
L'autre a celi ke nule a. (f. 40 r^o, ll. 1916-19.)

This was said by John the Baptist, not Christ (*Luke*, iii, 11). Pierre also confuses the hymn 'Ave Maria' with the account of the Annunciation in *Luke*. As will be seen, it is the latter which he means to quote:

Le aungle Gabriel enveyastes
A la virgine ke taunt amastes
Ky ly dist: Ave, Marie,
De grace tute replenie.
Od vus Nostre Seygnur avez.
Beneyt sur tute femmes seez.
Le fruyt de tun ventre seyt beneyt.
Amen. Amen. Issi seyt. (f. 15 v^o, ll. 325-32.)

The name Marie is an interpolation, and the last line comes from Elisabeth's greeting at the visitation. In the Gospel Gabriel only says (*Luke*, i, 28), 'Ave, gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus.' Elisabeth says later (*Luke*, i, 42): 'Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.' Pierre translates the whole hymn as he knew it. Part of the present ending was added at about that time, the rest not until the sixteenth century.

¹ B, cotes.

The following is a list of direct references identified: *Genesis*, 2; *Exodus*, 1; *II Samuel (Kings)*, 1; *Job*, 1; *Psalms*, 3; *Proverbs*, 4; *Song of Solomon*, 1; *Isaiah*, 2; *Jeremiah*, 1; *Ezekiel*, 1; *Malachi*, 1; *Tobit*, 1; Apocryphal Books of *Daniel*, 1; *Matthew*, 1; *Luke*, 6; *John*, 5; *Matthew*, *Mark*, or *Luke*, 2; *Matthew* or *Luke*, 3; *Mark* or *Luke*, 2; *Acts*, 2; *Romans*, 4; *I Corinthians*, 10; *Galatians*, 1; *Ephesians*, 1; *I Thessalonians*, 3; *I Timothy*, 1; *Hebrews*, 2; *James*, 2; *II Peter*, 1; *I John*, 8; *II John*, 1; *Jude*, 1.

From this list it will be seen that Pierre's knowledge of the Bible is comprehensive. He seems, however, to have been more familiar with some books than with others. It is possible that *St Mark's Gospel* is not used at all, and at least one of the certain quotations from *St Matthew* is at second-hand. There seems to be no quotation from *Revelation*, which is surprising in view of its popularity in the Middle Ages. The number of quotations from St Paul's Epistles is very striking. Pierre seems indeed to treat him as one of his principal sources, rather than as a mere part of 'seynte escrit.' The great *First Epistle to the Corinthians* is the most used. The large number of quotations from the *First Epistle of St John* is due to the fact that it is much drawn upon for the section on charity. The quotation from *The Song of Solomon*, ii, 4, 'Ordinavit in me charitatem,' distorts the meaning of the original according to the mediæval custom. The reference is, of course, to love, not charity. The quotation from *Job* is not accurate, and appears to be an afterthought:

Par unt seynt Poel ensample enseygne
E Job, de feyn, estuble, e leyne
[Pur ceo ke plus tost est degasté
Estuble ke buche en verité,]
En feu si serreit ensement
Le feyn plus tost ars verreyment. (f. 193 vº, ll. 11955-60.)

The only passage from *Job* which Pierre could have associated with this quotation from *I Cor.* iii, 12-13, is *Job*, xxiii, 10, 'Probavit me quasi aurum, quod per ignem transit.' Even the passage from St Paul is freely rendered: 'Si quis autem superaedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, uniuscujusque opus manifestum erit; dies enim Domini declarabit, quia in igne revelabitur, et uniuscujusque opus quale sit, igne probabit.' Possibly Pierre may have been misled by some marginal reference to Job.

Usually, however, the quotations are more accurate:

E Davi en le Sauter ensement	Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera
Dit k'en haut le firmament	manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum.
Mustre le overayne de ses meins.	(Ps. xviii (or xix), 2.)
(f. 21 vº, ll. 739-41.)	

Dunt Salomon en ces Proverbis dist
 Sicume en Bible est escrit,
 Ke li dreitureus la tere adresce,
 Le aver la destrust par sa destrece.
 (f. 65 v^o, ll. 3601-4.)

Rex justus erigit terram: vir avarus
 destruet eam. (Prov. xxix, 4.)

Kar quauant esvoegle esvoegle meyne
 Ambedeus se cheyent, come enseygne
 Le Evangelie, en une fosse.
 (f. 167 r^o, ll. 10259-61.)

Numquid potest caecus caecum ducere?
 Nonne ambo in foveam cadunt?
 (Luke, vi, 39.)

Dunt seynt Poel en verité
 Hauberk apele charité.
 (f. 108 v^o, ll. 6403-4.)

Loricam fidei et charitatis.
 (I Thess. v, 8.)

In this case it may be noted that 'hauberk' is a better rendering of 'loricam' than the English 'breast-plate.'

Examples of this kind might be multiplied. To illustrate the cases where Pierre, quoting at length from the Bible narrative, paraphrases rather than translates, the following passage from *Matthew*, xxii, or *Luke*, xx, is an excellent specimen:

Jesu Crist k'est verray Deus
 Ke fust tempté de Fariseus,
 (Ke demaunderent si doner
 Deusent a Cesar nul dener¹,
 E il lur mustra come dreit sage
 En un dener empreynt sa ymage,
 E demanda a ky le ymage esteit,
 'A Cesair,' checun ly diseit,
 E nostre Seygnur pleyn de saver
 Dit: 'Rendez a Cesaire ke doit aver,
 E coo k'est a Deu, a Deu rendez.)
 —Issi ad Jhesu Crist ordinez.... (f. 177 r^o, ll. 10923-34.)

The speeches of Christ and of the Pharisees are the only literal parts. The style of the narrative may be compared with that of the anecdotes from St Gregory's *Dialogues*, where it is even more apparent that Pierre was an adapter of no mean order, skilful in rejecting the unessential.

ST AMBROSE.

There are only two quotations from St Ambrose.

Dunt Seynt Ambrosie dit saunz dutaunce
 Ke cil fet a dreit sa penaunce
 Ke de ses maus k'at fet se en deut
 E mal apres fere ne veut. (f. 161 v^o, ll. 9903-6.)

There are two passages in the *Sermones Sancto Ambrosio hactenus ascripti*², upon which this might be based:

XXV. De Sancta Quadragesima, ix: 'Poenitentia est et mala prae-terita plangere, et plangenda iterum non committere'; and XXVI. De Sancta Quadragesima, x: 'Poenitentem hominem dico, qui plangit quod peccaverat, et rogat Dominum, ut non iterum faciat quod admiserat.'

¹ B, aver.

² Migne, xvii, pp. 655, 658.

The second quotation illustrates the cases where a Biblical text is quoted at second-hand.

Seynt Poel dit verreyment:
Quant Nostre Syre vendra au jugement,
Nus serrum en le eyr trestuz ravi
E vendrum la encuntre ly.
Dunt seynt Ambrosi dit issi,
Ke les vifs ke serrunt ravi,
En cel ravir tauntost murrunt
E pus murir ja ne purrunt. (f. 192 r^o, ll. 11887-94.)

This is a free rendering from the *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Thessalonicenses Primam*¹, verses 14-17. 'Cum enim tollentur, morientur: ut pervenientes ad Dominum, praesentia Domini recipiant animas; quia cum Deo mortui esse non possunt.'

ST ANSELM.

Quotations from St Anselm do not appear throughout the whole work. His writings are used only for the description of the Last Judgment and the torments of hell in the last Book. This is a skilful patchwork of passages taken from St Anselm's *Meditations*, welded together to form a continuous whole.

Part of this description is ascribed to St Augustine. This could not be traced in his works, while most of it occurs in the *Meditations*. It is possible that this is a mistaken attribution, or a scribe's error. Later, l. 12707, FJK read 'Austin,' and M has 'Ancelline,' where the other MSS. give correctly 'Anselme,' so that there are grounds for suggesting a confusion.

The following extract will show how Pierre adapted Anselm's language, changing the Meditation into a harangue:

Seynt Anselme regrette cele gent
Ke dampné serrunt al jugement.
O, fet il, Come estreytement
Serrunt demené icele gent
Quant al jugement vendrunt!
Kar u turner ne saverunt.
Desus verrunt le juge irrez
E desuz enfren horrible asez.
Lur peccché accusaunt serrunt a destre,
E infinité de diables a senestre
Ke ver enfren les trerrunt.
E dedenz la cunscience averunt
Blessez dunt averunt remortz
E tut le mund ardaunt verrunt dehors.
O, fet il, keytifs, u fuerez?
Echaper nule part ne purrez.
Muscer ws ert impossible
E apparer trop horrible.

(f. 205 r^o, ll. 12707-24.)

*Meditatio II*²:

O angustiae: hinc erunt accusantia peccata, inde terrens justitia; subtus patens horridum chaos inferni, desuper iratus iudex; intus urens conscientia, foris ardens mundus. Justus vix salva-bitur; peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet? Constrictus ubi latebo? quomodo parebo? Latere erit impossibile, apparere intolerabile.

*Meditatio XVII*³:

Latere volunt, et non datur; fugere tentant, nec permittitur. Si oculos levant desuper, iudicis imminet furor; si deponunt, infernalis putei eis ingeritur horror.

¹ Migne, xvii, p. 450.

² Migne, clviii, p. 724.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 796.

There is a similar passage in the Day of Judgment¹:

O! Quel anguise e quel dolurs
Averunt dunc li pecheurs!
Kar il verunt par desus
Deu e ses seins mut irus:
Desus les diables tut apert
Enfer contre eus uvert.
De einz lur reysun remordant
E tost environ le mund ardant,
Les diables or unt prestement
Pur mener les en fort torment. (ll. 129-38.)

It will be noticed that both adapters have the same addition about the devils, but whether this is coincidental or not, it is impossible to say.

ST AUGUSTINE.

The source for which Pierre had the greatest respect is St Augustine's works. In actual bulk, the quotations from Honorius of Autun, St Gregory and St Bernard rival those from his writings. But it might almost be said that the treatment of a subject was not considered complete unless it included St Augustine's opinion. The results of this reverence are sometimes almost grotesque. For instance, after relating St Gregory's views on the orders of angels Pierre added:

Seynt Gregorie le dit apertement
E seynt Austin nel desdit nient.

Again, to the Disciple's question whether God will beautify the bodies of the damned as well as those of the blessed at the Resurrection, the Master replied:

Seynt Austyn a ceste questioun
Ne dune nule solucyoun.
Eynz dit, ke vaut de travailler
Entur teu chose de saver,
Pus ke averunt pardurablement
En enfern asez peyne e turment?

(f. 189 v^o, ll. 11725-30.)

This unsatisfactory reply comes from *Enchiridion, sive de Fide, Spe et Charitate*, Lib. I, cap. XLII²:

Neque enim fatigare nos debet incerta eorum habitudo vel pulchritudo, quorum erit certa et sempiterna damnatio.

It has not been possible in the course of the present survey to identify all the quotations. Those traced occur in the following works: *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Lib. I, cap. XVII; *Enarratio II, Sermo I, De prima parte Psalmi XXXII*; *Sermo LXI, Exhortatorius ad faciendas elemosynas*; *Sermo CV, De verbis evangelii Lucae*, cap. IX, 5-13; *Liber solilo-*

¹ H. J. Chaytor, in *Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts*, ed. O. H. Prior, p. 33.

² Migne, XL, p. 275.

quiorum animae ad Deum; Liber de cognitione verae vitae; Liber de vera et falsa poenitentia; Enchiridion, Lib. I; De Fide et Operibus, Lib. I; Quaestiones de Trinitate et de Genesi; Contra Julianum Pelagianum, Lib. VI.

The section on the ten commandments is largely based upon: *Sermo IX, De decem chordis, cap. III, IX, X; Sermo VIII, De decem plagis et decem praeceptis, cap. VI; Regula ad servos Dei.*

It is curious that nothing should have been found from the *De Civitate Dei*, in view of its popularity.

Some quotations present especial difficulty.

De seint Austyn est si descrite,
Cum en un de ces livres nus dite.
Esperance est dit tut dreit
Afer de venir a ceo k'em creit.
E en sentences e[st] si escrit
De esperance, kar la est dit
Del Mestre, ke esperance
Est en entente demuraunce
Certeyn pur avenir,
A la joie k'est a venir
Ke ce Deu grace vient proprement
E de nos merites ensement. (f. 102 r^o, ll. 5979-90.)

The only *sententia* dealing with hope is as follows: *XCIII, De Spe Fidelium*: 'Non te terreat, Christiane, quod credita differuntur: licet in abscondito sit promissio, in spe tamen perseverat oratio. Exercere operibus, cresce virtutibus. Dum fidei constantia probatur, gloria retributionis augetur.'

'Sa pensee K'ad la passiuu remembré' is a work which has not been identified¹. An invocation to the Virgin Mary, coming as it does among many quotations from St Bernard, may be a case of mistaken attribution, especially as the words 'dit come jeo sent' may indicate uncertainty on Pierre's part. Or it may occur in some apocryphal work, for though it is different in style and tone from St Augustine's own writings, there are similar passages in sermons placed by Migne in an Appendix (vol. xxxix). Reference has already been made to a description of the Last Judgment, which may be St Anselm's.

The most puzzling case is that of an apparent controversy with Pope Julius on eleventh-hour repentance. It is conceivable that Augustine should have written to refute opinions of Julius, but, since Julius died two years before Augustine's birth, he could not have replied. Yet Pierre says of him:

La Pape Julius a ceo respunt

¹ Cp. a passage on charity attributed to St Chrysostom.

and more definitely still:

Ke dit ke seynt Austyn l'entent
De ceus ke entendunt si lungement
De fere penaunce geskes aytaunt
Ke mort les grieve ke ne pouent avaunt.

No source for any part of this passage could be found, except for a few lines from Julius which will be dealt with later.

It must be remembered, in dealing with these unidentified quotations, that Pierre was not infallible. In the case of the Bible, he probably relied upon his memory, and hence made occasional mistakes. It seems only natural to infer that he was also mistaken at times when quoting the Fathers, especially one so familiar to him as St Augustine. It seems probable that the *Lumiere as Laïs* was written in about nine months, in which case mistakes due to haste may reasonably be expected.

In many cases, however, the quotations from St Augustine follow the original closely:

Dunt seynte Austyn descrit dreiture¹:
Dreyture est de prendre cure
E subvenir a mendivaunz
E as cheytifs peyn queraunz.
(f. 95 r^o, ll. 5603-6.)

*Sermo LXI*², *Exhortatorius ad faciendas eleemosynas*:

Non audisti Psalmum? Dispersit, inquit, dedit pauperibus; justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi (*Ps.* cx, 9). Hoc est bonum, hoc est bonum unde bonus es, justitia.

E seint Austyn dit ensement:
Enrouver duet³ peresce de gent,
Kar plus nus veut nostre Seigneur doner
Ke nus receyvve u aver,
E plus veut de nus aver mercy
Ke nus ne querum aver de ly.
(f. 103 v^o, ll. 6057-62.)

*Sermo CV*⁴, *De verbis evangelii Lucae*, cap. xi, 5-13:

Erubescat humana pigritia: plus vultille dare, quam nos accipere: plus vult ille misereri, quam nos a miseria liberari.

ST BERNARD.

Pierre's debt to St Bernard consists chiefly of long eulogies of the Virgin Mary, selected from various sermons and handled in much the same way as St Anselm's *Meditations*. There are besides a passage on the crucifixion, not identified, one on prudence and temperance, from *Tractatus*⁵ *de Ordine Vitae*, cap. iv: *Item de virtutibus theologiciis*, and one on mercy from *Sermones*⁶ *de Diversis V*, *de verbis Habacuc*, II, 1.

¹ descrit dreiture] A, d'escreytüre.

³ B, dust.

⁵ Migne, CLXXXIV, p. 574.

² Migne, XXXVIII, p. 410.

⁴ Migne, XXXVIII, p. 629.

⁶ Migne, CLXXXIII, p. 555.

The following passage will illustrate Pierre's method:

Pur ceo dit seynt Bernard issi
Par tut le ewangelie turnez,
E par tut ausi bien gardez.
Aperte duresce ne trovez mie
En [n]ule lyu de Seynte Marie.
(f. 106 r^o, ll. 6210-14.)

*Dominica infra octavam assumptionis B.V. Mariae Sermo*¹:

Revolve diligentius evangelicae historiae seriem universam: et si quid forte increpatorium, si quid durum, si quid denique signum vel tenuis indignationis occurrerit in Maria, de caetero suspectam habeas, et accedere verearis.

Then follow eighteen lines beginning:

E si dit en ses sermons

which are based on *In assumptione B. Mariae Virginis, Sermo IV*². After this Pierre reverts to the other Sermon:

Dunt seynt Bernard ad demaundé
Purquey humeyne fresleté
Duté venir a la Marie,
V rien n'i ad de felunie,
V rien n'en ad de austerité,
Kar tute est pleyne de humilité,
Pleyne de grace e suaveté.

Quid ad Mariam accedere trepidet humana fragilitas? Nihil austerum in ea, nihil terribile: tota suavis est.

These sentences precede those quoted first of all, but from this point Pierre follows the true order of the Sermon.

These quotations are interspersed with interpolations. Hence in one case Pierre says:

De seynt Bernard ceo ke ore ay dit,
Tut le plus trovez escrit.

In one place St Bernard himself provides the loophole. After giving one or two instances of God's mercy in *In Cantica, Sermo XXXIII*³, he bids the reader 'revolve evangelium' for more. This Pierre proceeded to do.

BOETHIUS.

There is one quotation from *De Consolatione Philosophiae* which enjoyed such popularity during the Middle Ages.

Boesce dit ne puet suffiser
Chose del oyl sul esgarder,
Mes sayer le issue e le devise
Coment est, si est coyntyse.
(f. 97 v^o, ll. 5665-8.)

Lib. II, prosa prima⁴:

Neque enim quod ante oculos situm est, suffecerit intueri. Rerum exitus prudentia metitur: eademque in alterutro mutabilitas, nec formidandas fortunae minas, nec exoptandas facit esse blanditias.

¹ Migne, CLXXXIII, p. 430.

² Migne, CLXXXIV, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁴ Migne, LXIII, p. 661.

CASSIODORUS.

There are two statements attributed to Cassiodorus, neither of which could be traced. The first is referred to three times:

E Cassiodre dit aussi
Ke nul puet estre enowely
A Deu en science vereyment. (f. 85 r^o, ll. 4829-31.)

This could be found in neither *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, nor in *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum*, the two treatises from which it is likely to be taken. The second might be a gloss which Pierre mistook for part of the text. Cassiodorus refers three times to the plagues in his *Expositiones in Psalterium*.

Kar mie nuyt en Egipte esteit
Quaunt les esnez (le) fiz Deu tueyt.
Dunt Cassiodre verreyment
Dit ke dunke vendra al jugement. (f. 188 r^o, ll. 11639-42.)

ST CHRYSOSTOM.

St Chrysostom is quoted twice. The first passage could not be identified. St Chrysostom's references to earthly love are paternal, maternal, or fraternal, as is more in accordance with Biblical tradition. It is curious that the preceding references to Christ's love in the Passion, ascribed to St Bernard or to St Augustine, have also not been traced.

Dunt Joan Crisostome dit
Cume nus trovum de ly escrit,
Nul, nul, nul charnel ami
Unkes uncore ne ama si.
Mes ke amast utre mesure
Si ardauntment jeskes a rovere,
Une femme, ke amye eust,
Vnkore taunt amer ne peust
Cume fet noz almes nostre Seygnur.
Bien dussum vers li aver amour.
Sa amour asez nus ad mustre,
E n'est ceo bele grace doné? (f. 96 r^o, ll. 5545-56.)

The second quotation gives Chrysostom's views on false repentance. After describing those who repent suddenly to save themselves, Pierre says:

Iceu sunt confes aforcez.
Dunt cele confession n'ad profit
Si cume Cris[os]tome dit. (f. 160 r^o, ll. 9778-80.)

This appears to be based on a sentence in *In Matthaeum Homilia*, xiv¹: 'Ejus itaque benignitati fidamus, et poenitentiam sollicitè exhibeamus, priusquam dies ille veniat, in quo nihil nobis poenitentia proderit.'

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LVII, p. 221.

CICERO.

There are two quotations from Cicero:

Tuille dit ke c'est prudence
 De aver conisaunce en science
 De mal e de bien, ove descreeyoun
 Ke seyt a fere e quey noun.
 Dunt em deit eslire le bien
 E mal eschivre sur tute rien. (f. 97 v^o, ll. 5653-8.)

This appears to be a Christian paraphrase from *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, Lib. III, cap. 9:

Quid autem apertius quam, si selectio nulla sit ab iis rebus, quae contra naturam sint, earum rerum, quae sint secundum naturam, tollatur omnis ea, quae quaeratur laudeturque, prudentia? Circumscriptis igitur iis sententiis, quae posui, et iis, si quae similes earum sunt, relinquitur ut summum bonum sit vivere scientiam adhibentem earum rerum, quae natura eveniant, seligentem quae secundum naturam et quae contra naturam sint rejicientem, id est convenienter congruenterque naturae vivere.

Tuille¹ dit verrayment
 Ke dreyture est un fundement
 Par unt nul a autre neure ne deit,
 Mes deyt garder le comun dreyt.
 (f. 95 v^o, ll. 5607-10.)

De Officiis, Lib. I, cap. 7:

Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat nisi lacessitus injuria, deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis.

ST CLEMENT.

There is one quotation from St Clement:

E ausy ly dit seynt Clement
 Ke dreyture est apertement
 A ces² ke deservent reguerduner,
 E les maveys punir pur lur luer,
 Sulum checuni deserte,
 A l'un bien [fere e] a l'autre perte. (f. 95 v^o, ll. 5629-34.)

This seems to be adapted from a passage to be found in *Isidori Mercatoris Decretalium Collectio, Epistola III*³:

Sancti Clementis Papae, De officio Sacerdotii et Clericorum. . . Primum est omnium iustitiam Dei regnumque ejus inquirere: Justitiam quidem, ut recte agere doceamus; regnum vero, ut quae sit merces posita laboris et patientiae noverimus, in quo est bonis quidem aeternorum bonorum remuneratio, his autem qui contra voluntatem ejus egerunt: pro uniuscujusque gestis poenarum digna restitutio.

ST GREGORY.

The works of St Gregory used are the *Moralia* and the *Dialogues*, both mentioned by name, and the *Sermons*. It was not found possible to trace all the quotations.

It has already been mentioned that, when Pierre first rejects the views of the *Elucidarius*, he turns to St Gregory. The opinion expressed, namely that, were it not for the Fall of Angels, there would be ten orders, and that the tenth will be reconstructed of men, is to be found in

¹ A, Euille.² A, ases.³ Migne, cxxx, p. 50.

XL Homiliarum in Evangelia, Lib. II, Homilia xxxiv¹. A passage on charity appears to be drawn from different works. Part recurs at least three times in St Gregory's writings:-

E dit, charité veraye est en ly
 Ky en Deu eyme sun amy
 E pur Deu eyme sun enemy.
 Mes parfit est ky fet² issi,
 Kār si sun enemy en³ Deu eyme
 En parfite charité se cleyme.... (f. 110 v^o, ll. 6540-5.)

The occasion when the Latin corresponds most closely occurs in *XL Homiliarum*, Lib. II, Hom. xxvii⁴: 'Ille veraciter charitatem habet, qui et amicum diligit in Deo, et inimicum diligit propter Deum.' Perhaps, however, there is no need to demand precision, as the sentence is one which might remain in the memory owing to its repetition. A quotation on hope comes from Lib. xxvi, cap. xx of the *Moralia*⁵. One on strength, in the list of opinions on that subject, is not strictly relevant, and has been torn from its context.

Gregorie de force parout issi:
 Si cume le ancien enemy
 Fort est cuntre ses consentaunz
 E feble encuntre ses resteaunz.
 (f. 98 r^o, ll. 5685-8.)

Moralium, Lib. v, in cap. iv, B.
 Job⁶:

Recte autem myrmicoleon, id est, leo
 et formica dicitur. Formicis enim, ut
 diximus, leo est, volatilibus formica, quia
 nimirum antiquus hostis sicut contra con-
 sentientes fortis est, ita contra resistentes
 debilis.

The quotations from the *Dialogues*, however, are those that provide the greatest interest, for they had already been translated into verse, in England, by Frère Angier. Pierre did not, apparently, know the older translation and, as might be expected, treated the original with greater freedom. But if, as is possible, he too was at St Frideswide's at the time of writing, he would probably have used the same Latin text as Angier. The three anecdotes used are: Lib. iv, cap. xl, *De anima Paschasis Diaconi*; cap. lv, *De Centum cellensi Presbytero*; cap. xxxv, *De Eumorphio et Stephano*.

The following extract from the two translations and the text in Migne shows, not only how differently each treated the source, but how the actual Latin words influenced both. The rhyming of 'eleccyoun' with 'contencyoun' in both cases, translating 'in ea contentione...elegit' is to be noticed.

¹ Migne, LXXVI, p. 1249.
⁴ Migne, LXXV, p. 1205.

² A, fit.
⁵ Migne, LXXVI, p. 369.

³ corr. pur?
⁶ Migne, LXXV, p. 702.

Lumiere as Lais:

Avint issi ke [a] une eleccyoun
 De pape out une contencyoun,
 Dunt cest produmme susteneit
 La une partie en sun endreyt,
 Pur un Lorenz ke mut ama
 Ke apostoille fere desira.
 Li autre ky furent si cumpaynun
 Vn autre eslurent, Symat par noun,
 E encuntre li par jugement
 En Symat aveient touz consent,
 Dunt apostoille fet esteit.
 Mes cesti ja ne repenteyt,
 Ke touz jours Lorenz ne honura
 Devaunt touz autres e plus ama. (f. 194 r^o, ll. 11989-12102.)

Frère Angier, f. 138 c:

Molt par ereit de grant afaire
 Proisie, mais en la contençon
 Qui ja fut de l'eslection
 Par entre Simac e Lorenz,
 En sa sentence ert tant servenz
 Q'encontre toz les ordenez,
 Evsques, prelaz, e abbez,
 Qui a l'eslection erroient
 E en Simac soi consentoient,
 Trestut soul Lorenz esliseit,
 E de tant vis plus mesfeseit
 Qe pues q'il en fut convenu,
 Tant ert de Lorenz deçus
 Q'onqorus toz jors tant l'amot
 Qe digne en son quer lu jugot
 De l'ordre de tant haut degré
 Dom fut des autres refusé.

St Gregory, Lib. iv, cap. xl¹:

Sed hic in ea contentione quae inardescit zelo fidelium inter Symmachum atque Laurentium facta est ad pontificatus ordinem Laurentium elegit; et omnium post unanimitate superatus, in sua tamen sententia usque ad diem sui exitus perstitit, illum amando atque praeferendo, quem episcoporum iudicio praeesse sibi Ecclesia refutavit.

Both this anecdote and that in caput clv are used by William of Wadington in the *Manuel des Pechiez*, but his abstracts are much shorter and more matter-of-fact. He thus describes the Papal election²:

C'est en une electiun
 De estre pape; Laurenciun
 Choisi, encuntre assentment
 De ses cumpainuns utrement,
 Qe tuz Symachun chosirent
 E qe il fut pape consentirent.
 Mes Paschasie choisi Laurenciun;
 Eslire ne vout Symachum;
 En tute sa vie ne se repenti
 Qe en Laurence ne consenti.

¹ Migne, LXXVII, p. 397.² Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* (E.E.T.S.), ed. by F. J. Furnivall, p. 341.

At the end of the third anecdote, which demonstrates that Sicily is used as Purgatory, are a few lines of great interest:

Jeo ay oi cunter en verité
 Ke Freres unkore i unt esté.
 Mes n'oseyent, ne aveyent le poer
 De pres les gulez adeser.
 Kar la tere est tut entur brusillee,
 E desuz les piez tute crusté¹
 E depiecé legierement.
 Pur ceo ne puet avenir la gent,
 Mes touz jours ad l'en asez veu
 K'yl i a graunt gullez de feu,
 E aver puet em de Seynt Gregoire
 Ke c'est un lyu de purgatoire. (f. 197 v^o, ll. 12241-52.)

The author of the Second Redaction of the *Image du Monde* professes to have ascended Etna himself, and has a similar passage describing the expedition². He was very excited at finding pumice-stone, and alarmed at the heat. It is not impossible that he was one of the 'Frères.'

ISIDORUS OF SEVILLE.

There are three quotations from Isidorus. The first two are of no particular interest, being merely a definition of 'dreyture' and the etymology of 'clerc,' from the *Books on Etymology*. The third is remarkable for the faithfulness of the translation:

Sulum Ysidre saunz dutaunce.
 A treys persones fet nusaunce
 Ky encuntre preusme jure e ment.
 En despit ad Deu premierement,
 E juge deceyt en mentant,
 E sun preusme grieve par itaunt.
 (f. 135 v^o, ll. 8183-8.)

Sententiarum, Lib. III, cap. LV³,
 De Testibus:

2. Testis falsidicus tribus est personis
 obnoxius. Primum Deo, quem perjurando
 contemnit; secundo judici, quem men-
 tiendo fallit; postremo innocenti, quem
 falso testimonio laedit.

ST JEROME.

There are four quotations from St Jerome, two of which could not be traced. The first of these, in praise of wisdom, prudence and knowledge, is probably a series of quotations treated as one, and is therefore difficult to identify. The second describes the difference between slanderer and sinner. The remaining two are both from *Epistola* c, 15⁴.

Dunt seint Jerome dit ke li aver
 A enfern puet bien ressembler.
 (f. 65 v^o, ll. 3597-8.)

Eget semper, qui avarus est. . . Infernus
 mortuis non expletur. . . Imitatur ergo
 eum avaritia, nec satiari potest, sed quic-
 quid habuerit, plus requirit.

¹ A, crusee.

² Ch. V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1911, p. 57.

³ Migne, LXXXIII, p. 727.

⁴ Migne, XXII, p. 826.

E seint Jerome dit de entemprure
 E nus luwe de prendre cure,
 Ke si richese nus vient a baundun
 De ceo pas n'enorgoilluns,
 E si vus c[h]eez en poverté
 Ne seez pas de ceo trop ennuyé.
 En chescune chose ad entemprure,
 Ky de ceo seut prendre cure.
 (f. 97 v^o, ll. 5643-50.)

POPE JULIUS.

Two pronouncements upon confession are ascribed to Julius. The second of these has already been discussed among the quotations from St Augustine. The first starts the argument:

Kar le prophete en verité
 Ezechiel, dit ke le mauveisté
 Al mauveis rien ne ly neurra
 Quel hure ke se repentyra.
 Dunt Julius la pape saunz fable
 Dist ke icel prestre est cupable
 Des almes, ky en bosoygne nie
 Confession come en peril de vie:
 Kar la misericorde Deu est taunt
 Ke la mesure ne siet vivaunt.
 (f. 163 v^o, ll. 10033-42.)

Nequaquam igitur dubias opes, sed virtutem firmissimam diligamus: non nos duritia humiliet paupertatis, non extollant divitiæ, quæ stultissimos hominum deprimere et elevare consueverunt, sed utrumque pro rerum honestate moderemur, et tristitia, et læta aequali animo sustinentes.

*Decreta Julii Papae I. decem*¹:

Juxta Gratianum et Ivonem. Secundum. Reus est animarum presbyter, qui poenitentiam morientibus abnegat.

Si presbyter poenitentiam morientibus abnegaverit, reus erit animarum, quia Dominus dixit: 'Quacumque die conversus fuerit peccator ad poenitentiam, vita vivet, et non morietur' (*Ezech.* 18; *Luc.* 23). Vera enim confessio ultimo tempore esse potest, quia Dominus non solum temporis, sed etiam cordis inspector est: sicut latro, unius momenti poenitentia, meruit esse in paradiso in hora ultimæ confessionis.

MACROBIUS.

There are two quotations from Macrobius the philosopher in the section on the virtues.

Macrobe dit ke dreyture est
 A checun doner ceo ke seon est.
 (f. 97 r^o, ll. 5619-20.)

Commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis, Lib. I, cap. VIII:

[et est politici] justitiæ servare unicuique quod suum est.

Cap. x:

Haec autem diximus ad justitiam referri, quæ servat unicuique quod suum est.

Macrobe²: mut est sa glorie grant
 Ke de nule loenge n'est cressant,
 Ne ne puet en quor enmenuser
 Pur nuly maveys reprove.

(f. 98 r^o, ll. 5681-4.)

The passage on strength corresponding to that on justice is as follows:

...[et est politici] fortitudinis animum supra periculi metum agere nihilque nisi turpia timere, tolerare fortiter vel adversa vel prospera.

This does not appear to be the original of the French.

¹ Migne, VIII, p. 968.

² 'Says of strength' understood.

SENECA.

The quotations from Seneca, like those from Cicero, deal with the virtues. Only one has been identified. All are of such a general character that they might occur in any of his writings:

Seneke demande, quey est dreyture?	<i>De formula Honestae Vitae</i> , v, De
E respund ke c'est engendrure	Justitia:
De nature pur ayder	
A tuz iceus ke averunt mester.	Quid est autem justitia, nisi naturae
(f. 98 r ^o , ll. 5673-6.)	tacita conventio in adjutorium multorum.
Dunt Seneke dit ke temperaunce	
Fet en nus tres grant vailliaunce.	(f. 97 r ^o , ll. 5611-12.)
Seneke dit ke coynte est de sens	
Eyl ke regarde a checun tens.	(f. 97 v ^o , ll. 5641-2.)

There is also a long passage on the rich, poverty and the covetous.

It is possible that Seneca is 'le folosofo,' just as St Paul is 'l'Apostle.' The following passage occurs just where a quotation from Seneca is to be expected:

Le folosofo dit: Fort est a dreit	
Ke nul debauker ne purreit	
Pur mal ne envy ke avenir	
Li puet, ne trop enorguyller	
Pur ses biens e sa plenté	
K'ad en repos tut en saunté.	
Iceli si ad force a dreyt	
Ke si est fort, ky ke ceo seit.	(f. 97 v ^o , ll. 5659-66.)

ST SILVESTER.

Pierre mentions 'le seynt canoun' three times, and from a reference to 'le establement seynt Silvestre,' apparently meaning the same thing, it may be inferred that the *Canon*¹, *vel Constitutio Silvestri Episcopi Urbis Romae* is meant. There are two statements from the 'Canoun,' one of which corresponds to caput XIX of the *Canon*. Possibly caput XIV, 'Testimonium clerici adversus laicum nemo recipiat,' provided the foundation for the statement:

Ke le Canoun pleynement defent	
Ke nul prestre face tel overe,	
Ke autre confession descoevere.	(f. 168 r ^o , ll. 10326-8.)

Words such as 'pleynement' or 'apertement' are used to indicate paraphrase, and the sentence away from its context might have Pierre's construction put upon it. Silvester's object is to keep the clergy out of courts of law.

¹ Migne, VIII (Editio Secunda), p. 829.

TREATMENT OF THE SOURCES.

Pierre's object is to present to the laity the view of religion which the clergy obtained from their Latin reading. His opinion of original thought may be deduced from the following lines:

Ceo dit seynt Austyn verreyment
E seynt Gregorie le veut ensement,
E tute seynte eglise le creit,
Dunt n'est pas dute ke issi ne seyt. (f. 193 r^o, ll. 11947-50.)

As a rule, Pierre gave the name of the author, sometimes even the title of the book, whence he derived his information. Occasionally, however, he contented himself with 'escrit est,' 'l'en dist,' 'ceo dient seynz,' 'l'Apostle' (St Paul), 'le folosofo,' or 'nos mestres' (possibly his Oxford lecturers). This practice of mentioning the source is not general in poems of this type, hence the value of this text. As a rule, the same subject-matter was being used to form the basis of an original work. In the case of the *Lumiere as Laïs*, originality is of no importance. It is the authority for a statement which counts. Consequently, the *Lumiere as Laïs* is inferior to other works in interest and literary style, while their common sources are more easily identified and studied with reference to it.

Some of the questions asked are very strange to modern ideas. The Disciple enquires whether at the Last Judgment all will rise of the same height; whether, if Adam and Eve had had children in Paradise, they would have been born as small and helpless as babies since the Fall. Others seem to have more bearing on actual life, such as, whether Mass may be celebrated with white wine, or why the bread and wine remain bread and wine to the senses after consecration. The reply to this last, that the faithful would be overcome with horror if they found the body and blood of Christ actually in their mouths, grew up among theologians in the ninth century. Pierre quotes no authority for the statement. It must have been part of his instruction, and generally accepted. This is probably true in most cases where no authority is given. Pierre would consider himself too humble a person to make any contribution to thought himself.

Vn clerc suy de petit renun
De poy de value verraiment
En dreit del cors e de entendement, (f. 18 v^o, ll. 544-6.)

he says of himself. It is rare indeed to find a passage such as that on

Etna, or the following, which implies a power of observation and possibly a sense of humour:

Quant al sermun sunt demurant,
Embrunché se seent en chaperun
E dorment par graunt devociun.
Les autres funt plus coyntement,
Le precheur agardent apertement
Dreyt en muy liu le visage,
Ke ja a departir ne sunt plus sage. (f. 63 r^o, ll. 3420-6.)

The number of manuscripts which survive, however, and the indications that many more have existed¹, show that the work was once popular, though on the other hand it was not translated into English, like the *Manuel des Pechiez* and others. The action of the Canon of Chichester, in sending the Life of St Richard to Pierre to be translated, may perhaps testify to the respect in which the author of the *Lumiere as Lais* was held.

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¹ Since the first part of this article went to press, Miss M. V. Clarke has informed me that the Leicester Abbey Catalogue itself mentions a second MS. of the *Lumiere* under the title '*Elucidaria laicorum* in romano.'

‘THE BATTLE OF MALDON’: SOME DANISH AFFINITIES

THE rise of historical verse in England is somewhat of a mystery. It appears late—first with the poem on the battle of Brunanburh, fought in 937; and the chief historical poems in the old epic metre—*Brunanburh*, the *Freeing of the Five Towns* and *Maldon*—all concern events within the Dane-law. Since the composition of verse on recent events was a favourite form of literature among the Norwegians, it is natural for us to speculate on the possibility that the appearance of such verse in Anglo-Saxon is due to Scandinavian example. In her *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* Mrs Chadwick pointed out the resemblance in style and tone between *Brunanburh* and the Norwegian skaldic poem on the battle of Hafrsfjörð, in which Harald Fairhair routed the Irish Vikings as well as his Norwegian enemies. The battle is usually dated 872, but Norwegian scholars are now inclined to place it some ten years later. It is worth noting that this victory was of particular interest to the Scandinavians recently settled in Northumbria. The long strife between the Northumbrian kingdom and the Irish Vikings seems to have begun already in 877, so that the Hafrsfjörð poem, exulting in the defeat of the Irish Vikings, would be likely to be frequently recited in Northumbria. It may well have inspired an Anglo-Saxon to the composition of a similar poem on the great victory of Brunanburh, which also saw the rout of Irish Vikings. The similarity between the two poems is however merely of a general character.

There is evidently nothing in common between *The Battle of Maldon* and Norwegian skaldic poetry. And yet there are two peculiarities in its versification which point very definitely to Scandinavia.

A general rule in West Germanic verse is that a finite verb should not carry the alliteration if there is a noun or emphatic adverb in the same half-line. There are only ten cases in *Beowulf* in which this rule is disregarded, and all occur in the second half-line¹. The only poems² in which no effort appears to have been made to avoid such half-lines are the very early *Finnsburh* fragment—5 cases in 50 lines, and *Maldon*—8 cases in 325 lines. Each has one case in a first half-line. Evidently the authors of these two poems had no objection to such half-lines, and

¹ Cp. M. Rieger in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vii, pp. 24 ff.

² Cp. A. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, Berlin, 1925, § 142.

in this they resemble the poets of the *Elder Edda*, where such lines occur constantly, though they are avoided in skaldic verse. The resemblances between *Finnsburh* and the originally Danish *Bjarkamál* have often been noted by scholars. *Maldon's* utter disregard of this rule is thus significant. It suggests that the poet and his audience were so much accustomed to hearing Scandinavian verse that this particular usage no longer seemed to them a solecism in Anglo-Saxon verse.

The other peculiarity of *Maldon* has been noted by Mr Laborde, in *Mod. Lang. Review*, xix, pp. 401 ff. It is the tendency to close the sentence at the end of the second half-line instead of at the 'caesura,' i.e., at the end of the first half-line, as in other heroic¹ Anglo-Saxon poems, including *Brunanburh* and *Judith*. The following table shows how startling the contrast is:

	'Caesura-stopped'	'End-stopped'
<i>Beowulf</i> ² , ll. 1-325	28	40
ll. 1800-2135	33	34
<i>Judith</i> ³ , ll. 1-325	45	11
<i>Brunanburh</i> ⁴ (73 ll.)	8	3
<i>Maldon</i> ⁴	10	63
<i>Finnsburh</i> , 50 ll. ²	3	11

This, again, is a tendency characteristic of Scandinavian verse⁵, and it is curious that in this point, too, *Maldon* and *Finnsburh* should show affinities.

Let us now look at *Maldon* as a whole. Certain parts of it stand out by reason of a brevity and definition rare in Anglo-Saxon verse. Such are the exchange of messages with the Viking envoy, followed by the passage describing how neither side could attack the other owing to the tide; the request of the Vikings and Byrhtnoth's answer (ll. 25-78). Equally to the point are the passages which describe the fighting which precedes Byrhtnoth's death, his prayer, the flight of Godric and his brothers, the poet's brief reflections, and the reference to Offa's prophecy made earlier in the day (ll. 113-204). But from l. 205 onwards the poem seems to alter its character. The fighting is alluded to only in the vaguest terms, and we have a tissue of epic formulas and of repetitions. They are, it is true, varied and combined in a masterly manner, but they are very different from the straightforward speeches and narrative of the earlier part of the poem.

¹ I do not include the catalogue-poem *Widsith* nor the more or less strophic *Deor*.

² Wyatt and Chambers' punctuation.

³ Ed. A. S. Cook.

⁴ Ed. A. J. Wyatt.

⁵ Mr Laborde, p. 402, notes a stanzaic arrangement in the first 25 lines of *Maldon* and also in the latter part of the poem, after Byrhtnoth's death. Such an arrangement would of course also point to Scandinavia. But a sequence of 'end-stopped' lines tends to give a stanzaic appearance, and I hesitate to found any argument on it.

It is worth while to examine some of these epic formulas more closely, since they are not those with which we are familiar in Anglo-Saxon poetry. Perhaps the most noticeable of them is: 'He did not flee in the fray, but fought while he had weapons,' or 'might wield his weapons.' There is no such formula in *Beowulf*, nor in any Anglo-Saxon poem except *Maldon*. Here it occurs thrice, with variations.

Let us look first at ll. 81 ff.:

þa noldon æt þam forða	fleam gewyrcean,
ac hi fæstlice	wið ða fynd weredon
þa hwile þe hi wæpna	wealdan moston.

The formula clearly implies the death of the three defenders of the ford or causeway. But the following lines are difficult to square with such an interpretation:

þa hi þæt ongeaton	ond georne gesawon,
þæt hi þær brigweardas	bitere fundon,
ongunnon lytegian þa	laðe gystas,
bædon þæt hi upgangan	agan moston....

If Wulfstan, Ælfere and Maccus had really fallen we should expect the Vikings to have been encouraged 'when they perceived it,' whereas they seem to have given up hope of winning the crossing by direct attack. The reference to 'fierce bridge-warders' is also puzzling, seeing that there has been no mention of the three having been replaced. Does it not look as if the poet has used a favourite formula for valiant defence without noticing that it implies the fall of the defenders on the causeway, whereas actually he goes on to describe their withdrawal at the request of the enemy?

The formula occurs again, with variations in the first half, in two other passages:

ll. 233 ff.:	us is eallum þearf
þæt ure æghwyle	operne bylde
wigan to wige	þa hwile þe he wæpen mæge
habban ond healdan....	
ll. 268 ff.:	æt þam wigplegan,
he ne wandode na	fla genehe,
ac he fyste forð	
...	
æfre embe stunde	he sealde sume wunde
þa hwile ðe he wæpna	wealdan moste.

But this is not all. The antithesis: 'did not flee but fought' has taken such a hold of the poet's mind that he uses it three more times in the last hundred lines:

ll. 246 f.:	ic heonon nelle
fleon fotes trym,	ac wille furðor gan....

- ll. 249 ff.: Ne þurfon me embe Sturmere stedefæste hæleð
 wordum ætwitan...
 þæt ic hlafordleas ham siðie,
 wende fram wige, ac me sceal wæpen niman....
- ll. 317 ff.: fram ic ne wille,
 ac ic me be healfe minum hlaforde
 ... liegan pence.

Besides this we have the reverse: 'did not fight but fled':

- ll. 192 f.: gupe ne gymdon
 ac wendon fram þam wige....

The idea is used in two more passages, though without the 'but':

- l. 254: feaht fæstlice fleam he forhogode.
- ll. 275 ff.: he nolde fleogan...
 ofer bæc bugan,...
 He bræc þone bordweall ond wið ða beornas feaht.

And as if this were not enough, the idea of not faltering, not fearing, not running away is touched on in five further passages: ll. 10, 21, 221, 308, 316.

There is nothing like this in any other Anglo-Saxon poem. Of course we have to consider that the circumstances of the battle made the idea of flight particularly present to the poet's mind, but there are other ways of indicating courage besides this negative method, as we can see both in Anglo-Saxon and in contemporary Norwegian and Icelandic poems.

In considering the possibility of Scandinavian influence on *Maldon* we are faced by the difficulty that its affinities, if Scandinavian at all, may be expected to be with Danish verse rather than with Norwegian, and Danish verse has perished almost entirely.

There exist: one complete strophe and a few stray half-strophes in Runic inscriptions; four strophes and one half-strophe attributed to various Danes (if a supernatural being can count among such; cp. F. Jónsson, *Skjaldedigting*, B, I, pp. 175 ff.). To this we may add the three extant half-strophes¹ of the poem known in Icelandic sources as 'the old *Bjarkamál*.'

Olrik regards three of the extant lines of this poem as actually Danish², and even if, as some scholars think³, the poem from which these lines were taken is by an Icelandic poet, they must ultimately be based on

¹ The strophes in a different metre giving nothing but 'kennings' for gold are generally agreed to be from a later (Icelandic) *Bjarkamál*: cp. F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, I, p. 464, and A. Heusler und Ranisch, *Eddica Minora*, p. xxv.

² A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigting*, I, pp. 92 ff.

³ Cp. Heusler, in *Zeit. f. deut. Alt.*, N.F. xxxvi, pp. 66 f.; and P. Herrmann, *Heldensagen des Saxo*, II, pp. 196 ff.

a Danish poem, since they deal with events at the Danish court of Hrólfr Kraki, c. 500.

Although the 'old *Bjarkamál*' is lost but for these fragments, we have a Latin translation of a poem on this subject, made soon after 1200 by the Dane Saxo Grammaticus. The Icelandic *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, two centuries later, contains speeches reminiscent of the poem¹.

In this scanty material we at once find a very close parallel to the thrice-repeated epic formula in *Maldon*: 'he did not flee but fought, as long as he might wield his weapons.' It is a verse in the Runic inscription on the stone from Sjörup, Skåne, set up by Saxi to his comrade Ásbjörn, son of Toki:

SÁR fló égi at Uppsalum
en wá, með hann wápn hafði².

'This (man) fled not at Uppsala, but fought, while he had weapons.' The first half of the formula occurs again on the Runic stone at Hällestad, commemorating another warrior fallen in the same battle:

SÁR fló égi at Uppsalum³.

The emphatic use of the demonstrative pronoun, characteristic of Danish Runic inscriptions, also occurs in the *Maldon* formula, l. 81: 'þa noldon,' etc.

The reference in the Danish verses is to the great battle of Fyrisvellir, near Uppsala, between the Swedish king Erik and his brother's son Styrbjörn. The latter fell on the field with the whole of his army except for some of his Danish allies, who broke and fled. The battle took place about 980-985, so that these verses in memory of the dead would probably have been composed a few years before the battle of Maldon was fought (991). In any case a consideration of the two passages will make it clear that if there is any borrowing it is on the side of *Maldon*, not on the side of the author of the Danish inscription.

The Danish verse has a grim aptness to the situation. It was notorious that none of Styrbjörn's forces survived the battle save those which broke and fled⁴. The Danish poet can therefore omit the usual formula 'he fell at...' since this is implied in Ásbjörn's *not* having fled. The verse shows great skill in the use of the alliterative stress to bring out

¹ Caps. 32-34. F. Jónsson attributes the Saga in its present form to about 1400. Two late poems incorporated in *Hrólfs Saga* appear to have been frank imitations of *Bjarkamál* (*Eddica Minora*, iv and v).

² L. F. A. Wimmer, *De danske Runemindesmærker*, I, No. 9. The inscription has 'með: an' which possibly should be read 'meðan,' not 'með hann.' The verse is in *ljóðahátt*.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 6.

⁴ Cp. the verse of the Iclander Þorvaldr: 'þat eitt lifir þeira...es rann undan' (F. Jónsson, *Skjaldedigtning*, B, I, p. 111).

the full significance of the words. The battle being usually called Fyrisvellir, we might have expected:

Sár fló égi at Fyrisvallum

with the alliteration on the 'fled¹.' But the poet wanted to emphasise the 'not,' and he does this by placing the weight of the alliteration on it:

Sár fló égi at Uppsalum,

i.e., 'This was *not* one of those who fled at Uppsala.' (The same insistence on the negative occurs in the *Maldon* formula, l. 268: 'he *ne* wandode na,' etc.)

We have already seen that the formula is out of place in ll. 81 ff. in *Maldon*. Surely we have here the kind of inexactitude which befalls those who borrow phrases.

The method of indicating courage by insistence on the negative 'not fleeing,' 'not fearing' is perhaps peculiarly Danish. Certainly the Danish Runic inscriptions show some very marked cases of the use of the negative to indicate virtues. Besides the two already mentioned we find a stone raised by a son to his father, 'a man not foolish².' Another: 'These warriors were not bashful in raids far and wide³,' and 'He died [an understatement for 'he fell in battle'] of all men the least of a dastard' (lit., the most of an un-nithing)⁴.

This form of understatement is shunned by Norwegian or Icelandic court poets. Aversion from flight is mentioned, but generally by some adjectival phrase, such as *flugstygg*, *flóttstygg*, 'flight-shy,' *flugar trauðr*, 'loath to flee,' etc. But even such phrases are not frequently repeated in one and the same poem.

It is possible that the frequency of *Maldon's* rhetorical insistence on not fleeing, not fearing, not faltering, may be due to Danish models. At any rate we find a parallel in one of the few extant lines of 'the old *Bjarkamál*':

ættum góðir menn, þeir's ekki flœja⁵

('men of noble kin, such as flee not at all')⁶. Here again the negative

¹ The alliteration on the finite verb occurs freely in skaldic as well as in Eddie *ljóðahátt*: cp. Eyvind's *Hákonarmál*, str. 2, 4, 5 (*Skjaldedigting*, B, 1, p. 57).

² 'úhemskan hal.' L. F. A. Wimmer, *De danske Runemindesmærker*, II, No. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 19: 'þér drængar wáru wíða únésir í wíkingu.'

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 2: 'Uníðingr.' This word occurs on two Swedish Runic inscriptions, but without the additional understatement 'died.'

⁵ This line is one of those regarded by Olrik as definitely Danish, *Danmarks Heltedigting*, I, p. 101.

⁶ The nearest parallel I can find to this phraseology in Old Norse court verse is in Hallfred's memorial poem on Olaf Tryggvason (1001): *Skjaldedigting*, I, p. 150: 'baða hertryggðar hyggja hnekkir sína rekka... á flóttu,' 'The disturber of (his enemy's) security did not bid his men think of flight.' But there is here no antithesis. This passage may be a reminiscence of *Bjarkamál*, cp. Olrik, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

is emphasised by bearing the alliteration, as well as by the more emphatic *ekki* instead of *eigi*.

Let us look at Saxo's translation of *Bjarkamál*. We find here just the same antithesis, frequently repeated, which is so characteristic of *Maldon*:

ll. 17 ff. 'therefore let warriors have no fearfulness...let pleasure quit their soul and give place to arms...¹'

l. 24. 'not be faint with craven fear, but go forth...'

ll. 54 f. 'let each man...stand by him: far far hence be all cowards.'

ll. 55 f. 'we need a brave and steadfast man, not one that turns his back...'

ll. 62 ff. 'let him charge upon the foes, nor pale at any stroke.... Let none receive the swords in his back; let the battling breast ever front the blow...'

l. 68. 'shrinking from no stroke, but with body facing the foe...'

ll. 172 ff. 'it is right to spurn all fear,...to meet our death in deeds of glory...'

'Let fear quit heart and face, in both let us avow our dauntless endeavours...²'

Other battle-poems translated by Saxo show no such insistence on the idea of not fleeing; cp. A. Holder's edition, I, pp. 26 f., I, p. 44 and VII, pp. 251 f. *Bjarkamál* and *Maldon* are unique in this respect. But in *Bjarkamál*, though unusual, these references to fear and flight are perfectly in place, since the poem celebrates the most heroic and famous of all defences. Hrólfr Kraki is attacked in his hall at night by an overwhelming force led by the treacherous Hjörvarð (Saxo's Hiartuarius). The hall is set on fire, but even after the death of their king, when all resistance was vain, Hrólfr's retainers 'paid this homage to his noble virtues,...that his slaying inspired in all the longing to meet their end, and union with him in death was accounted sweeter than life³'.

It is no wonder therefore that the vain resistance of Hrólfr's retainers was regarded in the North as the crowning instance of heroism, and that *Bjarkamál* was recited to St Olaf's army, as an incitement to desperate courage, before the battle of Stiklastaðir in 1030. The position in the second half of *Maldon* offers a parallel to *Bjarkamál* in so far as Byrhtnoth's retainers, or some of them, continue to fight the

¹ Elton's translation.

² The lines are quoted from the text in Heusler und Ranisch, *Eddica Minora*, as they are there numbered consecutively throughout the poem.

³ Elton's translation of Saxo's prose, p. 81; Holder, *Saxo*, II, p. 67.

enemy after their leader's death¹. But the frequent suggestions in the poem that they only do so in order to avenge their lord's death must not blind us to the fact that it was their obvious duty to check the advance of the Vikings, whereas Hrólfr's men do actually fight to the death in the blazing hall for no other purpose than to avenge the treacherous attack on their king. The similarity of the theme in the latter part of *Maldon* to that of *Bjarkamál* is thus not quite so close as the sentiments expressed in *Maldon* would suggest. In the earlier part the situation is totally dissimilar. Byrhtnoth is so confident of victory that he returns a scornful answer to the Viking envoy, and he is so anxious for battle that later he allows the Viking army an uncontested passage over the causeway or ford.

But when we compare the two poems, we see that the resemblances go far beyond what might have been expected from the similarity of situation, and begin long before there is any similarity at all. I quote the passages in the order in which they occur in *Maldon*.

It should be borne in mind that Saxo's poem resembles many of the Eddic poems, and their later imitations, in being entirely in direct speech. Hrólfr's champions Hialto and Biarco describe the fighting in which they are engaged, and urge each other and their companions to the last desperate resistance. Much skill is shown in indicating the action through the speeches of the characters, and this survives Saxo's tendency to diffuseness and repetition. It seems to be generally agreed that the order of verses in Saxo is confused.

(i)

Saxo, ll. 60 ff.:

Arripiat digitis pugnacibus arma satelles,
Iniiciens dextram capulo clypeumque retentans,
Inque hostes ruat et nullos expalleat ictus.

ll. 58 f.:

Tanto etenim princeps aciem securior intrat,
Quanto illum melius procerum stipaverit agmen.

Maldon, ll. 18 ff.:

rincum tæhte
hu hi sceoldon standan
ond pone stede healdan,
ond bæd þæt hyra randas
rihte heoldon,
fæste mid folman,
ond ne forhtedon na.

(þa he hæfde þæt folc
fægere getrymmed)
he lihte þa mid leodan
þær him leofost was,
þær he his heorðwerod
holdost wiste.

¹ It is generally assumed that the whole East Saxon army did so, and perished. But there is nothing in extant sources to indicate this. The biographer of St Oswald, writing about 997-1005, says that an infinite number fell on either side, 'et Byrhtnothus cecidit, et reliqui fugerunt.' Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, i, p. 456.

Let the thane catch up his arms with fighting fingers, setting his right hand on the hilt and holding fast the shield: let him charge upon the foes, nor pale at any stroke¹.

The chief enters the fray all the more at ease that a better array of nobles throngs him round.

(Ollrik³ points out that Saxo habitually uses 'proceres' as equivalent to 'retainers'.)

(ii)

ll. 113 f.:

Iungamus cuneos stabiles, tutisque phalangem
Ordinibus mensi, qua rex praecepit, eamus:

Let us... form the firm battle wedges, and having measured the phalanx in safe rows, go forth the way the king taught us...

wihaga, for *wighaga*, 'battle-hedge,' is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in Anglo-Saxon.

(iii)

ll. 75 ff.:

Cristatis galeis hastisque sonantibus instant;
In nostro validam peragentes sanguine cladem,
Destringunt gladios et acutas cote bipennes.

[The Goths] advance with crested helms and clanging spears; wreaking their heavy slaughter in our blood, they wield the sword and their battle-axes, hone-sharpened.

Feolheard, 'file-hard,' is again a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. W. P. Ker translates 'as hard as files,' or, 'sharpened by the file.' It is possible that Saxo had before him some similar expression in Danish, for the phrase exists in a slightly different form in a verse by the Icelandic court poet Arnórr, from about the middle of the eleventh century: 'hneitir, þél harðari⁴,

he showed the warriors how they should stand and hold the place, and asked² that they should hold their shields aright, firm in their hand, and should not fear at all. (When he had fairly arrayed the host) he dismounted then among the troops where he liked best; where he knew the company of his hearth (retinue) most faithful.

ll. 101 f.:

he mid bordum het
wyrcean þone wihagan,
ond þæt werod healdan
fæste wið feondum.

he bade them form the war-hedge with their shields, and hold firm the formation against the foes.

ll. 108 ff.:

Hi leton þa of folman
feolhearde speru,
gegrundene
garas, fleogan, . . .
biter wæs se beaduræs;
beornas feollon
on gehwæðere hand. . .

They let fly then from their hands the file-hard spears, the javelins sharpened by grinding: . . . bitter was the onset; the warriors fell on either hand.

¹ For convenience I append Elton's translation of the passages in Saxo, and also a translation of those in *Maldon*. Saxo is quoted from Heusler und Ranisch.

² But see p. 188, note 7 *infra*.

³ *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, pp. 1 and 2, note.

⁴ *Skjaldedigtning*, I, p. 314.

'a sword harder than a file.' This is also a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, and may well be an imitation of the phrase in the original *Bjarkamál*, just then so famous in Norway.

Whatever the actual expression may have been, we have thus two words not otherwise found in Anglo-Saxon, corresponding very exactly to Saxo's 'phalanx' and Saxo's 'acutae cote,' and in contexts closely similar. It must be remembered that the axe in an Anglo-Saxon poem would not be likely to play the same part as in a Danish one, since it was the Viking weapon *par excellence*.

(iv)

ll. 23 ff.:

(Non debet laudis titulos aut praemia captans
Ignavo torpere metu, sed fortibus ire
Obvius et gelidum non expallescere ferrum.)

ll. 173, 177 f.:

Deserat os animumque timor...
Gloria defunctos sequitur, putrique favillae
Fama superstes erit....

(Cp. ll. 4 f.: sua dextera quemque
Aut famae dabit aut probro perfundet inerti.)

(He who covets the honours or prizes of glory must not be faint with craven fear, but go forth to meet the brave.)

Let fear quit heart and face... Fame follows us in death.

Each man's own right hand shall either give him to glory, or steep him in sluggard shame.

(v)

l. 50 f.:

Omnia quae poti temulento prompsimus ore,
Fortibus edamus animis....

Let us do with brave hearts all the things that in our cups we boasted with sodden lips.

(vi)

ll. 203 ff.:

Nemo *pedem* referat! Certatim quisque subire
Hostiles studeat gladios hastasque minaces,
Ut carum ulciscamur herum.

Let none fall back! Let each zealously strive to meet the swords of the enemy and the threatening spears, that we may avenge our beloved master.

ll. 127 ff.:

Stodon stædefæste,
stihte hi Byrhtnoð,
bæd þæt hyssa gehwylc
hogode to wige,
þe on Denon wolde
dom gefeohtan.

They stood steadfast, Byrhtnoth incited them, asked that each warrior should set his mind on the fray, such as wished to win fame in battle from the Danes.

ll. 212 f.:

Gemunap para mæla
þe we oft æt meodo spræcon,
þonne we on bence
beot ahofon....

Remember the words we oft spoke at the mead-drinking, when at the banquet we uttered boasts....

ll. 246 ff.:

...ic heonon nelle
fleon *fotes* trym,
ac wille furðor gan,
wrecan on gewinne
minne winedrihten.

I will not flee from hence a foot's space, but will press forward, will avenge in battle my beloved master.

(vii)

ll. 89 ff.:

Illuxit suprema dies, nisi forte quis assit
 Tam mollis, qui se plagis praebere timescat
 Aut imbellis ita ut domini non audeat ultor. . .

Our last dawn has risen, unless there be one here
 so soft that he fears to offer himself to the blows, or
 so unwarlike that he dares not avenge his lord.

ll. 258 ff.:

Ne mæg na wandian
 se þe wreccan þenceð
 frean on folce
 ne for feore murnan.

None may falter who thinks
 to avenge his lord in battle,
 nor take thought for his life.

(viii)

ll. 99 ff.:

Iam clypeum regis vastae minuere secures;
 Iam longi resonant enses, crepitatque bipennis
 Humanis impacta humeris. . .

Cp. ll. 265 f.:

Rupti etenim clypei retinacula sola supersunt,
 Sectus et in gyro remanet mihi pervius umbo.

By now the huge axes have hacked small the
 shield of the king: by now the long swords clash,
 and the battle-axe clatters its blows upon the
 shoulders of men. . .

Already the hard edges and the spear-points have
 cleft my shield in splinters: the boss, pierced and
 broken in its circle, is all left me.

ll. 283 ff.:

clufon celled bord,
 cene hi weredon;
 bærst bordes lærig
 ond seo byrne sang
 gryreleoða sum.

They clove the beaked (?)
 shield; defended themselves
 valiantly, the shield's rim
 burst asunder and the byrnie
 sang a chant of terror.

Resonant answers perhaps more closely to *sang* than the translation suggests.

In Norwegian and Icelandic verse the description is always of the sound of the weapon on the *shield*, not, as here, on the byrnie¹.

(ix)

ll. 291, 297:

Ad caput extincti moriar ducis obrutus. . .
 . . . Sic belli intrepidus proceres occumbere par est. . .

I will die overpowered near the head of my slain
 captain. . . Thus should fall princes dauntless in
 war. . .

l. 294:

he læg ðegenlice
 ðeodne gehende.

he lay as a thegn should
 (lit., thegn-like) near to his
 lord².

We have already seen that Saxo uses 'proceres' to translate some word equivalent to 'retainers,' 'thegns.'

¹ Cp. *Skjaldedigtning*, I, p. 31 (Egill, c. 936), '6x hjörva glam við hlifur þróm'; and *Skjaldedigtning*, I, p. 107, 'Thórarinn svarti,' (second half of tenth century): 'shafts sang on my shield.'

² This idea is repeated in two more passages in *Maldon*, ll. 183 ff. and 317 f.

Perhaps the two styles which we noted in *Maldon* are now explained. In the parts of the poem where dependence on *Bjarkamál* is absolutely excluded, the poet goes straight ahead and gives a spirited, if unadorned, narrative. Where he relies on *Bjarkamál*¹ or on other Danish verse, he is apt to repeat his effects and, when fighting is concerned, to generalise, since he cannot imitate *Bjarkamál*'s method of describing the fighting in the speeches of the characters². Where he does try to imitate it, as in the lines quoted as (i) above, the effect is unfortunate. The speech by Hialto:

Arripiat digitis pugnacibus arma satelles,
Iniiciens dextram capulo clypeumque retentans,

is simply the device of a poem wholly in direct speech to show the warriors leaping to arms and preparing themselves for the fray. When it is translated into Byrhtnoth's having to show his men how to stand and beg them to hold their shields firmly in their hands, the result is to give us a lamentable idea of the Essex fyrd, and to remove all excuse for Byrhtnoth's over-confidence in l. 89.

In another case, as we saw, the borrowed plumes seem to fit awkwardly into the context: *Maldon*, ll. 81 ff.

In some cases the correspondence between the two poems is so close³ that we realise that Saxo must have held the balance very even between his love of classical idiom⁴ and fidelity to his original.

Before we can discuss the nature of *Maldon*'s source we must consider the relationship between *Maldon* and *Beowulf*. The famous passage in *Maldon* in which Ælfwine reminds his fellow-retainers of their boasts, quoted above as No. (v) of the parallels with *Bjarkamál*, is

¹ There may be another explanation of the strange vagueness of the fighting after Byrhtnoth's death. We are told that Byrhtnoth's widow embroidered a tapestry depicting his exploits (*Hist. Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, II, ch. 63). The sequence of speeches by named warriors, each followed by some such words as 'weapons took him,' 'he lay slaughtered,' might be accounted for if we could imagine that the poet had the tapestry in view and that there was a row of warriors depicted on it, each with his name above him. The composition of verse on tapestries or other pictorial representations was a favourite form of literature in Scandinavia.

² It may be noted that the stanzaic (i.e., strophic) effects observed by Mr Laborde occur just in those parts in which we trace the influence of *Bjarkamál*.

³ Among other minor resemblances perhaps the following are worth noting: Saxo, ll. 220f.: 'Ridendo exceptit letum mortemque cachinno Sprevit.' *Maldon*, l. 147: 'Hloh þa modi man' (Byrhtnoth laughs after slaying a man: he could not, being a devout Christian, laugh while dying). ll. 295 f.: 'Praeda erimus corvis aquilisque rapacibus esca, Vesceturque vorax nostri dape corporis ales.' ll. 106f.: 'hremmas wundon, earn ases geom.'

⁴ Reminiscences of Ovid, Vergil, Juvenal, Lucan and Prudentius have been found in Saxo's poem: Olrik, I, pp. 244 ff.

always cited as a parallel with *Beowulf*'s longer passage on the same theme:

Beowulf, ll. 2633 ff.:

lc ðæt mæl geman,
þær we meðu þegun,
þonne we geheton
ussum hlaforde
in bior-sele,
ðe us ðas beagas geaf,
þæt we him ða guðgetawa
gyldan woldon,
gif him þyslicu
pearf gelumpe,
helmas ond heard sweord.

Maldon, ll. 212 ff.:

Gemunap para mæla,
þe we oft sæt meodo spræcon,
þonne we on bence
beot ahofon,
hæleð on healle,
ymbe heard gewinn.

Valour in battle, as shown by the king's retainers, stood in a very definite relation to the generosity of the king in feastings and gifts. This is expressed more than once by Norwegian and Icelandic skalds. For instance the question is asked about Harald Fairhair, in the ninth-century *Hrafnsmál*: 'How generous is he to those who defend the land, the warrior to his splendid champions?'¹ So also the Icelandic skald Steinn, in the eleventh century, describing the gifts of garments, armour, rings, spears, given by Olaf to his retainers, says: 'Vísí launar verðung svá vás,' 'thus the king rewards his bodyguard for their toils².' This is indeed, as Professor Chambers says, a commonplace of Old Germanic poetry³. But the method adopted by *Beowulf*, *Bjarkamál* and *Maldon* is much more vivid. These poems make the king's followers recall, during the actual moment of peril, his generosity or hospitality, as a means of spurring themselves on to make an adequate return in valour. This device is never found in the whole corpus of Norwegian and Icelandic verse⁴. Its occurrence in these three poems is therefore significant.

Bugge⁵ has already shown how exactly this passage in *Beowulf* corresponds to the passage in *Bjarkamál*. There is much evidence that the poet of *Maldon* imitated *Bjarkamál*. Is it so certain that he was acquainted with *Beowulf*?

Besides the passage just quoted there are in *Beowulf* and *Maldon* two short passages showing real similarity. (i) One relates to Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother:

Beowulf, ll. 1521 f.:

þæt hire on hafelan
hring-mæl agol
grædig guð-leoð.

Maldon, ll. 284 f.:

ond seo byrne sang
gryreleoða sum.

¹ *Skjaldedigtning*, I, p. 24 (str. 15). Mrs Chadwick's translation.

² *Skjaldedigtning*, I, p. 382 (str. 16).

³ Wyatt and Chambers, *Beowulf*, note to l. 2633.

⁴ The nearest is in the 'joking' verse of King Hákon the Good, 961: *Skj.* I, p. 54.

⁵ *Studien über das Beowulfepos*, in *Paul und Braunes Beitr.*, XII (1887), pp. 45 ff.

But we have seen that this whole passage in *Maldon* corresponds to *Bjarkamál*, ll. 99 ff. (No. (viii) above). It is interesting that again Bugge cites the passage in *Beowulf* containing the above lines as showing relationship to *Bjarkamál*, ll. 212 ff.:

Ille meo capiti impactum perfregit Hōthingum,
Elisum morsu gladium, maiora daturus
Vulnera, si melius ferri viguisset acumen;

and to the reproduction of this phrase in *Hrólfs Saga*: ‘Sverðit Skofnungr bítr, ok *gnestr* hann nú hátt í þeirra hausum.’ The *gnestr* reproduces better than the Latin the singing of the weapon in *Beowulf* and *Maldon*.

(ii) The second passage is where Beowulf boasts with reference to the dragon:

ll. 2524 f.:

Nelle ic beorges weard
oferfleon¹ fotes trem, ac...

Maldon, ll. 246 f.:

Ic þæt gehate
þæt ic heonon nelle
feon fotes trym, ac....

But here again *Maldon* corresponds almost word for word with *Bjarkamál* (No. (vi) above):

Nemo *pedem* referat! Certatim quisque subire
Hostiles studeat gladios hastasque minaces,
Ut *carum* ulciscamur *herum*.

...ic heonon nelle
fleon fotes trym,
ac wille furðor gan,
wrecan on gewinne
minne winedrihten.

(iii) Bugge points out another resemblance between *Beowulf* and *Bjarkamál*, in the same speech in each poem in which he had previously demonstrated such close resemblance:

Saxo, ll. 42 f.:

Res petit et par est, quaecunque per otia summa
Nacti pace sumus, belli ditioe mereri...

—to which we may add ll. 53 f. in the same speech:
Danorum primus herus est meus; assit eidem,
Ut probus est quisque.

Beowulf, ll. 2646 ff.:

Nu is se dæg cumen,
þæt ure man-dryhten
mægenes behofað
godra guð-rinca;
wutun gongan to,
helpan hild-fruman.

But the first line, again, corresponds to *Maldon*, ll. 104 f.:

þæt þær fæge men wæs seo tid cumen
feallan sceoldon.

According to Abegg², the expression *wæs seo tid cumen þæt*... does not occur elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry. But it actually corresponds more closely than Beowulf's *dæg* to Saxo's 'res petit,' and also, be it

¹ For metrical reasons Bugge (*loc. cit.*, p. 104) would amend this line to 'fleon fotes trem,' from '*fleohan fotes trem.'

² D. Abegg, *Zur Entwicklung der historischen Dichtung bei den Angelsachsen (Quellen und Forschungen, LXXIII)*, Strassburg, 1894.

noted, to the phrase in *Hrólfs Saga*, adduced by Bugge, in the same speech by Hjalti: 'þat er nú til, at vér munum styra líði konungs várs....'

One thing is clear. Since, in the four passages in which *Maldon* has any resemblance to *Beowulf*, the resemblance to Saxo's *Bjarkamál* is considerably closer, there is no reason to attribute imitation of *Beowulf* to the poet of *Maldon*. In fact it may well be doubted whether he was acquainted with *Beowulf*¹ at all. There seem thus to be two possibilities. We know that the story of Hrólfr Kraki's fall was well known to the poet of *Beowulf* and to his audience. Are the similarities between *Beowulf* and *Maldon* due to the influence of a lost Anglo-Saxon poem which inspired the poet of *Beowulf*, mainly in one speech of his poem, and centuries later was more extensively imitated by *Maldon*? There is nothing inherently impossible in such a hypothesis. Perhaps there is nothing inherently impossible in the further hypothesis, already envisaged by scholars², that an Anglo-Saxon poem on the fall of Hrólfr Kraki was transmitted from Northern England to Norway early in the tenth century, from there to Iceland, and so to Saxo about 1200. This would make Saxo's poem a translation from an Old Norse translation of an Anglo-Saxon poem which must ultimately have been founded on a Danish original.

The other possibility is that *Beowulf* drew, no doubt indirectly, on Danish verses which were either then or later incorporated in a Danish poem on Hrólfr Kraki's fall. This poem survived, no doubt in a re-rendering, till the tenth century, when it enjoyed great popularity throughout Scandinavia, and so became known to the poet of *Maldon* and was used by him. Two centuries later this poem, or another re-rendering of it, was known in Denmark and translated by Saxo.

The latter alternative certainly seems simpler, and very strong corroborative evidence for it is furnished by the identity of the epic formula in *Maldon* with the Danish Runic verse of c. 985. If the poet of *Maldon* were acquainted with such recent Danish verse as that on the Sjørup stone, it is not surprising that he should also be acquainted with the famous *Bjarkamál*—especially if, as Olrik thinks, the tenth-century form of this poem was Danish.

¹ *Maldon* has some 33 or 34 terms which occur nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon verse (Abegg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.). Of those which are found in other poems 18 are not found in *Beowulf*, but occur in other verse, mainly religious. This leaves only three or four expressions common to *Maldon* and *Beowulf* and not found in other verse: *brimliðend*, but *Maldon* also has *brim-men*, not in *Beowulf*, so it can evidently form compounds with *brim*; *særingc*, but *Maldon* uses *rinc* freely as a separate word and in other compounds; *heorðgeneat*, but *Maldon* also has *heorðwerod*, not in *Beowulf*; *iren*, used for a sword, but this is a usage extremely common in Scandinavian verse, and exceptionally so in *Bjarkamál*, if we may trust Saxo's translation.

² Cp. P. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

We have already noted clear traces of Scandinavian influence on the versification of *Maldon*. Is there any hint of such influence on its vocabulary? We know so little of Danish verse that we cannot hope to find poetical phrases which we can recognise as specifically Danish, but we do find two or three expressions not occurring elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon verse¹, which suggest corresponding expressions in Old Norse poetry. In *hilde dælon*, l. 33, the verb *dælan* is used in a way suggestive of the Scandinavian *deila*. We may compare *deila heiptir* in the Eddic *Helgi Lays* (I, 47, II, 26), *deila sakar*, *Sigrdrifumál* 31.

L. 308 *wæpna neotan* does not occur elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon verse, but corresponds to the Scand. *njóta wápna*, found in the fragmentary *Sigurd Lay*, 8: cp. *njóta sverðs*, *Fáfnismál* 29. More interesting are the expressions: *feorh gewinnan*, l. 125; *feorh geræhte*, l. 142. Here *feorh*, 'life,' seems to be used with the significance of the corresponding Old Norse *fjör*, which, as Professor Finnur Jónsson says, is thought of as something substantial which can be taken and removed². We may compare *skriða til fjörs* in *Guðrunarhvöt* 17; *fjörvi næma* in the ninth-century *Ragnarsdrápa*, Str. 6; *sækja fjör* in Egill's *Höfuðlausn*³, recited in York c. 936; and the phrase in *Hákonarmál*: 'lutu langbarðar at lýða fjörvi,' 'the swords stooped to take the lives of men.' This poem, composed by Eyvind the Plagiarist in 961, shows clear imitations of phrases from *Bjarkamál*, and Olrik⁴ regards this actual phrase as reminiscent of Saxo, ll. 100 f.:

crepitatque bipennis
Humanis impacta humeris et pectora findens.

Maldon, ll. 140 ff., shows at least as close a resemblance:

he let his francan wadan
purh ðæs hysses hals, hand wisode
þæt he on þam færsecaðan feorh geræhte.

We may compare too ll. 123 ff.:

hogodon georne
hwa þær mid orde ærost mihte
on fægean men feorh gewinnan.

Among possibly Scandinavian poetical phrases we may also note: 'wæl feol on eorðan,' twice repeated in *Maldon* (ll. 126, 303) but not occurring elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon verse⁵. It reminds us of such phrases as: 'valr lá par á sandi' in the poem on the battle of Hafsfjörð⁶, mentioned above, and of Egill's verse, recited at York c. 936:

en Viðrir sá hvar valr of lá⁷.

¹ Abegg, *loc. cit.*

³ Str. 10.

⁵ The nearest Anglo-Saxon parallel is *Beowulf*, 1042: 'ðonne walu feollon.' Abegg, *op. cit.*

⁶ Str. 12.

² *Lexicon Poeticum*, s.v. fjör.

⁴ *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, p. 50, note to str. 10.

⁷ *Höfuðlausn*, str. 3.

We may also note 'þar fell valr víða' in an archaistic twelfth-century poem by the Icelander Thorkell Gíslason¹, which seems to show reminiscences, direct or indirect, of *Bjarkamál*².

The fine half-line: 'wæs on eorþan cyrm' (l. 107) may be paralleled by *Hákonarmál*'s: 'róma varð í eyju' (str. 6) if we take *róma* in its original meaning 'clamour.' As this phrase occurs in one of the strophes showing clear imitation from *Bjarkamál*³, the Anglo-Saxon and the Old Norse half-line may go back to some line in the original poem left untranslated by Saxo.

There seems thus to be a series of indications that *Maldon* was directly influenced by Scandinavian verse⁴, whereas there is no evidence for the wanderings of an Anglo-Saxon poem to Norway and Iceland⁵.

We must therefore assume that *Maldon* was composed by some one whose native language was Anglo-Saxon, who was well acquainted with Anglo-Saxon—mainly religious—verse, but who was also able to draw on Danish poetical tradition, and whose ear was so much attuned to Danish verse that he could tolerate combinations of stress and alliteration repugnant to the traditions of the tongue in which he was composing. Presumably his home was in Essex or East Anglia. His knowledge of recent Danish verse throws an interesting light on the social conditions of the Dane-law, and one which is corroborated by recent research⁶. Since his hearers, as well as himself, must have become accustomed to breaches of Anglo-Saxon rules of versification, it seems highly probable that they were more or less bi-lingual⁷.

As a final deduction from what we have seen of the genesis of *Maldon*, it may be noted that the difference in style between this poem and *Brunanburh* does not militate against the hypothesis that the rise of

¹ *Skjaldedigtning*, I, p. 538 (str. 10).

² Cp. str. 6: 'fúst vas fár randa | til fjörnis landa... sungu hátt hjörvar | við hlífur görvar'; str. 7: 'gnustu gráir malmar | gengu í sundr hjalmar'; str. 8: 'vøkð vas goll geira'; str. 9: 'hraut á lög dreyri... ór bragna sárum' (*Bjarkamál*, ll. 155 ff.; cp. *Hákonarmál* 7: 'fell flóð fleina | í fjöru Stordar' (Olrik, I, p. 52, § 16).

³ See Note at the end of this article.

⁴ Since *Maldon* and *Finnsburh* alone share certain peculiarities of versification (see p. 172 *supra*), the demonstration of *Maldon*'s Danish affinities supports the contention of those scholars who see Danish influence in *Finnsburh*.

⁵ The only evidence for this is (a) *Beowulf*'s knowledge of the story, and (b) the occurrence of the name Böðvar Bjarki in the twelfth century in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.

⁶ Stenton, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIII, 1927, 'The Danes in England,' and *Danelaw Documents*, p. cxvii; cp. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, note to Thurstan's Will.

⁷ The peculiar uses of certain verbs in *Maldon* may be due to the alien element in the country. Such a mixed population is liable to confuse the functions of auxiliary verbs, as seems to have been done in l. 30, *most* (for *scealt*), l. 315, *mæg*. It would also be extremely likely to confuse *feran* and *ferian* (cp. l. 178) and *biddan* and *beodan*, as seems to have been done in ll. 20, 128, 170 (*bæd*). More probably 'biddan' has been influenced by one meaning of its Scand. cognate *biðja* ('bid').

historical verse in England may be attributed to Scandinavian influence. The difference between the two poems may well arise from a difference in their models. So far as *Brunanburh* recalls Scandinavian verse, the resemblance is with Norwegian skaldic poetry in general and with the poem on the battle of Hافرstjörð in particular. *Maldon*, on the other hand, is influenced by a poem or poems mainly in speech-form¹, and in something like the Eddic tradition.

We shall probably consider that the merits of the poet of *Maldon* are greatest where he is original. As for his borrowings, perhaps he may be regarded as having repaid his debt to Denmark by shedding one more ray of light on the 'darkness made visible' of her early literature. He has certainly done something to exculpate Saxo from having played as fast and loose with his text as he has been suspected of doing. If we may judge by the passages in *Maldon*, Saxo's original must have been longer and much more like his translation than Olrik regarded it.

NOTE.

As it is of some interest to see how differently the poet of *Maldon* and Eyvind the Plagiarist were influenced by *Bjarkamál*, I append Eyvind's five strophes in the *Bjarkamál* metre. It will be noted that he makes absolutely no use of the 'not fleeing' motive. It was not in the Norwegian tradition.

Hákonarmál.

5. Svá beit þá sverð
ór síklings hendi
váðir Váfaðar,
sem í vatn brygðir;
brøkuðu broddar,
brötnuðu skildir,
glumruðu gylfringar
í gotna hausum.

Saxo.

ll. 275 ff.: sic duri tegmina ferri
Ut molles traiecit aquas; nec opis mihi quicquam
Aspera loricae poterat committere moles².
ll. 99 f.: Iam clypeum regis vastae minuere secures;
Iam longi resonant enses.... (Cp. *Maldon*, ll. 283 f.)
l. 212: Ille meo capiti impactum perfregit Hó-
thingum.

'Gotna': cp. *Bjarkamál*, *passim*: 'Gothi.' 'Gotar' came to mean 'men' in skaldic poetry, but Eyvind may here have been influenced by Saxo.

6. Trøddusk torgur
fyr Týs ok bauga
hjalta harðfótum
hausar Norðmanna;
róma varð í eyju,
ruðu konungar
skírar skjaldborgir
í skatna blóði.

Maldon, l. 107: was on eorþan cyrm.
Saxo, l. 69: Ecce furens aequeque sui fidentior hostis.
l. 71: ... In medios fertur cuneos.
l. 76: In nostro validam peragentes sanguine cladem.
(Cp. *Maldon*, ll. 110 f.)

¹ It has nine speeches in the surviving 325 lines, and fifteen in *oratio obliqua*.

² This and several other resemblances have already been pointed out by Olrik.

7. Brunnu beneldar
í blóðgum undum,
lutu langbarðar
at lýða fjörvi;
svarraði sárgymir
á sverða nesi,
fell flóð fleina
í fjöru Storðar.

8. Blendusk við roðnum
und randar himni,
Skoglar veðr léku
við ský of bauga,
umðu oddláar
í Óðins veðri,
hné mart manna
fyr mækis straumi.

(Cp. *Maldon*, ll. 284, 140 ff., 123 ff.)
Saxo, ll. 100f.: ...crepitatque bipennis
Humanis impacta humeris et pectora findens.
ll. 155 ff.: Ecce per infusas humana tabe lacunas
Caesorum excussi dentes rapiente cruoris
Profluvio toto et scabris limantur arenis....
ll. 160 ff.: Danicus humescit sanguis, stagnatque cruenta
Latius eluvies.

et corpora sparsa revolvit
Elisus venis rapidum spumantibus amnis.
(Cp. *Maldon*, ll. 111, 126, 301 f.)

'Mækis straumur' ought to mean 'blood,' but in his *Lexicon* Professor Finnur Jónsson says that in this context it must mean 'battle.' Saxo's translation suggests that here too it really does mean 'blood.'

9. Sötu pá doglingar
með sverð of togin,
með skarða skjöldu
ok skotnar brynjur,
vasa sá herr
í hugum ok átti
til Valhallar vega.

Saxo, l. 239: Illustres obeunt proceres....
ll. 260 ff.: ...Iam durae acies et spicula scutum
Frustatim secuere meum, partesque minutim
Avulsas absumpsit edax per proelia ferrum.
ll. 241 ff.: Non humile obscurumve genus, non funera plebis
Pluto rapit vilesque animas, sed fata potentum
Implicat et claris complet Phlegethonta figuris.

Hákonarmál thus corroborates *Maldon* in indicating that Saxo did not very greatly expand or improve upon his original, and that that original was not very unlike the poem known to the Norwegian skald in the 'sixties and to the Anglo-Saxon poet in the 'nineties of the tenth century.

It is quite possible that *Hákonarmál* actually contains unaltered lines of that tenth-century poem. Eyvind is not a mere imitator: one would rather say that his own verse is so good that he does not fear to challenge comparison with famous poems by introducing well-known phrases from them or by imitating their form. When he breaks into *málaháttir* in this poem, the rest of which is in *ljóðaháttir*, we may take it that he definitely means to remind his hearers of *Bjarkamál*, and that he probably actually quotes lines from it, just as he quotes the Eddic *Vafþrúðnismál* in str. 13 and *Hávamál* in str. 21. There is one point which suggests that lines in his str. 7 are actually quoted from *Bjarkamál*. The blood washing on the fore-shore of the island of Storð is natural enough. But why are there 'rough sands' for the blood to wash over in Hrólfr's hall (Saxo, l. 157)? Can it be that so much of this strophe of Eyvind's was taken verbatim from *Bjarkamál* that it was later quoted as part of that poem, so that Eyvind's own line ultimately became incorporated in it, and so was translated by Saxo?

B. S. PHILLPOTTS.

THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN 'ADAM UND EVA' BY LUTWIN AND THE LATIN 'VITA ADAE ET EVAE'

FIFTY years ago Wilhelm Meyer edited a Latin life of Adam and Eve¹ from a number of Munich manuscripts, and two years later, together with Konrad Hofmann, he edited a Middle High German poem by Lutwin² dealing with the same subject. Meyer was the first to recognise the importance of this legend in the literature of Western Europe, and his edition of the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* has been of great service to students of mediæval literature. But in editing the *Vita Adae et Evae* Meyer confined himself to the manuscripts he found in Munich, and based his textual criticism of the German poem on these Latin versions. Where the German poem differs from the *Vita* he assumed deliberate alterations or mistakes on the part of Lutwin.

We ought not to be so ready to assume that a mediæval poet will depart from his Latin source, especially in the case of a religious poem. There is no evidence to show that this kind of 'originality' was demanded in mediæval times. What evidence there is points in the opposite direction, viz., absolute fidelity to the source. To what extremes this fidelity was carried in very early times we see in the Gothic and early Latin translations of the New Testament, where even the Greek word-order is adopted against the idiom of the translator's language. In the middle ages there were people who regarded poetry merely as one of the *appendentia artium*³, valuable only as an aid to the *artes* (systematic knowledge). Thus Thomasin von Zirclaria in his *Wälscher Gast* claims superiority for truth:

and	wan si suln verlazen gar diu spel diu niht war sint,	(ll. 1084-5)
swerz gerne tuon wil, der mag uns sagen harte vil von der warheit, daz wær guot. Er bezzert ouch unsern muot mit der warheit michles baz denn mit der lüge, wizzet daz.		
		(ll. 1143-8.)

¹ *Vita Adae et Evae*, *Schriften der Münchner Akademie*, I. Kl., xiv, 1879.

² *Lutwins Adam und Eva*, gedruckt für den litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1881.

³ See H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, II, p. 137, and H. Brinkmann, *Zu Wesen und Form mittelalterlicher Dichtung*, p. 6.

Lutwin also insists on 'worheit':

Sit ich der worheit nit enhil.
Die rede ist der worheit zil. (ll. 333-4.)

Thus where Lutwin's poem differs from the *Vita* deliberate alteration should be our last hypothesis, not our first¹.

It is the purpose of this paper to throw a little more light on Lutwin's poem by an examination of new material, viz., eleven hitherto unprinted manuscripts in London, Oxford, and Cambridge² containing the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. There are also two incunabula edited by Katona³ and several Middle English translations⁴. The latter serve to check the Latin text. An examination of this material will give us a more exact knowledge of the text on which Lutwin worked, and will prove that Lutwin followed his source more closely than Meyer supposed.

The most striking example is, perhaps, the following:

Die selbe tufeliche slange
Beis Sed durch ein wange
Einen bis also gross. (ll. 2535-8.)

Meyer's *Vita*, § 37, reads: 'ecce subito venit serpens bestia et impetum faciens morsit Seth.' Meyer says, 'Lutwin las wohl *faciem* statt *faciens*.' Light is thrown on the passage by Harl. 275, which reads: 'subito venit serpens bestia impietatis et faciem Seth momorsit.' Lambeth, Harl. 526, 2432, Arundel, Reg. 8. F. xvi agree in reading *faciem*. Thus it is obvious that Lutwin's source had *faciem*, and the German text is clear.

This is not the place to discuss which is the original reading, and how the corruption arose. It may be that *impetū faciēs* by the omission of the nasal strokes gave a reading *impetu facies*, which was altered to *impetu faciem* by a scribe who took *impetu* as ablative and *facies* as a nominative wrongly used for an accusative. The readings of Balliol 228: 'serpens cum impetu et momorsit Seth' and Paris 5327⁵: 'subito festinam callidus serpens cum impetu morsit Seth' are interesting in view of *cum impetu* and the absence of any such word as *faciem*, *facies*, *faciens*.

¹ The Old High German translation of Isidorus affords a good example of fidelity to source, where (in chap. III) *Deo* is rendered *zi gotē*, although the reading should be *De eo*. The German translator took what he found, and did not allow himself liberties.

² In London: British Museum: Harleian 275, 495, 526, 3432; Arundel 326; Royal 8. F. xvi; Lambeth Palace 352. In Oxford: Queen's College 213; Balliol 228. In Cambridge: St John's 176; Corpus Christi 275. J. H. Mozley is preparing a critical edition of the *Vita* based on these manuscripts for *The Journal of Theological Studies*.

³ *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*, köt. XVIII, sz. 10, Budapest, 1904.

⁴ *Altenglische Legenden*, edited by C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1878, contains three versions (referred to as A, B and C). *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. LXXIV, contains two versions, also edited by Horstmann (referred to as D and E). *The Wheatley Manuscript, Early English Text Society*, No. 155, edited by Mabel Day, 1921, contains a prose translation (referred to as W).

⁵ Meyer prints the text of Paris MS. 5327 (from an incunabulum) in an appendix.

In dealing with the passages where Lutwin's poem differs from Meyer's Latin text, it will not be necessary to give the reading of every manuscript not yet edited, since the aim is only to show what reading Lutwin's source must have had, and to establish the fact that he followed his source very closely. In some cases the differences between Lutwin and Meyer's *Vita* are very slight.

After the expulsion from paradise Eve complains of hunger:

'Adam, here, lieber man'
Sprach das wip, 'ich bin nohe tot,'
Sprach Eva, 'wan hungers not....' (ll. 848-50.)

Meyer, § 2, reads: 'dixit Eva...domine mi, esurio,' but Queen's and Balliol read: 'Homo meus, esurio.'

Adam goes to stand in the river Jordan as penance for his sin:

In leide kerte er sinen synn;
Er rüff mit klegelicher stymme
Und mit jomers gryme:
'Ach, Jordan, ich sage dir....' (ll. 1035-8.)

Meyer, § 8, has only: 'et dixit Adam, tibi dico...', but Harl. 275 has: 'tunc Adam clamavit ad Dominum Deum et factae sunt raucae voces eius per singulos dies.'

The fish in Jordan mourn with Adam:

Und gebarten dem gliche,
Sam in leit umb in were;
Und klagetent sin swere. (ll. 1053-5.)

Meyer, § 8, does not contain this, but Harl. 275 reads: 'quod lugentia erant omnia animantia cum Adam.'

Eve repents in the Tigris, but is tempted by Satan to leave her penance:

Do Eva reht het vernomen,
Das sū also betrogen was
Von dem leiden Sathanas,
Der ir ee leit hette getan,
Do viel sū nider uff den plan
One krafft und one maht.
Die lichte sunne wart ir naht,
So das sū horte nach sprach. (ll. 1298-1305.)

Meyer, § 11, has only: 'haec cum audisset Eva cognovit, quod diabolus suasit exire de flumine et cecidit super faciem suam in terram,' whilst Harl. 275 has: 'quod diabolus seduxit eam et de flumine exire persuasit' and, in § 10, 'et jacuit quasi mortua pene tota die.'

God has made Adam in His own image:

Mir glich, Adam, nu sich.
Ich han nach mir gebildet dich. (ll. 1379-80.)

Meyer, § 13, reads: 'feci te ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram,' but Harl. 275 has 'meam.'

Satan states that envious hatred caused him to tempt Eve and to avenge himself on Adam through her:

Das ich mit nyde fügete das,
Das Eva den appfel as. (ll. 1488-9.)

Meyer, § 16, has only: 'et dolo circumveniebam mulierem tuam et feci te expelli per eam,' but Harl. 275 reads: 'ideo tibi invidere coepi et non tolerabam te ita gloriari. Circumveni mulierem tuam et per eam....'

Adam prays to God and Satan vanishes:

Der tüfel mit der rede swant. (l. 1505.)

Meyer, § 17: 'et statim non apparuit diabolus ei,' but Harl. 275: 'et statim diabolus ab oculis eius evanuit.'

Eve, parted from Adam, is in misery:

Sus was ir fröide gar zerstort
Von hertzelichem ungemach. (ll. 1679-80.)

Meyer, § 19, has only: 'non exaudiebatur,' but Harl. 495 and Queen's add: 'nec erat requies ulla ei.' Balliol is corrupt 'nec erat minima arca eam.'

Eve asks Adam to pray to God to help her:

Dovon bitte got für mich,
Das er mir helffe durch dich
Und lösse mich von mym wen. (ll. 1762-4.)

Meyer, § 20, has: 'ut exaudiat te et respiciat ad me et liberet me de doloribus meis pessimis,' but Harl. 275 has: 'ut adjuvet et liberet me....'

Michael and other angels help Eve at the birth of Cain:

E das er die wort sprach,
Zwölff engel er by yme sach,
Die hette got dar gesant. (ll. 1770-2.)

Meyer, § 21, reads: 'et ecce venerunt xii angeli et duo virtutes stantes a dextris et a sinistris Evae.' Lutwin omits *duo virtutes*, as does Katona's text, p. 75: 'et ecce venerunt duodecim angeli et steterunt a dextris et sinistris Evae¹.'

Eve bears her first child, Cain:

Das ich also wunderlich
Einen menschen mir glich
Getragen han by mynem herten
Mit manigem ungefügem smertzen? (ll. 1799-1802.)

Meyer, § 21, contains nothing about pain: 'et peperit filium et erat lucidus.' Here *peperit* refers to Eva and *lucidus* to Cain. Katona's text,

¹ This is supported by the English version C, p. 224: 'twelve angelus'—no virtues are mentioned.

p. 75, omits *et erat lucidus*, and though Queen's and Harl. 495 read *lucidus*, several other manuscripts, e.g., Harl. 275 and 3432, read *lucidus*. It looks as if Lutwin's source had some form like *lucidus* (? *lucida*, associated with *lugeo*)¹.

After Abel's death Eve bears Seth:

Den vil sere begunde clagen
Adam und Eve von hertzen
Umb des todes smertzen...
Eva gebar den dirten sun. (ll. 2104-9.)

Meyer, § 24, reads: 'et post haec cognovit Adam uxorem suam et genuit filium et vocavit nomen eius Seth.' Here no mention is made of mourning, but Katona's text, p. 76, reads: 'post hoc...*lugebant* filium suum Abel...cognovit Adam uxorem suam et genuit *tertium* filium...Seth².' Balliol reads: 'post hoc centum annos *flevit* Adam Abel et abstinuit se ab uxore...'

All creatures must praise God who made them:

Das muss ouch dir zu eren leben,
Wann du in leben hast gegeben.
Sü loben dich, als billich ist,
Wanne du ir aller schöpfer bist. (ll. 2261-4.)

Meyer, § 28, reads: 'tibi dant honorem et laudem spirituales virtutes,' but Harl. 275 has: 'omnis creatura vivens tibi dat honorem et laudem spiritualement cum feceris genus humanum magna virtute.'

Michael appears to Seth; he

Fürt eins olyboumes zwy
Grüne in siner hant. (ll. 2602-3.)

This does not appear in Meyer, § 42, but Katona's text reads: 'tunc recessit angelus in paradisum et attulit ei ramusculum trium foliorum de arbore scientiae boni et mali dedit ei.'

Adam, at the point of death, gives orders about his burial:

als ich
Sterbe, so begrabent mich
Ostern gegen der sunnen schin. (ll. 2947-9.)

Meyer, § 45, reads: 'et si mortuus fuero, sepelire me contra ortum dei magnum habitationibus' with variants *diei* and *in agro habitationis illius*; but Katona, p. 79: 'sepelire me contra orientem,' Harl. 275: 'contra ortum solis et dei,' and Corpus Christi: 'ortum orientalem habitationis illius' throw more light on Lutwin's text.

¹ This is supported by the English version E, p. 359: 'and than she childid and brought forthe a sone, with grete sorowe and traueile,' also by D, p. 348: 'and she bare a son, but she was ful with sorwe.'

² That Lutwin's source was nearer Katona's text is proved by the English version C, p. 225: '[after Abel's death Adam] was in serwe & in wepyng.'

After Adam's death:

Mit grossem jomer umbefingen
Seth und das arme wip
Adam den doten lip. (ll. 2988-90.)

Meyer, § 46, reads: 'et cum esset Seth amplexans corpus patris sui lugens desuper,' but Harl. 275: 'cum autem Seth et mater eius amplexati essent corpus Adae et luxissent super illud.'

Adam is to be buried; God gives Adam's soul into the custody of Michael:

Der engel fürste sante Mychahele
In sine engelsche gewant
Myt der selen stunt er zu hant
Zu Adams houbet hin. (ll. 3076-9.)
Er leit sine götliche hant
Uff das houbet Adams sele,
Er entpfalch sü sant Mychahele. (ll. 3127-9.)

Meyer, § 46, reads: 'et ecce Michahel angelus apparuit stans ad caput Adae et dixit ad Seth: exurge desuper corpus patris,' and, § 47: 'tunc vidit Seth manum domini extensam tenentem Adam, et tradidit Michaheli.' Here Meyer's text is not that which Lutwin had. There is no mention of Adam's soul, and the whole point is, in fact, missed. The explanation is that Adam's body is to be buried, but his soul must be taken to hell and remain there until hell is harrowed by Christ. This is found in the British Museum manuscripts, for example Harl. 275 has: 'tunc vidit Seth manum domini extensam *animam* patris sui tenentem quam tradidit Michaeli archangelo dicens, sic haec *anima* in custodia tua...¹.'

When hell has been harrowed Adam will be given a seat in heaven:

By mir in dem höhesten throne,
Wann ich in nach mynre persone
Mit mynre hant gewireket han. (ll. 3161-3.)

Meyer, § 47, hardly explains these verses. Here the passage is: 'tunc sedebit in throno eius, quoniam eum plantavi' with variants *qui eum supplantavit* and *qui eum seduxit*. Thus *eius* refers to Satan, viz., that Adam shall occupy the seat which was once Satan's. Katona, p. 79,

¹ That such a reading is the basis of Lutwin's text is further proved by the English versions, e.g., B, ll. 546 f.:

God tok Adam soule, þat Seth it seiȝe,
& bitok it seyn Miȝhel
& seyde...

also W, p. 96: 'Thanne say Seth þe hond of God holden up and helde hys fadir soule, and took it to Seynt Mychael,' and A, l. 881:

Seth seȝ God þo sikerly,
His faderes soule take þan
And tok Miȝhel, þe angel briȝt,
And seyde, 'keþ me this soule riȝt
In peynes....'

reads: 'qui eum seduxit,' which makes good sense, but throws no light on Lutwin. The other MSS., e.g., Harl. and Lambeth, with their reading *supplantavit*, give us no help. But Lutwin's text can be explained. In l. 1368 *got dich...geworhte* translates *plasmatus es*, and in l. 3119 *dine hantgetat* translates *plasma tua*, whilst the English version which reads: 'panne shal he sitten wiþ herte glad in his trone þat him made¹,' and thus corresponds closely to Lutwin's text, suggests that both the English poet and Lutwin had a reading *plasmavi(t)*.

Abel's body had remained unburied, and was buried together with Adam's. Angels bring the shrouds:

Das sü balde brahten dar
Zwey snewise rehte cleit
Mit engelscher hant bereit. (ll. 3216-18.)

Meyer, § 48, reads: 'et dixit iterum dominus ad Michahel et Urihel angelos: afferte mihi *tres* sindones bissinas et expandite super Adam et *alias* sindones super Abel filium eius.' The German poem thus mentions only two cloths, whilst Meyer's Latin text has three. Katona, p. 79, reads: 'et accepit Michael sindonem et involvit corpus Adae et filii sui Abel.' Harl. 275 has: '*tres* pannos...et expande *unum* super corpus Adae & *aliu*m super corpus filii eius Abel.' The fact that Lutwin's source had only two is proved by one of the English versions: 'God comaundet tweyn angelus to bringe *twey* clopes...þat on to do uppon Adam, and þat oþer to don uppon Abel, his sone².'

We come now to a passage of great difficulty since none of the Latin versions fully explains it. Eve reproaches Satan for attacking Seth. Satan reminds her that he revenges himself against the human race, which is responsible for his banishment from heaven. He continues:

Mahtu nit uff dinem kragen
Dinen sun von hynnen tragen,
Den ich do gebissen han?
Du hettest doch maht daran,
Das du ehsse des bomes fruht,
Von der du lideest soliche zuht. (ll. 2557-62.)

Meyer, § 38, reads: 'Eva, quomodo apertum est os tuum, ut manducares de fructu, quem praecepit tibi dominus deus ut non manducares: nunc autem non potes portare, si tibi incepero exprobrare.' Meyer remarks '*si t. inc. expr.* fehlt in I, III und offenbar auch in Lutwins Text; daher die sonderbaren Verse 2557 und 2558.' But even the absence of these four words will not explain Lutwin. The variants in the unprinted manuscripts show that this passage is not clear. Queen's College 213 reads:

¹ A, l. 889; cp. M. Day's note in W.

² C, p. 226.

'nunc autem non potes portare si tibi incepero pugnare.' Harl. 275 reads: 'dic mihi, Eva, quomodo apertum est os tuum ut manducares de fructu quem praecepit tibi dominus non manducares? Antea quidem non habui potestatem in vos sed postquam praeteristi mandatum domini tunc incepit audacia nostra et potestas.' From these readings it looks as if Lutwin had a text something like: 'thou hadst power to resist my attacks before thou didst eat of the forbidden fruit,' in which case the German text must be corrupt.

A branch of an olive tree is placed at the head of Adam's grave:

Der oley zwig wart gesteecket,
Als ich bewiset bin,
Zu Adams houbete hin. (ll. 3266-8.)

Katona's text is closest, p. 79: 'Seth vero filius eius plantavit ramum ad caput patris sui, sicut eum rogaverat Adam.'

Another passage is of interest since there is nothing corresponding to it in any of the Latin texts. Abel had remained unburied, but his body had not decomposed. His corpse is buried with Adam's:

Und der rehtikeit hort,
Abel, der uff dem velde dort
Manig jare was dot gelegen,
Dem sunne, wint nach der regen
Nie geschadet umb ein har. (ll. 3221-5.)

Though this is not found in the Latin texts one of the English versions¹ reads: 'sete lay Abel aboue erpe,' which shows that Lutwin's source contained the passage.

One of the most striking deviations of Lutwin's poem from the *Vita* is found quite early in the poem. Satan relates how he was banished from heaven because he refused to worship Adam. He compares himself with Adam:

Er ist gemaht von erde:
So bin ich hoch und werde
Nach gottes bilde beschaffen vor,
Ich bin über der engel chor
Gehöhet sunder menchen list:
Er ist nuwent erde und myst.
Ich bin schöne: er ist swar.
Er ist drübe: ich bin clar.
Er ist vinster: ich bin lieht.... (ll. 1407-15.)
Obe got zu mir sinen has
Keret, des wurt wol rat.
Ich nyme mir die höhste stat
In dem hohen hymelrich
Und setze eben glich
Dem höhsten got mynen tron. (ll. 1442-7.)

¹ B, l. 573.

Meyer, § 14, reads: 'non adorabo deteriore et posteriore meum. In creatura illius prius sum. Antequam ille fieret, ego iam factus eram. Ille me debet adorare,' and, § 15: 'si [dominus] irascitur mihi, ponam sedem meam super sidera caeli et ero similis altissimo.' Katona's text and the unprinted Latin MSS. give us no help. But the story of Satan's fall has been incorporated in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*¹. Here we read: 'Et ego vidi quod factus esset de limo terre et dixi: De igne et aqua sum et prius formatus sum. Ego non adoro lutum terre... Non irascitur mihi dominus. Sed ponam meum thronum adversum thronum eius.' Here are certain similarities, e.g., *erde und myst* = *de limo terre*, *lutum terre*; *clar* = *de aqua*; *lieht* = *de igne*. Verses 1410–11 sound like a parody on a description of the Virgin Mary's place in heaven, and are thus artistically blasphemous in the mouth of Satan: 'Exaltata es, Sancta Dei genitrix super choro angelorum ad coelestia regna²,' and Lutwin, in his description of the Virgin Mary, writes:

Die one menschlichen list
Ist mit zepter und mit cron
Erhöhet in dem höchsten thron. (ll. 799–801.)

In his analysis of Lutwin's poem Meyer speaks of 'grössere von Lutwin zugesetzte Stücke' because these passages are not found in the Latin texts he edited. But these passages are not peculiar to Lutwin; Balliol 228 contains many of these 'additions,' e.g., the naming of Adam, an expansion of the story of the murder of Abel, interpolations from the legend of the Holy Cross, and a description of the four rivers of paradise³. This suggests that Lutwin found these 'additions' in his source, and the fact that Lutwin's text is, in many cases, closer to the unprinted Latin MSS. than to Meyer's *Vita* proves that Lutwin's source was not the text of the *Vita* which Meyer edited. Lutwin appears to have followed a Latin source very closely, and there is no indication that his poem is 'original' in any way whatever.

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LONDON.

¹ A Latin version edited by Moricca appears in *Revue Biblique*, Paris and Rome, Oct. 1921. See pp. 512–13 for above extract.

² Migne, LXXVIII, col. 798.

³ Such 'additions' are found also in E.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE CELTIC PROVENANCE OF 'THE LAY OF TYDOREL.'

A Celtic origin for the anonymous *Lai de Tydorel*¹, as for the majority of the other Breton lays, especially those of Marie de France, has repeatedly been claimed, partly on the ground of the motives constituting the tale², partly by reason of the general atmosphere so characteristic of this class of fiction³. Yet it must be admitted that a Celtic provenance of *Tydorel* may be considered as definitely proved only if the same story can be shown to exist in the Celtic literatures or in Celtic folk-lore in such a form that an influence of the French lay is out of question.

The tale runs as follows:

Tydorel, a gallant knight and king of Brittany, is the son of a water demon who had surprised his mother, the wife of a king of Brittany, when she was taking a rest in her garden. In consequence of his supernatural origin, Tydorel is sleepless, and night after night one of his followers or subjects is compelled to while away the time by telling him stories or reciting songs. One evening the lot falls upon a poor widow's son, who in vain asserts that he knows nothing that can in any way satisfy His Majesty. Fearing the worst for her son, the old woman tells him to obey the summons and when pressed to tell the king that

Por verité que n'est pas d'ome
Qui ne dort ne qui ne prent somme.

The boy acts on this suggestion, whereupon Tydorel rushes into his mother's apartments, demanding at the point of his sword to know the secret of his birth. Frightened by his threats, the old queen confesses all. Tydorel mounts his horse and leaps with it into the depth of the lake, there to join his supernatural father.

The central idea of the lay, though its economy does not exactly emphasise it, is the danger threatening the hero, the 'widow's son,' so frequent in popular fiction, and overcome by him, thanks to a piece of good advice. The danger is connected with a watch which he is to keep in the palace of a 'tyrant,' that is, really, a supernatural being, a *daemon*. All the rest of the tale serves merely as an introduction to explain the demonic character of the 'tyrant.'

To such an interpretation of the story it might be objected (1) that Tydorel is described as a gallant knight and a model of chivalry and (2) that the task imposed upon the hero is, after all, not very difficult and becomes so only because of the hero's own simple-mindedness, for which in a certain measure he alone is to blame. One might also observe

¹ *Le Lai de Guingamor und Le Lai de Tydorel*, Berlin, 1922; G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), p. 66; W. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 139 and 388.

² T. P. Cross, *Revue Celtique*, XXXI (1910), p. 466.

³ A. H. Krappe, *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques*, Paris, 1928, p. 119.

that the introductory part of the lay, leading up to Tydorel's birth, is somewhat long when compared with the rest of the story, so much so that it is by no means clear on which part of the narrative the centre of gravity rests as it were.

None of these objections holds if we bear in mind that the extant lay does not necessarily represent the original form of the story. It is, in fact, inadmissible in this connexion to disregard the related texts, other pieces of mediæval fiction which have come down to us and which we have excellent reasons to suppose closer to the lost original of the lay than the extant poem. They are the Middle English poems *Sir Gowther*¹ and *Sir Degarre*² and an episode of the Old Norse *Þiðreks Saga*³. In two of these the supernatural being who has intercourse with the queen is a *daemon*, and the son born of this union is a man endowed with demonic qualities that make him anything but a pleasant character. If Tydorel is thus found to differ from his 'cousins,' this exceptional feature must be attributed to a definite tendency on the part of the French author. Even so his demonic nature, quite aside from his sleeplessness, still stands out very distinctly. At all events, the hero and his mother, the widow, are deadly frightened by the royal request and appear to entertain no doubt whatever on the subject. And what gallant knight, it may be asked, would ever think of blinding a serf whose only fault is his complete lack of conversational powers? Thus the tyrannical character of the demon-prince is still clearly visible, in spite of all efforts of a *courtois* poet to transform him into a model knight.

The fear of the widow's son at the approach of the princely messengers leads us to another important point. The lay is silent about any mishap that might have befallen any of his predecessors. Yet such must have been the case; else his fear that the king would put him in prison or blind him would have to be pronounced as groundless and quite unexplainable. Nor does the motive of the story-telling look very genuine; on the contrary, it seems rather to be an addition, an improvement made upon the tale by a society as passionately fond of story-telling as that of the mediæval Normans. What is primitive is doubtless the dangerous watch, which we know to be a universal and favourite motive in folk-lore.

Lastly, as for the length of the introductory part, there is a better proportion between the prelude and the story proper in the other texts

¹ Ed. K. Breul, Oppeln, 1886.

² J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, New Haven, 1916, p. 134.

³ Ed. Unger, § CLXIX; Bertelsen, I, 319; cf. my *Études*, *loc. cit.*

of this cycle. The traditional character of the Breton lay made it imperative for the author to emphasise the 'fairy story,' that is, precisely this introduction, at the expense of the rest of the narrative.

Thus divested of the accessory features, all secondary, we believe, the story would run as follows:

A widow's son is compelled to undertake a dangerous watch in the palace of a demonic prince, the son of an earthly woman and a water demon. The task is most perilous, chiefly because the prince, by reason of his supernatural origin, is sleepless, and many men have already perished. Thanks to the advice of his mother, he carries his enterprise to a successful end and tells the tyrant of his supernatural origin. The latter rushes to his mother, extorting from her a confession, and then leaves his kingdom and his throne, never to return.

Now it is precisely in this form that the tale has been preserved in the country which for the history of European popular fiction is probably as useful as Australia is for the study of the terrestrial fauna; I refer to Ireland. A legend current in County Sligo reports the following incidents¹.

Cormac mac Airt, later the celebrated king of Ireland, spent his youth in a district ruled over by a great tyrant called Mac Con, who kept men to watch over him night after night, but every morning these guards were found dead. At length it fell to the lot of Cormac to go on this guard duty. Now Cormac knew (we are not told how) that Mac Con was the son of a water-sprite (*sic*) and therefore sleepless, unless near water. So he called for water, under pretext of washing his hands, and on the sly placed the basin under the bed of the tyrant, who thereupon slept soundly all through the night. Then Cormac beheld a multitude of water-sprites (*sic*) enter the room, the very ones who, in unison with Mac Con, had been in the habit of destroying the guards. Cormac, as goes without saying, slew them and in the morning recounted his adventure to Mac Con in the presence of his court, adding that he was only 'half human.' Mac Con in rage was about to kill Cormac when his own mother stepped in, acknowledging the truth of the statement. Mac Con resigned the kingship after this scandal and disappeared from the scene, without being heard of any more. Cormac reaped the fruit of his bravery and cleverness by being appointed his successor.

Since the Irish antiquarian W. G. Wood-Martin, who reports this story without quoting any other authority, is generally suspected of having tampered with his materials—and it must be admitted that the term 'water-sprite' in this connexion is of his own making, Irish folklore being ignorant of this type of elementary spirits—it will be of value to know that virtually the same story, minus the royal trappings, was recently told to my friend, Professor Séamas O Duilearga of the National University, by Micheál Bán Cunraoi of Bailén Sgeilg, County Kerry, an old man and a reliable story-teller. It reads as follows:

Two young men came to live on the sea-coast (Parish of Mhuirig, beyond Dingle, Western Kerry). They married the same shrovetide.

One fine evening in April the two women went for a walk to the shore. (The two farms adjoined each other, the land going right down to the sea.) It was so warm

¹ W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, London, 1902, II, p. 121.

that they decided to take a bath. They could not swim, but splashed and played about with each other in the sea water. Suddenly one of the women shouted to the other that a man was approaching. The second looked and saw him. They were greatly startled and rushed to the shore. The woman who had seen the man last slipped and fell under the water, and her companion thought that just then the man came up to the woman who had slipped.

Nine months after a fine boy was born to her. The child gave no trouble but was very quiet. The only fault it had was that it never closed its eyes and never slept. The woman had a large family afterwards, but her other children used to sleep like ordinary human beings.

The boy grew up and was sent to school. What it took the other children of the family three months to learn he grasped in a week. He became a great scholar and used to stay up night after night reading and writing. But he was much troubled because he could not sleep like the others.

One night a poor scholar came to the house and, after the family had retired to bed, the two young men stayed up, talking with one another. Then the son asked the stranger whether he had ever heard of or seen people who did not sleep by day or by night, and whether such people existed at all. The scholar replied that there were three countries in the sea, the Land of the Living, the Land of the Virtues (*Buaidh*) and the Land of the Young. The inhabitants of the first never sleep, those of the third never die or grow old, and those of the second have the power of good and evil on the sea.

The following night the son told his mother not to go to bed but to stay up with him. He questioned her then and said that he was not like the rest of the family and that she must know the reason why. He asked further whether she had ever had anything to do with a man beside his father, that he thought that the latter was not his father at all, and he demanded to know the truth. Then she told him what had happened.

The boy then said farewell to his mother, saying that he must go to his own people. She stood in the door watching him go down to the sea. He waded out into the water, and his mother thought that it just reached his knees. And she watched him until he disappeared. Nothing was heard of him ever after¹.

These stories are sufficiently different to preclude the possibility of the French lay having penetrated into Ireland and being responsible for them. At the same time, they are considerably more archaic than *Tydorel*, all the *courtois* and knightly features discussed above being conspicuous only by their absence. In fact, the Sligo legend corresponds in every particular but one with the reconstructed original of *Tydorel*. That one exception is in the *dénouement*, the threat of the tyrant to slay his own mother unless she tell him the truth. This trait has been modified in both modern legends. In the version from Sligo the person threatened is Cormac, whilst in the Kerry text the violent scene has been tuned down to a calm discussion between mother and son. I believe that in this particular the lay represents the better reading, not only because of the testimony of *Sir Gowther*, where we find an analogous scene, but also because one cannot help suspecting that the story-tellers of the Irish countryside have certain moral preoccupations and would not like to reproduce the rude and violent scene, of a realism apt to

¹ I owe the English text to Professor Duilearga.

shock even the ordinary theatre-goer when occurring in a modern play of E. Bernstein.

To sum up: the lay of Tydorel is unquestionably of Celtic, that is, probably, of Breton, provenance, in the sense that it reached France from a Celtic-speaking country. Two close parallels, both considerably more archaic, are still current among the Gaelic-speaking population of Western Ireland.

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THE 'FRANCO-ITALIAN LETTERS OF FARAMON AND MELIADUS.'

The famous Provençal manuscript D of the Biblioteca Estense of Modena contains, in a Franco-Italian text of the fourteenth century, three letters in verse which hark back to the romance of *Palamède*. They have been edited, with a critical introduction, by Giulio Bertoni in his *Studi su vecchie e nuove poesie e prose d'amore e di romanzi* (Modena, 1921), as 'Le lettere franco-italiane di Faramon e Meliadus' (pp. 183-206). The first letter purports to be from king Faramon of France to king Meliadus of Liones; the second from Meliadus to 'le bon chevalier sans paour,' the king of Estrangorre; of the third letter, addressed to Meliadus, Bertoni professed himself unable to identify the sender, and he conjectured that the three may be fragments of a long narrative, whether in verse or in verse and prose, now lost, 'che l'oblio deve avere inghiottita.' A comparison with the printed French text, *Meliadus de Leonnoys* (Paris, Galliot du Pre, 1528, Denis Janot, 1532), or the rare Italian version based upon it (Aldus, Venice, 1559), shows that this conjecture of the distinguished Italian scholar can hardly be maintained. The first letter alone presents some difficulty. In the printed *Meliadus* (French, capp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv, Italian, part II, capp. xix-xx), we find a letter from Meliadus asking aid from Faramon since Arthur is about to make war upon him because of his abduction of the Queen of Scotland, and an answer from Faramon, advising Meliadus to give back the lady to her husband, but professing his readiness to come to his help in any case. In the much shorter letter in the Modena manuscript (probably referring to an earlier episode in the story), the situation is reversed: Faramon is writing to Meliadus for aid against Arthur. The second and third letter appear in an almost identical form in the French edition (cap. cxvi) and in the Italian (cap. li, pp. 162, 165 v.). Meliadus has been defeated and imprisoned by Arthur, but released by the inter-

vention of the 'bon chevalier sans paour.' He now writes to the latter urging him to come to the succour of king Arthur against the Saxons, and the third letter is the answer of the king of Estrangorre. Neither is the letter of Meliadus in the Modena manuscript 'mutila del principio,' as Bertoni supposed: 'vos avez, tres noubles rois' is simply a corruption of 'a vous, a vous tres noble roy,' which is the opening line of the printed text and in the Italian runs: 'A voi a voi nobilissimo re.' It is thus clear that these 'lettere franco-italiane' are merely fragments—copied by a north-Italian scribe—from the excerpt of the *Palamède* made by Rusticiano da Pisa.

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DANTE, 'DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA,' II, 7.

The late Professor W. P. Ker, in an article upon Dante's theory of lyrical poetry, which appeared in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. iv, p. 148, said: 'his (Dante's) theory of diction is harder to understand than anything else in his works; it is scarcely possible to make out his classification of *vocabula pexa et irsuta* in connexion with the examples which he gives. However, it is plain that there is somewhere in his theory a principle of verbal euphony.' Dante classifies words as *puerilia*, *muliebria* and *virilia*; the last-mentioned are again divided as *silvestria* and *urbana*, and 'eorum que urbana vocamus quedam pexa et lubrica, quedam irsuta et reburra sentimus'; the *pexa* and *irsuta* are to be sought for, as being *grandiosa*. These metaphors are concerned with personal appearance and in particular with the condition of the hair. Difficult as it is to discover why certain collocations of sounds produced the impression suggested upon Dante's mind, it seems worth while to observe that he was using metaphors which were not uncommon in treatises upon versification and diction. They occur in *Les Arts Poétiques du XIIIe et du XIIIe siècle*, edited by Edmond Faral (Paris, 1924); the treatises by Matthieu de Vendôme and Geoffroi de Vinsauf no doubt summarise theories current on the subject. Composed about 1185 and 1210 respectively, they were well anterior to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, which is supposed to have been composed between 1304 and 1306, and Dante may have been familiar with their terminology. Matthieu de Vendôme says (Faral, p. 154): 'ex superficiali ornatu verborum elegantia est in versibus... Si quidem in hoc articulo versificatorem oportet esse expeditum, ne ex penuria ornatus hirsuta verborum aggregatio in metro

videatur mendicare: sed, quadam similitudine sumpta a rebus materiatis, sicut de lana caprina et de panniculis inveteratis nemo festivum potest contexere indumentum...similiter in versibus.' Matthieu uses a variety of metaphorical expressions to describe the character of words, but returns more than once to those derived from outward appearance or clothing; *verba polita* are an essential element in verse; *quaedam dictiones panniculosae*, under which heading he places the conjunctions, are to be avoided. Geoffroi de Vinsauf follows the same line of thought (Faral, p. 254):

Legibus arctetur metrum, sed prosa vagatur
Liberiore via, quia prosae publica strata
Admittit passim redas et plaustra; sed arta
Semita versiculi non vult tam grossa, sed ipsas
Voces in forma gracili, ne corpus agreste
Verbi mole sua perturbet et inquinet illum
Vultque venire metrum tanquam domicellula, compto
Crine, nitente gena, subtili corpore, forma
Egregia.

Dante's opposition of *verba silvestria* to *verba urbana*, and of *pexa* to *irsuta* is here made. Geoffroi goes on to say that words must conform to these principles, 'nec quicquam puerile sonent,' again using one of Dante's terms. He concludes this section of his poem thus:

Ecce dedi pecten, quo si sint pexa relucet
Carmina tam prosae quam metra. Sed an bene pectas
Hoc speculo poteris plene discernere formam.

Evrard l'Allemand seems to use the same metaphor (p. 359):

Persephones raptum qui compto carmine claudit,
Arte nec ingenio claudicat ille suo.

He wrote in 1349, too late to concern us; by that time the idea had probably become commonplace; Góngora uses it (*Sonetos Heróicos*, No. XXI):

Historia es culta, cuyo encanecido
Estilo, si no métrico, peinado,
Tres ya Pilotos del bajel sagrado
Hurta al tiempo...

There are other points of resemblance to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in these *Artes Poeticae*; the theory of the three styles, and the whole conception of style, as a mechanical process depending upon the choice and arrangement of words. They do not explain Dante's system of selection; certain words seem to have suggested to him associations of ideas, delicate and elusive in themselves and now lost to us. But these treatises show that the curious terminology which Dante used to express these associations was not entirely of his own invention.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF UGO FOSCOLO.

Among the numerous literary projects that Ugo Foscolo planned during his last painful years in London and were never fulfilled, was the founding of an annual literary journal, to be published in Liverpool. Foscolo gives a detailed description of this scheme in a letter to Thomas Roscoe, son of the historian, dated 14 December 1826¹. The journal—in Foscolo's mind—was to become a kind of annual survey of all the best work done in Europe in the spheres of literature, history and politics. It was to be entirely unbiassed and free from any party sectarianism². It was to appear annually, about Easter. Foscolo himself intended to contribute the sections on classical and Italian culture, and to undertake the editorship of the publication; but he disagreed with the suggestion, probably brought forward by Thomas Roscoe, of issuing the journal quarterly.

In another letter, however, written a few days later to Antonio Panizzi, who was then only a modest and, except for a few friends, obscure teacher of Italian in Liverpool, Foscolo refers to the same scheme, though in a somewhat different tone³. In this letter to Panizzi, Foscolo appears very doubtful of the success of the enterprise: 'Un altro disegno si va ora facendo, e che m'ha faccia di volere andare in fumo.' On the other hand he seems to admit that, with some help from other people, the journal could be published quarterly: 'S'altri mi aiuteranno, il giornale potrà uscire trimestralmente.' We cannot help marvelling at Foscolo's energy and faith, when we remember the tragic conditions under which it was planned. He was then very ill, being already weakened by the disease which brought him to his grave eight months later (10 September 1827). Moreover, he was actually faced with penury, and was overworking himself almost to the point of exhaustion on his edition of the *Divina Commedia*; of which only the 'Discorso sul Testo' had appeared in 1825⁴. Besides all this, Foscolo was then engaged in writing three novels, one of which was completed, though we are still ignorant to-day of its whereabouts⁵.

Amongst the correspondence of William Roscoe I have recently found an unpublished letter of Ugo Foscolo, which I transcribe below; from

¹ See *Epistolario di Ugo Foscolo*, Florence, 1854, III, pp. 245-8.

² *Op. cit.* On this subject Foscolo points out that the *Quarterly Edinburgh* and *Westminster Review* were serving a party, either the Tory, the Whig, or the Radical.

³ See *Lettere ad Antonio Panizzi di uomini illustri e di amici italiani*, edited by L. Fagan, Florence, 1882, pp. 64-6. The letter is dated Christmas Day, 1826.

⁴ See F. Viglione, *Ugo Foscolo in Inghilterra*, Catania, 1910, pp. 225 ff.

⁵ See C. Antona-Traversi e A. Ottolini, *Delle Opere incompiute di Ugo Foscolo*, in *Nuova Antologia*, 16 Jan. 1928, pp. 159-74.

it we learn how Foscolo, after planning the journal, was desirous of obtaining an authoritative opinion on it from William Roscoe, whom he held in the highest esteem. It is interesting to note that, at Thomas Roscoe's suggestion, the venture was to be attempted at Liverpool; which is not surprising, as Liverpool was in those days an important literary and intellectual centre, thanks to the enthusiasm of William Roscoe and his circle, whatever may have been said of it in later days by Thomas de Quincey¹:

London Decemb. 28, 1826.

Dear Sir,

A certain project of mine with respect to a literary journal is now with Mr. Ts. Roscoe who lately informed me that, although he could not meet with any publisher in London, still the adventure might be tried in Liverpool with some prospect of success. I intend to request him to forward for your consideration my long letter in which the project is fully detailed; but we must wait till a franck could be obtained from some privileged gentleman—and now there is no one of them within my reach. Mr. Thomas must, by this time, have spoken about the intended journal to a gentleman lately arrived from Liverpool and connected some way or other with your literary institution. However, I shall wait for your opinion which is the principal, if not the only one, which ought to draw my attention and direct my steps. My friend Mr. Panizzi will probably have some conversation with you; be so good as to send him the enclosed note, and furnish him, if it is in your power, with the address of Mr. Hatfield, near Manchester, adding the place where he *now* lives, and which possibly may be known to you. Forgive me all these troubles and my barbarous English;—and my scrapes, to boot; which Mr. Panizzi will help you to decypher.

Yours faithfully (*sic*) and respectfully,

Ugo FOSCOLO.

The allusions to Panizzi are, of course, obvious. The mention of Mr Hatfield reminds us of one of Foscolo's best friends in the north of England². Jonathan Hatfield had been visited by Foscolo in his residence at Sale, in July 1822; when, after spending a few days at Chatsworth and visiting Manchester (of which he gives a most depressing description), Foscolo was on his way to Liverpool. Who the gentleman was, connected with the Liverpool Royal Institution and referred to in this letter, I do not know. Foscolo apologises here for his barbarous English; but barbarous it was not, although he never succeeded in mastering the English language sufficiently well to do without the help of translators and correctors for the literary work which he published in England.

PIERO RÉBORA.

MANCHESTER.

¹ De Quincey, in *Tail's Edinburgh Magazine* (Vol. iv, 1837), spoke disparagingly of Roscoe, Shepherd and the other members of the literary circle of Liverpool.

For details on Jonathan Hatfield see *Memorials of the Nicholson Family*, edited by Ernest Axon, and printed for private circulation, 1928, p. 140.

REVIEWS

Form and Style in Poetry. Lectures and Notes. By W. P. KER. Edited by R. W. CHAMBERS. London: Macmillan. 1928. 384 pp. 10s. 6d.

If it is still pardonable to recur to the abused but real distinction between the Platonist and Aristotelian types of mind, we need not hesitate in which category to place the late W. P. Ker. The two categories do not, as a great critic declared in his haste, exhaust the varieties of human mentality, but Ker was a purer example of the 'Aristotelian' type than any contemporary critic—certainly purer than Aristotle himself! Within his chosen field of the West-European literatures and languages he was, among us, pre-eminently, 'the master of those who know.' And the instrument which he used most congenially and effectually, in applying it, was a clear and delicate analysis. His first important book, *Epic and Romance*, had the air of a scholar's curious survey of mediæval literatures; and this indeed it was; but it had its roots in a chapter of the *Poetics*, and the core of the book was the neglected distinction which that survey sought to illustrate and justify. And his wonderful *Dark Ages* rather gained than lost, in his hands, because the subject lent itself less to continuous narrative than to acute and grounded discrimination among a host of individual men and books.

The present volume, edited with exemplary care and piety by his friend and successor in the Quain chair, consists of the chief surviving and unpublished examples of Ker's work, with a number of reprinted lectures or articles. The title, taken from the course of twenty-four lectures delivered to several generations of his students in London, but borne also by his Clark Lectures at Cambridge (1912), expresses, as well as any single phrase could, the controlling appetencies of Ker's mind. The London course, unassuming and, at first sight, even casual, in plan, is rich in matter and even richer in the fine strokes which came spontaneously to Ker's lips, as to his pen. The divisions of poetry; the varieties of lyric form; poetic diction; diction and imagination; imagination and fancy; conceits; the dramatic unities—upon these and similar well-worn topics of the schools Ker quietly turns a criticism which, altering almost nothing, wins the charm of freshness by merely giving precision to hackneyed contours, or substituting an unexpected for a time-honoured illustration. Or the time-honoured illustration is itself freshly seen. The excellent lecture on 'the varieties of lyric form,' for instance, points out lyrical moments in Pope's *Pastorals*, and the too obvious plan which prevents Wotton's *Elizabeth of Bohemia* from being 'lyric in the highest sense.' *Lycidas* is full of traps for the pedant and for the pedagogue; Ker calls in 'Polonius' to collect and display the 'vile phrases,' the artifices, sham mythology, and the rest, and then brushes it all away: 'none of these things matter; the spirit of poetry, the art of poetic music, is such that the artifice in no way hinders the

pure lyric effect.' This, of course, is not to weigh up the 'faults' against the 'beauties,' in the old fashion, and to decide that the beauties have the best of it; it is to say that what would, taken by themselves, count as blemishes, here count only as weeds in a consuming flame. Similarly, though by different considerations, in the field of drama, he saves the virtue of Racine's 'flat conventional diction, and easy rhymes.' 'Racine is a great poet... whose verse steals into the mind with imperceptible music. How capable Racine was of music is brought out by an actress like Sarah Bernhardt; yet it is part of the dramatic art of the poet that he leaves this to the artists of the stage. The business of the dramatic poet is not to be too emphatic through mere words; he must use a vocabulary simple and clear.' And he refers appositely to Landor's distinction between 'diaphanous' and 'prismatic' poetry; a distinction, one may add, which bears extension to some poets of a later day, who invite us to study, through their intricate painted windows, the trees waving outside. Ker warns us, similarly, against other varieties of the fallacy which makes poetic diction a measure, or a condition, of poetry. Needless to say that this master of the scholarship of diction does not countenance the opposite fallacy, of more popular lineage, that nothing matters in poetry but the 'substance.' To right thinking here, which, as always, is also catholic thinking, the truest guides are Dante and the Greeks; and Ker reverts constantly to both, not for 'rules' but for happy examples; they are a Bible which he uses, not as a source of dogma, but to justify (like Baxter) 'the liberty of prophesying.' If we have any defect to suggest in his critical catholicity, it is that he wholly ignores (in what purports to be an introduction to the whole subject) the important contributions made to the difficult topics of these lectures by Goethe and Schiller, both here only incidentally mentioned. Yet their *Correspondence*, Schiller's philosophical essays, and Goethe's 'Conversations' with Eckermann, are critical documents of the first importance. *Epic and Romance* itself is least strong in dealing with the German Middle Ages. And a passage in the present lectures (xiv) blaming Wordsworth's 'imitation of a German imitation' (Bürger's) much needs a hint, for English students, of the treasures open to Wordsworth had he known the lyrics built by Goethe and Schiller, not upon the *Reliques*, but upon their own *Volkslied*.

A particularly fruitful series of discussions begins with the Sixth Lecture, on Milton's description of Poetry—that favourite tag in undergraduate essays. Milton's own poetry warns us not to interpret his 'simple' too summarily. If *Lycidas* is simple, it is clearly not simple in the way of 'Weep no more, ladies.' And he concludes that 'in *Lycidas* "simple" means just that unity which enables one to think of the poem as a whole, that unity obviously including very great variety and complexity.' It should be remembered, of course, that Milton uses only the comparative—'simpler' (than prose)—and is not demanding an absolute quality. Even with that liberal acceptance of 'simplicity,' however, at his service Ker recoils a little before the question whether *The Ring and the Book* is simple, quoting Henry James's paper on 'The Novel' in that

poem; and falls back on the conclusion which, as he admits, is rather 'a way out of the difficulty' than a solution of it, that, here, 'sensuous' and 'passionate' make up for the want of 'simple.'

The lecture on Similes (hackneyed topic of the schools!) pauses a moment to give one of those brief summings-up of the art and practice of many peoples and ages in a dozen lines which only Ker could do. The illustrations are usually fresh, and never without fresh touches. Byron's Terni stanzas have always been admired. Ker touches the secret of the 'wrongness' which a finer criticism finds in this picture of 'Love watching Madness with unalterable mien.' 'It does not work out, does not add to knowledge in the way the true Homeric simile does. . . . It does not take in the power of the waters, or the simple fact that the waters are perfectly sane, speaking their own language, and quite unhurt by this fit of the cataract.' On the other hand, he beautifully vindicates the disputed relevancy of the simile which closes *The Scholar Gipsy*, and its poetic rightness on other grounds: 'one gets the poetic good of the last two stanzas in the relief, the lifting of the imagination from troublous problems into pure poetry.' Among the many famous similes of Keats he singles out as a good instance of the 'double reference' the comparison of the fallen gods to a 'Druid cirque,' where 'a new value is added,' he justly says, 'to the English scene.' But is this English scene, as he assumes, Stonehenge? Rather, surely, the smaller but now well-known cirque near Keswick, which Keats had seen, with Brown, on the previous June 29, with a 'gratification' which 'rendered void' the 'fag' of reaching it. The situation, a high bare upland, answers better than Salisbury Plain to the 'forlorn moor'; and the 'mountains darkened at that time all around,' June though it was, to the 'shut of eve in dull November,' of the poem. *Hyperion* bears other traces of this journey, which first made him acquainted with mountain scenery.

We must be content to refer generally to the remaining chapters of the 'London' series, none of them without felicitous critical dicta—those remarks dropped seemingly by the way which, in a writer so incapable of *emphase*, took the place of the underlined assertions of less reticent men. Nor can we dwell as they deserve on the Cambridge 'Clark Lectures.' As the editor says, they deal with the same topics on rather different lines. They are less occupied with familiar matters, more with the solution of problems. But these are still in the main problems of literary technique. Why did Chaucer leave *Anelida* a fragment? Why did he leave *The Squier's Tale* 'half told'? We are mostly content to guess—other preoccupations, the attractions of another tale. Ker will not have this. For him, these were games of chess in which Chaucer played himself into an *impasse*, and then, in spite of the brilliant skill he had shown, broke off. Both broke down on the conflict between two story-types, which could not coexist. Naturally the Chaucer who offers the most fruitful and fascinating exercise for Ker's analytic genius is the Chaucer who is still subject to the rival magnetisms of France and Italy, or of heroism and love. But Ker's virtuosity in the science of literary technique could never be taken for a narrow specialism.

Technique was merely the point at which a mind rich in every kind of literary perception most willingly approached literature. How fruitful this gift could be for the large questions of philosophy in poetry may be seen from the admirable lecture on 'Poetic Logic.' And deeper, it may be, than the technician, deeper than the philosopher, deeper even than the scholar, in Ker, lay the human love of story which made him our first master of the ballads. They were the subject of the Academy Lecture, which fitly opens the present volume. The series of Appendices, which close it, exhibit even more strikingly than the text the number and variety of the topics over which Ker's mind played with easy mastery and to felicitous effect.

C. H. HERFORD.

OXFORD.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Vol. x, Pt II, V-Z.

Ed. by Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY, HENRY BRADLEY, W. A. CRAIGIE, C. T. ONIONS. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. 20s.

The greatest dictionary in any language now stands entire, complete from 'A, the first letter of the Roman Alphabet,' to 'Zyxt, obs. (Kentish) 2nd sing. pres. of SEE v.'

Between the appearance of the first part in February 1884 and the final part in April 1928 lies more than a generation of ceaseless work; the quiet, unselfish devotion of a few great scholars and some hundreds of their willing helpers; the public spirit and the skill of an illustrious Press, which have enabled this scholarship to bear fruit. And behind this, back to the year 1858, when the Philological Society first began its collection of materials, lies yet another generation of painstaking labour on the part of other scholars, great and small.

We English folk may be proud that our dictionary has been produced in our own way. Not by State-aided academies, not by any clique of self-appointed dictators of language; but by a free and independent Press, by a private Society which confers no labels on its members, by scholars who without thought of gain or honours have searched quietly for the truth, has this great work been accomplished.

Of the four distinguished scholars through whose genius and unremitting toil the *New English Dictionary* has been brought to completion, the first to put his hand to the work was a schoolmaster and a Scotsman. To the driving force of James Murray was due that agreement of the first day of March 1879 between the Philological Society and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press which enabled the actual compilation of the dictionary to proceed. Murray was the first, in the beginning the sole Editor. He carried on his editing for the first ten years at Mill Hill, but moved his Scriptorium to Oxford in the year following the publication of Part I of his book. The general plan of the final form of the *New English Dictionary* is the work of Murray, and there was some justification for the now obsolete unofficial title, 'Murray's Dictionary.'

Second on the title-page stands the name of Henry Bradley: Bradley, clerk and journalist, self-trained philologist, and perhaps the greatest English scholar of the century. He became Joint Editor in 1889, his headquarters being for seven years the British Museum and his own house on Clapham Common. He removed to Oxford in 1896, and became Senior Editor on the death of Sir James Murray in 1915.

In 1901 a third Joint Editor was appointed, the Scottish scholar and philologist William A. Craigie. He had joined the Staff in 1897, and he became Senior Editor on the death of Dr Bradley in 1923. Sir William Craigie has since been called to the University of Chicago; and under his expert guidance American scholars and research students are now compiling on scientific lines a comprehensive national dictionary.

The last name on the title-page is that of C. T. Onions. Trained by Murray and Bradley, he had done much special preparation before his appointment in 1913 as fourth Joint Editor. Dr Onions' task is not yet finished; for to him has fallen the preparation of the Supplement which the forty-four years' parturition of the dictionary has rendered necessary. Dr Onions' trained philosophical mind has shown itself especially in dealing with small words, the least easy part of a lexicographer's business; and we expect enlightenment on many a point of syntax from the volume which he is preparing.

Of the 'many scholars and men of science' referred to on Murray's title-pages, it may suffice to say that they have been confined to no one district or country. The help and advice of philologists of repute, both European and American, have at all times been freely and generously given.

It is worth while to look back to the long years before the birth of the *New English Dictionary*. The work was conceived by Archbishop (then Dean) Trench in the year 1857. In the following year the Philological Society began its collections. Hundreds of readers, in Great Britain, Greater Britain, and the United States, sent in their quotations to the Society's first editor, Herbert Coleridge, and to his successor (1861), Frederick J. Furnivall; and before Murray took a hand in the work the number of sorted slips had already exceeded two millions.

The importance of Furnivall's years of editorship must not be overlooked. It was his realisation that the first need of the compilers was ready access to our early literature that led him to found the Early English Text Society; and to him therefore is the credit largely due that our great English dictionary is not, as are most of its European brethren, mainly a dictionary of the modern tongue, but that it goes back to the earliest sources and covers the whole course of English literature from the twelfth century to the present day.

The unique comprehensiveness of plan of the *New English Dictionary* is well brought out in Murray's first Preface:

The aim of this Dictionary is to furnish an adequate account of the meaning, origin, and history of English words now in general use, or known to have been in use at any time during the last seven hundred years. It endeavours (1) to shew, with regard to each individual word, when, how, in what shape, and with what

signification, it became English; what development of form and meaning it has since received; which of its uses have, in the course of time, become obsolete, and which still survive; what new uses have since arisen, by what processes, and when: (2) to illustrate these facts by a series of quotations ranging from the first known occurrence of the word to the latest, or down to the present day; the word being thus made to exhibit its own history and meaning: and (3) to treat the etymology of each word strictly on the basis of historical fact and in accordance with the methods and results of modern philological science.

Certain classes of words Murray wisely excluded: words which have never passed from local or class usage into literary use; words 'strictly foreign,' and among them 'Latin or Latinised generic names of Natural History.' He also employed 'a condensed arrangement in groups of related technical terms of Natural History or other sciences.'

But, in spite of these restrictions, the dictionary of from 6000 to 7000 pages contemplated in the agreement of the first day of March 1879, has developed into a dictionary of nigh 16,000 pages, treating some forty-two thousand words, with half a million definitions, illustrated by about two million quotations.

One of the above omissions has already been supplied by Dr Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*. The two others must await the greatly to be desired complete revision of Farmer and Henley's *Slang Dictionary*, and the compilation of an Historical Dictionary of Science and Technology. But publications on this scale do not enjoy widespread support, and the production of the *New English Dictionary* has already cost the Clarendon Press some three hundred thousand pounds.

On the great service which this monumental work has rendered to exact scholarship, in Teutonic and Romance as well as in English philology, there is no need to dwell here. Of the position of authority which its worth has won for it in the Law Courts, and among men of letters throughout the English-speaking world, there is no need to write. But the strange facts remain that one may still look in vain for a copy on the shelves of many a local library; that even when a copy is accessible the general public has not yet learnt how to make use of it; that the columns of our daily press reveal that dogmas of pre-scientific etymology are still current even among so-called persons of culture.

There is yet a gap to be filled in our educational system by more instruction based on the great work of Murray and his collaborators. For, in the words of Jean Paul:

Nicht 'aus Gemeinem ist der Mensch gemacht,' sondern aus Worten. Vom Worte werden die Völker länger als vom Gedanken regiert; das Wort wohnt auf der leichten Zunge fester, als dessen Sinn im Gehirn; denn es bleibt, mit demselben Tone Köpfe zusammenrufend und an einander heftend, und Zeiten durchziehend, in lebendiger Wirkung zurück, indes der ewig wechselhafte Gedanke ohne Zeichen umfliegt, und sich sein Wort erst sucht. So gleicht das Wort—diese Gedankenschale—den Schalttieren, deren Gehäuse ohne die weichen Einwohner das bilden, was kein Tier und Riese zu bilden vermag—Inseln und Gebirge.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

English Literary Autographs 1550-1650. Selected for reproduction and edited by W. W. GREG in collaboration with J. P. GILSON, HILARY JENKINSON, R. B. MCKERROW, A. W. POLLARD. Part II. Poets¹. Oxford: University Press. 1928. Fo.

Part I of this wonderful work appeared in 1925 and was devoted to the Dramatists of the period. On thirty folio sheets facsimiles were given of the handwriting of all whose handwriting had been clearly identified—while in each case Dr Greg supplied a short biography of the man, notes on the characteristics of his handwriting, etc. and a translation into print of the written passage or passages selected. Part II, which deals with the Poets, is produced on the same lines.

Once more Dr Greg's exact paleographical knowledge and tireless industry in conjunction with the supreme technical skill of the Oxford Press have produced a work which is almost above criticism.

It is true that, on looking at the list of poets whose handwriting is here illustrated, one misses many great names and is surprised at the inclusion of a number of minor ones. Dr Greg himself anticipates criticism in this regard. He hopes that none of the greater poets of whom we have autograph remains has been overlooked, but acknowledges that among minor writers he has been influenced in his choice by a personal preference for writers who, while not writing for the stage, produced works of a dramatic form. It is not easy to see the relevancy of this preference in this case, but Dr Greg gives us so much unselfish work, that a vagary must be accepted without complaint. And if among the poets here illustrated we find John Bale, Thomas Preston, Thomas Lupton, John Phillip, Henry Cheke, Sir William Lower, Ralph Knevet, Thomas Vaughan, while we fail to find Barnaby Barnes, W. Browne, T. Campion, T. Carew, J. Cleveland, H. Constable, R. Herrick, T. Randolph, W. Strode, Sir J. Suckling, J. Sylvester, A. Townshend, G. Wither, Sir H. Wotton, we must suppose that the main cause is the absence of well-authenticated specimens of the handwriting of these better-known poets. Crashaw and Lovelace have been intentionally omitted, though one may regret the fact, on the ground that their handwriting has lately been abundantly illustrated in other publications: Lord Oxford, Drayton, Daniel, Jonson, Davenant and Cowley were included by Dr Greg in Part I and Sir Walter Raleigh will presumably appear among the prose-writers in Part III. Let us be grateful that in the present Part we can study the handwriting of a great number of the poets of the period, including Spenser, Sidney, Donne, Milton and Marvell. (The problem of Spenser's handwriting, partially solved by the late Mr Plomer in 1923, gives occasion to a very interesting disquisition.)

The short biographies which Dr Greg has attached to the several articles are tersely and happily written, and are relieved here and there by epigrammatic touches, not always displeasing. Dr Greg has generally been at the pains to bring the lives in accord with the latest results of research. I still think, however, that there is no evidence for the

¹ It was announced that three Parts were to be supplied in return for three annual subscriptions of £1. 10s., or one of £4. 4s. paid in advance. The issue is limited to 250 sets.

existence of an 'Areopagus coterie,' at least under that name, and more certainly that there is no evidence that, if there was an 'Areopagus,' Spenser assisted in founding it.

I have never understood the recent fashion for saying that Milton's grief for his old fellow-student at Christ's was a literary pretence. Dr Margoliouth showed in 1922 that while Marvell was indeed at Hull Grammar School it is an error to say that the elder Marvell was Master of the school (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xvii, p. 352). The Sir John Harington who entertained King James in 1603 at Burley-on-the-Hill was not the epigrammatist but his cousin Sir John Harington of Exton.

The various handwritings, many of them difficult, have been read and translated into print with an expert skill which compels our admiration. In fact there could be no better training for anyone who had to print a manuscript than to go through the specimens of handwriting here given and compare them with their reproduction in print. Again and again he would think he had caught Dr Greg napping, only to find that the error lay with himself. I would only suggest that the last words of Sir J. Davies' letter (XLVII *a*) are 'vnto me' not 'vnto men,' and that Sir W. Alexander (XLVIII *a*, *ad fin.*) wrote 'dos trace,' not 'doe trace' (cp. the 's' of 'fortunes' higher on the page). 'Εν ἀθελείᾳ (LIII *b*) should be 'Εν ἀσθελείᾳ, and 'Dr Buldew' (LVIII *b*) should be 'Dr Boldero.' Edmund Boldero, D.D., was Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1663-1679.

It is hardly necessary to dilate on the extraordinary advantage of having specimens to hand of the handwriting of the chief writers of the English Renaissance. Familiarity with a particular author's handwriting will enable a critic to correct errors in his printed text with some approach to certainty: it may enable him to assign to his author letters or literary manuscripts which have hitherto remained anonymous.

We owe an immense debt to Dr Greg and his collaborators whose unpaid work and expert knowledge have put these facsimiles into our hands at a ridiculously low price, and we shall look forward with eagerness to the appearance of the final Part. We would only ask Dr Greg to harden his heart and refrain from showing special tenderness to minor prose-writers who happen to share his interest in the drama.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604, from Contemporary Documents. By B. M. WARD. London: John Murray. 1928. xvi + 408 pp., with four plates, two maps, and two genealogical tables. 21s.

In a letter printed in *The Times Literary Supplement* on 2 August last Mr Ward kindly offered some 'first aid' to reviewers of his work. He informed them

that it has definitely proved the falsity of all the scandals and defamatory legends that have dogged Lord Oxford's memory for over 300 years.... It is just ten years ago that the name of his son-in-law, the Earl of Derby, was first put forward in

connexion with the problem of Shakespeare authorship...The effect of this has been to concentrate the weight of 'authority' against both these noblemen...Now, however, that the scandals that have pursued [Oxford's] memory up to the present time have been cleared out of the way, I can assure your reviewer and all other 'authorities' who are content to rely upon that broken reed the printed book that the sooner they climb down from their high horse of infallibility on the subject of Shakespeare and his contemporaries the better it will be for their peace of mind, and the more likely will it be that they will be able to retain with credit some fragment of that 'authority' which is seriously endangered by their present Olympian attitude.

In a later issue of the same journal (4 October) he suggested that 'the famous sonnets dedicated to "Mr W. H." in 1609' may have been found lying about after Oxford's death in the house which his widow sold to Fulke Greville in that year.

These quotations suggest the direction in which Mr Ward's thoughts and researches are tending. He belongs to the tribe of mystery-mongers, who, out of the inevitable puzzles of history, seek to construct a system that shall overthrow and replace generally accepted views—a tribe familiar everywhere, but particularly numerous in the entourage of Shakespeare. It is eminently desirable that the puzzles should be examined and every legitimate implication of the evidence carefully considered. What these gentlemen appear never to understand is that the objection of the ordinary student is far less to their conclusions than to their methods, the construction of fantastic explanations of what often needs no explanation at all, the following of lines of supposed implication each step of which is more improbable than the last. Mr Ward is too good a scholar to fall into the worst excesses of the tribe, but the disease is an insidious one, and his present work is more deeply infected than were his earlier and less ambitious efforts. Meanwhile it is a reviewer's duty to criticise Mr Ward's book on its merits or demerits, undeterred by visions of the wrath to come.

A full and competent biography of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, would be of the greatest value to all students of English life and letters under Elizabeth, and if the effect of it were to clear its subject of the many unpleasant legends that cluster about the *inglese italianato*, the result, though perhaps unexpected, would be in no way unwelcome. But as critical biography Mr Ward's book is worthless; and the unbiassed reader, who honestly plods through the three or four hundred pages of unflinching advocacy, is likely to conclude that the contemporary view of Oxford's character that has been generally endorsed by modern historians is probably not very far from the truth.

The trouble is that Mr Ward lacks any sense of evidence. This is manifest from the start, from the flourish of trumpets with which he brings his hero into the world. He has found the record of John de Vere's second marriage at Belchamp St Paul in Essex, and after mentioning an allegation of illegitimacy against Edward, the son of the marriage, he proceeds, in allusion to the scandals that pursued him through life: 'It is therefore satisfactory at the very outset of his career to be able by means of an official entry in a Parish Register to nail the first of these

lies to the counter.' Now those who put forward the charge can hardly have been ignorant of the marriage, which was a perfectly open one, but evidently believed it to be invalid, probably on the ground of precontract. There very likely was no substance in the charge, but the register entry is irrelevant: it only proves what nobody is likely to have questioned.

It is the same with the evidence of Oxford's alleged attainments as a scholar. That he matriculated at Cambridge before he was nine and was created M.A. before he was fifteen, may be evidence of academic snobbery, it is no evidence of the scholar's precocity. In point of fact Oxford left the university without a degree: he never proceeded B.A., and his Master's was *honoris causa* on the occasion of the Queen's visit in 1564. Mr Ward next sends the Earl into residence at Oxford—and there makes him the friend and contemporary of Gabriel Harvey!—apparently on the strength of another honorary degree conferred during another Court progress in 1566. Finally he seeks to confirm the case in favour of Oxford's learning by quotations from various dedicatory epistles, which are interesting enough in their way, but are worth as evidence—exactly what such epistles are usually worth. One significant item of testimony Mr Ward does produce, a time-table of the Earl's 'exercises' at Cecil House, and it shows him at the age of twelve spending an hour a day learning to write¹! Really, for all the genuine evidence Mr Ward has to offer, Oxford might have been almost illiterate: but we should not allow extravagant claims to blind us to the reasonable probabilities of the case. Oxford no doubt had the education and attainments of an Elizabethan gentleman, he certainly had some literary interests and was probably not without literary ambition, though his performance, so far as history allows us to judge, was mediocre. There is certainly nothing in his acknowledged verses to predispose the reader in favour of Mr Ward's suggestion that he was responsible for the lyrics in Lyly's plays. His reputation among contemporaries indeed stood higher than with us, and they may have had better grounds for judgement, but Mr Ward's uncritical claim, that 'Men like Harvey, William Webbe, Francis Meres, and others, are unanimous in testifying that he stood supreme from 1578 till 1598, both as poet and dramatist,' has been already exposed elsewhere.

Once more the same inability to appreciate the bearing of the evidence is manifest in the discussion of Oxford's character, particularly as shown in his treatment of his wife. There was clearly gossip current—quite unfounded gossip it would seem—as to the paternity of the child of which Lady Oxford (Burghley's daughter, Anne Cecil) was delivered on 2 July 1575, and Mr Ward, for no very apparent reason, makes the scandal originate with Lord Henry Howard. Burghley noted that Oxford 'confessed to my Lord Howard that he lay not with his wife but at Hampton Court, and that thus the child could not be his, because the child was born in July which was not the space of twelve months.' The

¹ '10-10.30. Writing and Drawing.... 4-4.30. Exercises with his pen.'

reasoning is curious, but since the visit to Hampton Court was early in October 1574, exactly nine months before Lady Oxford's confinement, Howard's own testimony sufficiently disposes of the scandal he is accused of having put in circulation. The true author of it evidently was, as he says, Oxford himself, for according to Lady Oxford's own physician, whose testimony is not impugned, the Earl, before he went abroad in January 1575, had told none other than the Queen that if his wife 'were with child it was not his¹.' Oxford's letters to his father-in-law are in tone with the rest of his conduct. Burghley noted once more: '24th Sept. [1575.] The letter of the Earl by which he gives thanks for his wife's delivery. Mark well this letter.' Well he might! It is a lengthy epistle (Mr Ward only gives extracts and they fill a page and a half of close print) all about his travels, his health, his intentions and money difficulties and affairs at home, and concludes: 'Thus thanking your Lordship for your good news of my wife's delivery, I recommend myself unto your favour.' That is all. Mr Ward's contention that such words 'express his whole-hearted joy at the news' is eloquent of his attitude as a biographer. Lady Oxford herself seems to have had no illusions as to her husband's feelings. She concealed her condition from her physician till she was five months gone with child, and when it became apparent exclaimed: 'Alas, alas, how should I rejoice seeing that he that should rejoice with me is not here; and to say truth [I] stand in doubt whether he pass upon me and it or not.' It is evident that so long as Oxford was looking to Burghley's favour and assistance to prosecute his travels he was willing to show a polite interest in his wife's pregnancy and confinement; while as soon as the withdrawal of leave and supplies forced his unwilling return he vented his anger against Burghley by smirching the honour of his daughter. He refused to see her and forbade her to appear at Court; and, while declining to formulate any charge that could be openly met, continued to cast on her aspersions which, as Mr Ward admits, he knew to be utterly false. The selfishness of his conduct was avowed—'always I have, and I will still, prefer mine own content before others,' he wrote to Burghley—and when, in a poem published about the same time, he confesses that his life 'is lodg'd in love of loathsome ways,' every decent-minded reader must agree! It was execrable.

There are incidents in Oxford's career, difficult to explain away, which Mr Ward notes without comment, apparently hoping that the reader will pass them over no less lightly. Such is an affair that occurred when Oxford was seventeen and was thus recorded by Burghley in July 1567: 'About this time Thomas Brincknell, an under-cook, was hurt by the Earl of Oxford at Cecil House in the Strand, wherof he died; and by a verdict found *felo-de-se* with running upon a point of a fence sword of the said Earl's.' The verdict is sufficiently remarkable to raise our

¹ There is a legend that, to spite Burghley, Oxford refused to consummate his marriage with Anne, and that it was contrived by stratagem that he 'should, unknowingly, sleep with her, believing her to be another woman.' It is probably pure invention, but would help to account for Oxford's behaviour.

suspicions, and Mr Ward was certainly discreet in not linking up the entry with another jotting of Burghley's that runs: 'I did my best to have the jury find the death of the poor man, whom he killed in my house, *se defendendo*.' Certainly Oxford kept some pretty ruffians in his service, and it is not surprising that the victims of Gad's Hill considered the 'noble Lord' himself 'to be thought as the procurer of that which is done.' Mr Ward repeatedly alludes to Burghley's objection to his son-in-law's 'lewd friends,' a phrase he gratuitously interprets as applying to Oxford's literary acquaintances. In point of fact it was of his 'lewd servants' that Burghley wrote, and their character gossip is only too ready to interpret. For the incidents cited lend at least some colour to the charges put forth by Charles Arundel, in a series of documents preserved among the state papers, which Mr Ward dismisses as not worth discussion. These accusations of privy assassination and personal lewdness are clearly set down in malice by a man defending himself from dangerous charges brought against him by a former friend and associate, and it is uncritical to take them at their face value as some writers have been inclined to do; but certain of the incidents are very circumstantial, and would have to be dealt with by any serious biographer of Oxford.

It is impossible to regard Mr Ward as such. What has been said sufficiently illustrates his attitude towards historical evidence, and this is no less apparent in his treatment of later incidents, that can here only receive passing mention. For example there is Mr Ward's *canard* of Sidney supplanting Oxford in his command in the Low Countries in 1585—one thing is quite certain, that it was not from Oxford that Sidney took over the Governorship of Flushing. There is his sketch of Oxford's prowess in the great days of the Armada (of which he has made sad confusion by bringing the Spanish fleet up the Channel in August instead of July)—Leicester may or may not have been justified in disliking Oxford and holding him inexperienced, but one cannot help sympathising with the harassed commander, for his own part 'gladder to be rid of him than to have him, but only to have him contented'! There is the attempted explanation of Oxford's pension of £1000 a year, which is really the key to Mr Ward's interest in his hero, and seems to me at least fantastic—his employment, whatever it may have been, was one in which he expected to make money, not to spend it (for he speaks of such occasions to amend his estate 'as may arise from mine office,' p. 312, cf. p. 392), and if the payment was in effect a salary, to propose its commutation for £5000 down (p. 304) would have taxed even Oxford's impudence. There is, lastly, as complement to his guess concerning the pension, the wholly novel and I believe wholly erroneous theory as to the relation between a theatrical company and its titular 'lord'—in any case it is incorrect to say that 'for twenty-three years [Oxford] maintained one of the leading companies,' for even if it had a continued existence (and there is a ten years' gap in the records) it was seldom if ever of any serious account.

Mr Ward has consulted a large number of original documents, in-

cluding many at Hatfield, and reproduces a fair selection of them (in modernised form) in his pages. For this he deserves credit, though it is absurd of him to write as though he were the first to avail himself of manuscript sources¹. But in order to make any proper use of documents it is necessary to be able to read them and transcribe them accurately. Mr Ward can do neither. His many and serious inaccuracies and omissions have been the subject of comment elsewhere: I will do no more than cite two or three examples to which I was led when forced to look up the original by the manifest absurdity of what Mr Ward had printed. Here are some lines from a letter of Walsingham's as printed on p. 95:

Her Majesty doth conceive that his evidence in his return hath [countered?] the contempt of his departure...an argument of his approved loyalty, which, as appears to-night, shall serve.

This should run (I italicise the readings perverted by Mr Ward):

Her Majesty doth conceive that his *obedience* in his return hath *fully satisfied* the contempt of his departure...an argument of his approved loyalty, which, as *opportunity* shall serve, *I will not fail to lay before Her Majesty*.

On p. 286 Burghley is made to write:

For anything directed by me is sure of his lewd friends, who still rule him by flatteries,

which should be:

For anything directed by me is *subject to* his lewd *servants*, who still *undo* him *with* flatteries.

In another letter, from Lord Derby (p. 317), *speeding* appears for *proceeding*, *conjure* for *censure*, *case* for *cause*, *taunting* for *daunting*, while the year has been silently added to the date. Elsewhere (p. 268) *Vicar* is Mr Ward's reading of *Vicech[ancellor]*! Considering the character of Mr Ward's transcripts of documents that can be checked, it is devoutly to be hoped that no one will rely without verification on his reproduction of those that are less readily accessible. One wonders whether he made his own copies or accepted unchecked the work of some incompetent devil. In any case it is plain that as an historian Mr Ward has still to learn the ABC of his business.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

¹ On the contrary his recourse to original documents is most perfunctory at times. Take, for instance, a letter from Dyer to Hatton, interesting for its mysterious mention of 'my L. of Crm:' whom Mr Ward would identify with Oxford. On a previous occasion I pointed out that Mr Ward has relied on (and misquoted) an inaccurate version of this document in 'that broken reed the printed book', and that even the ultimate extant source in MS. Harley 787 was not an original but a later copy. Mr Ward now writes (p. 75): 'It may be pointed out that Dyer's letter... is only preserved in a copy in Hatton's letter-book. Is it possible that the original may have been badly written and that Hatton's secretary, in making the transcript, read "Crm" for "Oxon"? They would not be dissimilar in badly written script.' This proves that Mr Ward never looked at the manuscript at all, even after being warned of the inaccuracy of the printed version. For the document is not preserved in Hatton's letter-book, which is MS. Addit. 15891, and which contains no correspondence from Dyer whatever. Moreover, Dyer's handwriting, though rather curious, is by no means illegible, and in it 'Oxon' would not look the least like 'Crm.'

Die Familie im Puritanismus. Studien über Familie und Literatur in England im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Von LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1929. xii + 220 pp. 8 M.

That the Englishman of to-day owes some of his best fighting qualities, some of his natural virtues and some of his intellectual and æsthetic limitations to his Puritan ancestors, is little more than a commonplace. But we have not often asked ourselves the question 'How did the hundred thousand Puritan households of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give a new direction to English Literature?' This is the question Professor Schücking has set himself, and his answer to it takes the form of a very brilliant, learned and suggestive book.

Puritanism, as it comes into our author's ken, is not a matter of political and theological doctrines, of the strife of Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, etc.; it represents a scheme of life which was in some respects peculiar to England. In England the activities of Puritan ministers were restricted. They could not play the part they played in Geneva. The home, rather than the parish church, became the centre of the religious life, a little theocracy governed by the head of the family. And the rules of life were not, as is commonly supposed, borrowed from Geneva. Even in the seventeenth century Englishmen who visited Geneva (Anthony Stafford for example) were struck by the fact that Geneva had nothing like the English Sunday but tolerated all sorts of amusements in the latter part of the day. The writers who gave its direction to the religious life of the English family in the seventeenth century are W. Perkins in *Oeconomia Christiana* (1590), W. Gouge in *Domestical Duties*, D. Rogers in *Matrimonial Honour* and R. Baxter in his *Christian Directory*. The pages in which Professor Schücking treats of these forgotten works are some of the most interesting of his book. He finds for example that Rogers is the earliest witness of that change of inner attitude to women which henceforth separates Anglo-Saxon culture from that of the continent. There is no contrariety between these Puritan writers and the Anglican Jeremy Taylor in his *Holy Living and Dying*. They were all in close historical connexion with English religious ideals of the pre-Reformation age.

And so we get that Puritan family life known to us, if not by experience, by a thousand memoirs: the life of daily family prayer, scripture-reading, self-examination, mutual confession of faults; the life which knew nothing of the pleasures of the ungodly—theatres, and convivial meetings; the life of mutual duties between husband and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, for all were pilgrims to a heavenly city—but a life of which the end was not meditation but practice; a life out of which might issue a Colonel Hutchinson or a Cromwell. There was no mediæval condemnation of human passions, they were accepted frankly, but spiritualised. Without some knowledge of the Puritan family, we shall miss much in Milton's presentation of Adam and Eve, in Bunyan's pictures of Christiana and Mercy, in the stories of Defoe's *Family Instructor* and *Religious Courtship*, in the novels of Richardson. If by the time of Addison and Steele Puritan

severity seemed to have been humanised, a fresh vigour soon came in to reinforce it in the Wesley movement, which has had its effect down to our own day. Is it not natural, Professor Schücking asks, that the godly middle-class¹ households of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should create a demand for a special type of literature in which demoralising elements should be absent, in which there should be nothing to bring a blush to the cheek of modesty? The imagination of the artist must be confined within the limits of propriety. And so we have that literature of the Victorian age, the literature which in the cause of moral purity shuns the presentation of life's darker problems, the literature of Tennyson and Dickens. Even Thackeray, who was hampered by the restrictions imposed on him, could say, 'I am grateful for the innocent laughter and the sweet and unsullied pages which the author of *David Copperfield* gives to my children.'

The twentieth century has revolted against the Victorian age. The childless Bernard Shaw has clasped hands across two centuries with the childless Swift and proclaimed the liberation of the individual from all parental restraints. Professor Schücking is to some extent in sympathy with this movement of emancipation, but there is a touch of sadness in his words when he writes that the summerhouse in the garden came gradually in Germany to be a special symbol of family-life, and is now, *along with it*, disappearing.

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SHEFFIELD.

Pour le Centenaire du Romantisme. Un Examen de Conscience. Par ERNEST SEILLIÈRE. Paris: H. Champion. 1927. 311 pp.

The title which Baron Seillière has given to this collection of essays is a significant one, the sub-title still more so. It is a wise and a courageous thing to re-examine at intervals the doctrines one has professed, the theories one has advanced, and to modify them, if need be, in the light of subsequent happenings. The centenary of the Romantic Movement was a fitting opportunity for the French moralist to do so, for Romanticism, he believes, is at the root of modern unrest.

The main lines of his doctrine emerge from the essays themselves, but they are happily summed up in an article by L. Rudrauf on 'Ernest Seillière et la Philosophie de l'Impérialisme' which is given as an appendix. For M. Seillière, individual life and social life tend not only to conservation, but to expansion. This tendency to expansion or domination which has been diversely characterised by Catholic psychology as 'libido dominandi' and by Nietzsche as 'der Wille zur Macht,' and which is, for M. Seillière, the chief motive power underlying all human activity, he calls 'Imperialism,' using the word in its widest psycho-

¹ I think Professor Schücking makes a little too much of the antithesis of 'aristocratic' and 'middle-class,' which he then correlates with 'worldly' and 'godly.' The aristocracy in England were never immune to the general influences of the age; in Dorothy Osborne, for instance, we may see a girl of aristocratic connexions who was still a 'devote' of Jeremy Taylor.

logical sense. Any sound system of ethics must be based on acknowledgment of its existence. It naturally seeks support in the alliance of metaphysical powers, and herein lies, for M. Seillière, the essential factor of 'mysticism.' All mystic states—enthusiasm, inspiration, creative exaltation—tend, under the influence of imperialism, to be interpreted as marks of divine favour, even as messianic vocations, and M. Seillière believes firmly in the danger of mysticism unless subjected to the control of reason; the latter, for him, is not innate, as the mystic rationalists of the eighteenth century believed it to be, but slowly constituted out of the accumulated experience of the human race.

M. Seillière traces the insidious progress of that particular form of uncontrolled mysticism which he calls Romanticism from the age of the troubadours with its sentimental conception of love, strongly tinged with platonism, through the teaching of the Quietists, down to its eventual unmasking in the doctrines of Rousseau, and its subsequent pernicious influence. Romanticism is variously viewed by M. Seillière as a heresy and a pathological state. It is a heresy because, in opposition to the sound and prudent psychological doctrine of original sin, supported by the wisdom of the Church throughout the ages, it sets up the dangerous subversive theory of the innate goodness of man, with the resulting canonisation of instinct and impulse. It is pathological in its mental and moral disequilibrium. The logical corollary of Rousseau's doctrine is the apotheosis of those classes of humanity which are closest to Nature and have been least tainted by civilisation—the child, the savage, the people.

The fruits of Romanticism thus defined are seen in our modern civilisation, and can be classified as four types of mysticism, two individual, two collective—the cult of passion and 'free' love, the messianic theory of genius, utopian socialism, and racial or national imperialism. George Sand is a typical disciple of 'mysticisme passionnel,' and its results are everywhere apparent to-day, not only among the Latin races whose naturally passionate temperament makes them an easy prey, but among the colder-blooded peoples of the North, where it is gradually sapping the bulwarks of a stern moral tradition established by the psychological pessimism of Luther and Calvin. Æsthetic mysticism is manifested in a belief, such as both Hugo and Vigny held, in the divine mission of the artist and the peculiar privileges of genius.

Of the two collective imperialisms characterised by M. Seillière it is hard to say which is the more dangerous. Democratic or social mysticism preaches the innate fitness of the people to govern, not only in spite of, but because of its ignorance of the cumulative experience of civilisation. It has been responsible for many utopian projects, more or less dangerous according to the more or less immediate realisation promised. A long-dated Utopia, slowly maturing under proper safeguards established by reason, may be the ideal of every wise man: the same Utopia, sprung to-morrow on a world unprepared, would plunge it in ruin and retard progress by centuries. The French Revolution was the direct outcome of Rousseau's doctrine.

Racial or national mysticism is the characteristic of the remaining collective imperialism—that which is generally known as ‘imperialism.’ It is present wherever the idea of a divine mission takes hold of a ‘chosen people.’ In its primitive form it is represented by an alliance with a tribal god. In its more modern and sophisticated forms it claims, above all, spiritual domination, and we may meet with the strange anomaly of a war undertaken to spread a civilisation or culture. Patriotism is the moderate and legitimate form of racial imperialism; Pangermanism and Bonapartism are examples of its more dangerous phases.

In the present collection of essays, M. Seillière applies his theories to subjects so comprehensive that, were it not for the underlying unity of thought, one might be deceived by a superficial impression of dilettantism. The application of these theories opens up controversial questions, for it forces us to reconsider our religious, social, and political attitude. M. Seillière’s extreme psychological pessimism makes him unduly traditionalist and even reactionary, and although he repeatedly affirms that his quarrel is only with mysticism uncontrolled by reason, he tends in practice to accept too unquestioningly the wisdom of the past on which he founds his conception of reason, and to leave too little place for experiment in the future. Utopianism is exaggerated and accelerated by reaction against such uncompromising traditionalism. Whether or not we differ from the author on these questions, we cannot but respect the integrity of his thought and the impartiality of his judgment. Although his sympathies are obviously with the Church of Rome, he examines Protestantism in a spirit of benevolent impartiality and shows the value of its severe moral standards. Unconsciously, however, he seems to identify Christianity with the Church, and more often than not with the Catholic Church. His integral Catholicism, while it can admit and discuss a rival dogma, cannot conceive Christianity independently of an organised church. He is constantly saying ‘la religion chrétienne,’ when he really means the Roman Catholic Church. The Christianity of the Gospels only ceases to be under suspicion of mysticism when it has assimilated much of the wisdom of Greek philosophy and become an organised church. The Pharisees, he tells us, were the rational thinkers of their time.

The essays include illuminating studies of individuals and of movements. In St Francis, St Thomas Aquinas, St Theresa, the author shows us the salutary effects of discipline on mysticism. It is not the St Francis of the *Little Flowers* who appeals to him, but the successful organiser of a great order. The value of Calvin’s work lies, for him, in his doctrine of original sin and the resulting psychological pessimism of the calvinistic church. Ramsay and the Quietists he condemns on account of their insidious mysticism which prepared the way for Rousseau’s heresies. In Richardson he sees an admirable moralist, and Scott’s sane historical outlook is contrasted with the retrospective Utopianism of those Romantics who made a morbid cult of past ages. Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Vigny, Hugo, George Sand are analysed in turn and the peculiar mysti-

cism of each indicated. Kipling and Pierre Mille are studied as representing English and French racial imperialism, Treitschke as the apostle of Pangermanism. Several essays are devoted to England, whose pessimistic protestant background and Victorian traditions have been largely responsible up till recent times, the author believes, in saving her from the excesses of mystic Rousseauism. Capitalism, spiritualism, and sport are all studied from Baron Seillière's point of view. The chapter on sport is particularly illuminating. The French moralist rightly sees in sport a valuable moral discipline capable of reinforcing and even replacing the traditional disciplines in an age when many of these have ceased to count. But there are far greater moral resources in sport than he seems to realise. He conceives it chiefly as an individual discipline, and wisely stresses its value in the difficult years of adolescence, but he considers it too much as a question of record-making and neglects its social aspects. This attitude has been, until recently, characteristic of French sport; its results were seen in brilliant individual achievements side by side with an almost total lack of co-operation and team spirit. Heresy is a word which M. Seillière readily uses, and we venture to accuse him of one of the gravest heresies known to sport, when he says: 'Qu'elle procède au surplus d'un calcul intéressé ou même d'une jalousie salulaire, l'origine de l'ambition sportive est une question secondaire.' Now, the great educational value of sport surely lies in its subordination of individual 'imperialism' to the interests of team, house, school, town, county or country. The schoolboy who learns to sacrifice a chance of personal glory to the interests of his team becomes thereby a more valuable member of society, and the innate imperialism in which M. Seillière believes so firmly can thus be controlled by discipline acquired at a plastic age. Collective imperialism is effectively kept in check by the variety of combinations to which the player is constantly called to adapt himself. The sporting ideals of fair-play, justice, impartiality are among the most potent resources of those moralists who, like M. Seillière, are seeking effective checks on 'mystic imperialism.'

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ARNALDO FORESTI. *Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca*. Brescia: Giulio Vannini. 1928. xvi + 480 pp. L. 30.

Students of Petrarch have long been familiar with Professor Foresti's tireless activity from his concise and substantial contributions to academic reviews. Italian reviews are, however, so many and occasionally of so restricted a circulation, that several of these articles are almost inaccessible outside Italy despite Foresti's generosity in sending off-prints to fellow-scholars. The assembling of these old with a few new articles into a thick volume must therefore be warmly welcomed. By undertaking this task, entailing some revision, Foresti has yielded to an often expressed request and once again provided evidence of his selfless devotion to scholarship. By choosing to investigate the chronology of Petrarch's works and some minor incidents of the poet's long

and varied life, Foresti showed long ago that he prized accuracy of scholarship more than the notoriety that methods less stern and a more popular activity would have placed within his easy reach. In this hurried age it may perhaps be considered a deficiency that the author has not tabulated his results, for there may be readers that are more interested in the results themselves than in the way by which they have been reached; but those who will read Foresti's chapters with the attention they deserve will admire the unrivalled familiarity with Petrarch's works and environment which has enabled him to bring such a cumulative weight of unexpected evidence to bear on the points under consideration, as to render his chronological conclusions irresistible, to detect later interpolations and corrections on the part of the poet where none had hitherto been suspected. So intimate a familiarity with the daily events of Petrarch's life and with textual minutiae may baffle at times less well informed readers, for the author writes as if he were addressing his remarks to a small circle of 'initiates'; he never stoops to repeating what has been already stated by others, and never draws the ultimate consequences from his discoveries, being content with suggesting their immediate bearing on biographical points. Thus he does not trouble to stress the importance of his notes on Petrarch's brother, even though they seem to put quite a new complexion on a critical period in Petrarch's life. Much was already known from Cochin's excellent work (*Le frère de Pétrarque*), but Foresti, by determining the date of Gherardo's entry into the Carthusian Order (Easter week of 1343) on the basis of *Fam.* x, 3 written from Parma (not Carpi) in 1349, and by connecting it with the death, in 1340, of the lady whom Gherardo loved and whom Petrarch bewailed in *Son.* xci, renders the conclusion irresistible that in the *Secretum*, and to a certain extent in *Sest.* lxxx, *Son.* lxxxi, and the last metrical epistle of the first book, there is an echo of the continued discussions and conversations between the two brothers on the subject of love and religion. They were both going through similar crises. Gherardo came to the more heroic decision by retiring from the world; Francesco reformed his own conduct and chronicled his spiritual crisis in the *Secretum*; but who knows whether this work and other works of his would have been the same but for Francesco's interest in Gherardo's experiences and for the shock caused to the poet by his brother's ultimate decision? Foresti, for instance, suggests that also the *Psalmi poenitentiales* should be connected with this crisis; they must have been composed long before February 1347 (*Son.* x, 1), for we know that he spoke of that work to his brother on the occasion of his first visit to Montrieux; in fact, their composition should be ascribed to 1342-3. Finally, the three important *Canzoni* cxix, cclxiv, cclcx are also shown to be expressive of the condition in which Petrarch found himself when he composed the *Secretum*; cxix being written between April and May 1343 (cp. *Africa*, II, 475) and the other two at no distant time (chs. XIV, XV, XVI).

In a book that is rich in discoveries these remarks are perhaps among the most significant. But almost every page contains something that

is interesting as well as new, so that it may be said that, in the light of this work, many sections of Petrarch's biography must be re-written, so many and so material are the corrections that Foresti makes not only to the old biographies, but also in the text and the dating of Fracassetti's edition of the *Epistles*. Magrini, Rossetti, Lo Parco and even Novati are often put right.

Foresti makes it almost certain that Ser Petracco took his family to Pisa at the end of 1310, and left for Avignon before 20 July 1311; the boat on which they sailed was shipwrecked, and Ser Petracco stayed at Genoa perhaps until after November 1311. It would be at Genoa and not at Pisa therefore, in 1311, that Petrarch was shown Dante (ch. i). The story of Petrarch's studies is put on a sound chronological basis; he was at Carpentras from the autumn of 1312 to the summer of 1316, and went to Montpellier in the autumn of that year (ch. ii); his mother died while he was there during 1318 or 1319 (ch. iii), and in October 1320, with Gherardo and Guido Sette, he proceeded to Bologna, but, owing to the riots following upon the execution of a student in April 1321, the university was deserted, and Foresti points out that Petrarch travelled with his tutor to Venice and throughout the Po valley on his way back, to Avignon, returning to Bologna only at the end of 1322 and leaving that university definitively on 26 April 1326 (ch. iv). The meaning of, and the allusions in, some of the Italian lyrics are very ably cleared up. 'Agnà' in *Son.* xxvii was Agnese the wife of Orso dell' Anguillara (ch. v); the addressee of *Son.* xcix was Giovanni Colonna di San Vito and the sonnet is connected with *Fam.* ii, 5-8, which were written at a time when the approaching birth of a child (his son Giovanni) was causing Petrarch some searching of heart (ch. vi). *Son.* xxxix, addressed to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, becomes easy to understand, if it is borne in mind that it was written about August 1337 in order to ask for the loan of that copy of Livy which in 1351 Petrarch purchased, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. *Son.* xl was written a few months later (ch. ix). *Son.* cccxxviii refers to Azzo da Correggio, and his act of homage to Laura is to be placed in 1340 (ch. x). Also *Son.* cxiv is addressed to Giovanni Colonna, and its date may be inferred from *Fam.* vi, 3 of 30 May 1342 (ch. xii). More interesting still is the connexion of *Son.* cxiii with *Sine nomine* i, a little before April 1342 (ch. xii). Their original collocation in the first grouping of the *Rime* shows the intimate connexion between *Son.* clxxxix, *Canz.* cclxiv and the *ballata* 'Donna mi vene' (all about 1342) (ch. xiii). *Son.* cxxxix, written after Petrarch's visit to Montrieux in 1347, connected with *Ep. metr.* iii, 3 (spring 1346), offers the opportunity for illuminating remarks upon *Canz.* cxxviii (1344-5), *Canz.* cxxix, *Son.* cxxx, *Canz.* cxxxv and cxxxvi-cxxxviii.

There are chapters dealing with Petrarch's readings and books (chs. vii and xvii) from the latter of which one learns that Petrarch's comedy *Philologia* cannot have been modelled on Terence, for he read Terence about 1339-42 and Plautus shortly after (1343-6). Several chapters concern the dates and occasion of the metrical epistles; of peculiar

interest is ch. xxv in which Foresti studies Petrarch's intercourse with Bruno Casini and Zanobi da Strada, who are the young men mentioned in *Fam.* vii, 10 of 7 April 1348; to the former was addressed *Ep. metr.* iii, 10 together with *Fam.* vii, 14, and to the latter *Ep. metr.* iii, 8 of 8 April 1348 (not 1350 or 1351 as has been suggested). It is also shown from internal evidence that the poetical epistles were finally arranged in 1357. Petrarch's letter to Pietro Alighieri was written between 1348 and 10 March 1349 (ch. xxvii). In the next chapter it is made clear that *Ep. metr.* iii, 17, which is notable as evidence of the beginning of the poet's friendship with Boccaccio, was received in Florence in September 1350 together with *Fam.* xi, 2 and *Var.* 45 which opens Petrarch's correspondence with Lapo da Castiglionchio. Lapo, besides showing Petrarch four Ciceronian orations here identified, lent him Quintilian, Foresti says when Petrarch was returning from Rome at the end of 1351, but Rossi has since pointed out that conjectural criticism may sometimes mislead even the most careful scholars, for he has ascertained, on the evidence of a previously unknown MS., that this incident took place about October of that year when Petrarch was going to Rome¹. Piur's work on the *Liber sine nomine* seemed to allow of little improvement; but Foresti, by reference to *Fam.* vii, 17, effectively urges that the addressee of *Sine nom.* 11 was Giberto da Correggio instead of Rinaldo Cavalchini (ch. xxxi); and he also shows that *Sine nom.* 11 was not written in 1343 but in 1351, and was not addressed to Cola di Rienzo, but to Guy of Boulogne, one of the four cardinals who were entrusted with the constitutional reform of Rome (ch. xxxii). Again, *Sine nom.* 9 and 10, of which the dates and addressees seemed uncertain, are connected with other letters having certain verbal similarities in the dating, so that the probable conclusion is reached that both epistles were sent to Nelli, 10 being written 18 Jan. 1351, and 9 a little earlier (ch. xxxiii). The composition of *Ep. metr.* i, 6 is placed in 1351-53, the addressee being Cabassole (ch. xxxv); the youth referred to in *Ep. metr.* iii, 31 is identified with Borriano, an illegitimate son of Azzo da Correggio (ch. xxxvii). In the next chapter a curious incident is pointed out which had escaped the attention of all biographers: in 1353 Petrarch was entrusted with a mission to the Pope by Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, though the mission was abortive.

A few names mentioned by Petrarch receive for the first time adequate illustration: Niccolosio Bartolomei to whom Petrarch wrote at Benintendi Ravignani's suggestion (ch. x); Luca da Parma (ch. xxxiv); Bolanus who is tentatively identified with 'Cicero pergamensis,' a monk who acted as Petrarch's messenger from 1353 to 1363 (ch. xxxvi); Giovanni da Parma, the lawyer (ch. xl); Petrarch's host at Bergamo in 1359, who is identified with a jeweller, Enrico Capra (ch. xlii); Paolo di Bernardo (ch. xlv). Very interesting is the discussion about the authorship of a political poem generally ascribed to Boccaccio and here strenuously maintained to have been written by Petrarch (ch. xli). In other chapters other chronological questions are touched upon; of real

¹ V. Rossi, *La data della dedicatoria delle 'Familiari'*, in *Studi romanzi*, xix, 1928, p. 166 n.

interest is the illuminating arrangement of Petrarch's later correspondence with Barbato (ch. XLVI); the 'magnae additiones' to the *Bucolicum* must have been made in 1365 (ch. XLVII), and the addition of the section concerning the blessed Romualdo to the *De vita solitaria* was made in 1372, two years earlier than was previously believed. In the long ch. XLVIII Foresti endeavours to dispel the confusion which reigned about Giovanni, the scribe, and Giovanni Malpaghini, by suggesting that the young man who copied the Parisian version of Homer, part of the *Rime* and the whole of the *Ep. Famil.*, was one and the same man as Malpaghini, Salutati's friend and correspondent. Finally, it is established beyond any manner of doubt that the famous epistle *ad posteros* was written as early as 1351.

Such are the principal points dealt with in a book which is the result of acute as well as painstaking investigations. Foresti, however, in working through a vast amount of matter to reach his conclusions, has touched upon countless other points, indicating the date on which Petrarch wrote, revised and finally edited or arranged certain of his works, and occasionally showing, on the evidence of MSS. belonging to the 'extravagant' tradition, what the original form of certain letters was, sometimes venturing upon the conjectural discovery of interpolations and corrections and often suggesting new addressees of a number of epistles. That this book is not easy reading has already been stated, and is obvious; it might be described, with considerable exaggeration, as a collection of fascinating footnotes and of appendixes to a biographical study of Petrarch. Other facts may crop up in the future, but there is no doubt that real progress has here been made towards the ascertainment of necessary data, and, without the knowledge of new facts, he would be greatly daring who ventured to differ from Foresti in a field that he has made peculiarly his own.

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El Cuento de Tristan de Leonis. By GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. (*Modern Philology Monographs of the University of Chicago.*) Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1928. 298 pp. 25s.

Professor Northup's careful edition of *El Cuento de Tristan de Leonis* is welcome as filling a gap in Spanish Arthurian literature. It is presented with the well-known competence of the Chicago University Press and of the distinguished editor. Vatican MS. 6428 was photographed originally for Mr Alfred E. Moore at the suggestion of Baist, and has been in its present editor's hands since, at least, 1912. A second set of photographs or a copy was in the hands of the late D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, who at one time seemed to announce an edition of the text (see J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, 1921, s.v. 'Tristan de Leonis'; corrected in 1926). At all events Sr Bonilla had given some study to this text, and conveyed to me the impression

that he still held by the opinions announced in his edition of the *Tristan de 1501*—opinions controverted by Professor Northup. Now that the two *Tristan* texts are open to the public view it should be possible to eliminate some of the guesses and uncertainties of past criticism. The Vatican fragment, incomplete at the beginning and end, is the work of five scribes pertaining to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. An interesting page of scribbles (pp. 287–8 of this edition) mentions a Fernando Tuerto or de Campos or de Zaragoza, and also the emperor Charles V, but is later than the manuscript as a whole. Fifty-one pages of the text are duplicated by a copyist lettered E, whose testimony is given in the form of variant readings. The MS. is not palæographically reproduced, but Professor Northup has undertaken the responsibility of an edition, eliminating the duplicated matter and restoring a correct pagination. Some false hopes are raised by the jacket and by the editor himself in the statement that the book contains ‘specimens of each of the five hands copied.’ What is meant is that some portion of the text has been drawn from each of the five copyists. Specimen photographs of the different hands and of the page of scribbles might have had some palæographical interest, and would probably have led to the identification of the scribal traditions, and presumable country, of the writers.

Certainty in this respect would have been useful in view of the mixed dialect of the text, which raises the problem of its primitive form. The present state is basically Castilian, with an admixture of Aragonese which reaches its maximum in scribe D and minimum in E. Mr Northup’s discussion of the matter (p. 4) seems to me too summary. Not only may the language of the text have been originally either Castilian or Aragonese, but it may also have been originally, like Boron’s *Demanda*, mixed. This possibility seems to be ignored by the editor, who prefers to believe that D stands closest to the original in Aragonese, while A, B, C and E are castilianisers. This preference seems due to his characterisation of D as ‘lazy, indifferent and inaccurate’ (p. 7). E, on the other hand, ‘is by far the most reliable of the five in his failure to omit, repeat and garble. He was a conscientious workman. But this very conscientiousness caused him to refine away many dialectal forms to him obnoxious’ (p. 8). Mr Northup may be right, but it is curious to base an edition on the principle of *deteriora sequor*! I am not clear that Aragonese in the fifteenth century, when it was the language of a royal chancery, need have seemed obnoxious to a (probably) Aragonese scribe: nor is the preservation of original forms necessarily more lazy than to transpose the whole into one’s native dialect. Mr Northup does not exclude the possibility that the Castilian elements may have appertained to the original document, and appears to have left this point insufficiently studied.

The relation of the Vatican to the printed *Tristan* remains in some obscurity. The publisher of the edition of 1501 was the same Juan de Burgos who issued the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin* in 1498, where he seems to have taken considerable liberties with the style and details of the text. His character must be taken into account in estimating the facts

of the present case, which Mr Northup says are that the versions 'coincide almost perfectly in subject matter, order of incidents, omissions and interpolations; but they differ utterly as to language and minute detail' (p. 78). In passing on to a future investigator this *caveat*, I do not mean either to dispute or endorse Professor Northup's conclusion that the Spanish versions represent different translations of closely related originals.

Though Mr Northup's business is with the Vatican MS. only, his thesis of 'the Italian origin of the Spanish Prose Tristrams' covers a wider area. Under these circumstances one cannot but be astonished at his indifference to the available evidence concerning this cycle in Spain. Of the five Arthurian *lais de Bretanha* three certainly belong to a Tristan novel, and the Spanish *Lanzarote* has five chapters (reproduced by Sr Bohigas) preparatory to an announced *Libro de don Tristan*. If these pieces may be set aside as not contributing to the exegesis of the extant novels, no such palliation exists for Mr Northup's failure to utilise the chapters of the printed *Tristan* which have no correspondence with the Vatican fragment. These chapters are precisely the richest in marks of character, viz. the allusion to the Old Round Table and its champion, which is parallel to an episode in Rusticien's compilation; the unusual death scene, corroborated by the Spanish ballad, but wholly different from the usual Theseus-like tale recorded in Löseth and the Icelandic ballad; and the celebrated account of Isolt's beauty, elsewhere only to be found in Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*. To attempt to fix the international position of the Spanish tales without making use of the best part of the available evidence is surely a severe handicap, to which are added others that arise out of a failure to observe certain distinctions. The terms of Mr Northup's argument are 'the French,' 'the Spanish,' 'the Italian.' By 'the French' the author means Löseth's analysis; but, if one postulates a lost French text quite different from Löseth, it will be difficult to retain in the present form Mr Northup's argument that the Italian texts stand closer to 'the French' than the Spanish. A desideratum is, certainly, a competent Italian scholar's statement on the Italian Tristan tradition, for Mr Northup does not produce his credentials for that field of study. As to 'the Italian,' I can conceive of three interpretations, 'by an Italian,' 'coming from Italy,' or 'in the Italian language.' To the first two, though I figure as the *advocatus diaboli* in Mr Northup's argument, I make no demur. The Italian provenience of certain manuscripts at the head of the Spanish tradition I endeavoured to leave open in my *Arthurian Legend*, and the case for an Italian influence on the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin* is strengthened since Miss Paton issued her *Prophécies*. It may be worth noting that the first datable prophecies of a Merlinic sort in connexion with a Spanish prince are dated by Fadrique of Aragon's coronation at Palermo in 1296 (Muntaner's chronicle, cap. CLXXXV). The relations of Edward I and Rusticien de Pise show the compatibility of Italian authorship or provenience with a certain English influence in things Arthurian. But Mr Northup's argumentation, being linguistic, seems to require the inter-

pretation 'in the Italian language.' Yet the cases of 'Richard of Ireland,' Rusticien and Latini should warn us not necessarily to expect from Italians in that epoch the Italian language. The *chansons de geste* of the Roman roads made habitual in Italy the use of a mixed dialect, based on French, but strangely transformed, especially in the proper names, by writers to whom 'French of Paris was unknowe.' An original of the contexture of the *Berta e Milone*, one even much more correct than that piece, would suffice to account for the linguistic peculiarities of the Spanish novels. If 'the Italian' means linguistically Italian, then the 'Italian origin of the Spanish Prose Tristrams' remains not proven—perhaps incapable of proof. Among possibilities, each of us must choose what seems the greatest; but collateral arguments become valid, such as the analogy of other Spanish Arthurian pieces, or—at a minimum—an examination of all the evidence offered by the Spanish Tristan cycle. It is a pity Professor Northup should not have seen fit to satisfy this minimum requirement of his thesis.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Philologische Studien aus dem Romanisch-Germanischen Kulturkreise.

Karl Voretzsch zum 60. Geburtstage dargebracht. Herausgegeben von B. SCHÄDEL und W. MULERTT. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1927. 543 pp. 34 M.

Except for two or three studies, everything in this very mixed bag is from the Romance preserves. The first three articles are of general interest. In the first, 'Seelische Energie und Wortwert,' E. Winkler (Innsbruck) would interpret certain facts of (mainly) French syntax in terms of a kind of mechanically conceived 'soul-dynamics,' in distinction from the looser methods of Vossler and Lerch based upon more ill-defined ideas such as 'affectivity' and 'emotion.' P. Barnils, Technical Director of the School for Deaf-Mutes in Barcelona, next discusses briefly the possibility of explaining certain features of dialect phonology pathologically rather than philologically. Lastly comes a theoretical enquiry by F. Saran (Erlangen) into the precise meaning of the terms *Stamm*, *Wurzel* and *Hauptsilbe* and the legitimacy of their use. F. Specht (Halle), in 'Zur Germanischen Stammbildung,' shares none of Saran's perplexities, and moves with characteristic confidence among the greater and lesser asterisks of the Indo-European firmament. He brings into line Germanic formations in *-ton* with Greek and Latin verbs in *-τάν* and in *-tare*. G. Baesecke (Halle) follows with a discussion of the confusion in the use of the possessives *sein* and *ihr* in modern German and a tentative prophecy as to its outcome.

The rest of the book deals exclusively with Romance. It begins with an interesting article by that much-travelled and versatile linguist G. Rohlfs (Tübingen) upon the Latin loan-words in Basque, studied in the light of their cultural implications. Incidentally, the array of Latin words with their varied and at times remarkably archaic phonology is

full of philological interest. Nothing new is contained in the next article, 'Les Serments de Strasbourg,' by A. Wallensköld (Helsingfors), but it gives us a useful and very complete commentary upon this venerable text, which is reproduced in facsimile. The Old French epic provides material for two studies: an edition of the *Hague Fragment*, and, incidentally, of the much-discussed portion of the *Vita S. Faronis*, by E. Sievers (Leipzig), based on his famous 'Schallanalyse,' and a discussion of the rhythm of the *Chanson de Roland* by Ph. A. Becker (Leipzig). Though listed together in the table of contents, these articles have been wisely kept apart by the editors of the 'Festschrift.' We have fortunately forgotten, when we come to Professor Becker's article at the end of the book, that two of the lines in the first 'laisse' of the *Chanson* which fit so harmoniously into his 'disticho-tristichometrical' scheme have been shown by 'Schallanalyse' to be an interpolation. Needless to add that each author is equally confident in interpreting the 'laisse' in the light of his own metrical 'Gefühl' (bzw. 'System'). K. Warnke (Coburg) prepares the ground in the next study for a reconstruction (*sic*) of the Latin original to Marie de France's *Espurgatoire de St Patriz* by classifying the existing versions and placing Marie's presumed original in the scheme. The classification is of value, but the worth of an 'annehmbarer Ersatz' for the lost manuscript reconstructed on this basis is less obvious. The Arabic origin of *Aucassin et Nicolette* is the burden of the contribution made by W. Suchier (Göttingen). The main argument is still the name *Aucassin*. The rest is either poor reasoning or vain hypothesis. This is the reasoning: 'I have examined all the tales which contain the following elements: amorous prince, lowly maiden, irate parents, removal of maiden, search and discovery by lover, return in wedlock; I have found only *four* (really three) which possess *all* these features, *therefore* these form a closely related group, and as one of them is a tale from the *Arabian Nights*, and another *Aucassin*, *therefore* the source of *Aucassin* is presumably Arabic.' By way of hypothesis we are asked to believe that the French author became acquainted with the 'Stoff' near his home in the North of France (p. 171), but that, because of the way in which he alternates prose and verse, he must have heard the tale told once in Arabic, 'die Geschichte einmal arabisch hat vortragen hören' (p. 172)! The last of the Old French group is a competent edition of a thirteenth-century *Règle des Fins Amans*, a béguinage 'rule' in prose, accompanied by a good historical study and notes, by K. Christ (Halle).

The Provençal group opens with a denial of the development inter-vocalic -t->-z- in Provençal by J. Brück (Innsbruck)—who, despite the work of the linguistic geographers, displays an unshaken faith in pure phonological mathematics—followed by a valuable contribution to the text of *Sancta Fides* by O. Schultz-Gora (Jena), and a study by W. Mulertt (Halle) of the obscure troubadour Guillem Peire de Cazals, preliminary to a critical edition, accompanied by a facsimile of the five unpublished poems from the MS. C (Fonds Français, 856), two of which are now sadly mutilated. Then come two long articles relating to modern

Provence: one, a valuable 'Wörter und Sachen' study by F. Krüger (Hamburg), describing, pictorially as well as verbally, the foundation and contents of Mistral's Provençal Museum in Arles; the other, an absurdly elaborate discussion of the origins of Mistral's *Pouèmo dou Roze* by D. Scheludko (Sofia), who in his 81 pages spares us nothing, from the price of fares on the good ship *Crocodile* which plied from 1840 onwards on the Rhône, to the 'chronique scandaleuse' of Prince William of Orange's death in Paris in 1879 (15 pages, called forth by the name of Mistral's imaginary hero) and the political aspirations of the Félibres (17 pages), and yet finds room for a few pages of 'nebensächliches' (*sic*) and 'allgemeines'!

The Catalan field is represented by the Abbé Griera (Barcelona) with a short but interesting study of words and practices, '*Atant i Apat*,' relating to funeral ceremonies in his own territory. Two contributions are devoted to Italian: an edition, by C. Weber (Halle), of the *Leggenda di Santa Guglielma*, based on a fourteenth-century Florentine manuscript, and preceded by a discussion of the MS. tradition, and, secondly, three short notes by B. Wiese (Halle): (1) a description of a recently discovered Dante MS. with the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, identical with and by the same scribe as the Istrian MS. (Cod. Italien 77) of the Bibliothèque Nationale; (2) an unconvincing emendation to a passage of the *Convivio* (iv, ix, 119 of Moore's *Opere*) which will receive attention elsewhere; (3) quotations of two O.F. parallels to *Inf.* xxxiii, 61 ff. and 66.

Lastly, before the closing study by Professor Becker mentioned above, come three Spanish contributions: a useful account of the mediæval animal story in Spain by G. Moldenhauer (Halle) which contains valuable bibliographical matter; emendations to the text of the *Segundo Libro de la Demanda del Sancto Grial*, by K. Pietsch (Chicago), based on a comparison with the text of the Portuguese *Historia dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda e da Demanda do Santo Graal*; and, finally, a handlist, drawn up by M. Artigas (Santander), to certain letters and drafts of letters by and to the Viennese librarian and Romance scholar D. Ferdinand Wolf, dated variously from 1833 to 1865 and now in the Biblioteca Menendez y Pelayo in Madrid.

J. ORR.

MANCHESTER.

Contemporary Movements in European Literature. Edited by WILLIAM ROSE and J. ISAACS. London: G. Routledge and Sons. 1928. xii + 290 pp. 10s. 6d.

In order to arrive at a just estimate of the value of this substantial and attractive-looking work, it is necessary to consider its special purpose and origin. It is 'the outcome of a series of lectures delivered at King's College, London, during the Lent Term of 1927,' in which 'the lecturers were not asked to conform to any particular viewpoint,' but allowed, apparently without restriction, to describe the 'contemporary move-

ments' in those literatures with which they undertook to deal. The essays, further, have 'been revised and, in some cases, rewritten' for their publication in book form. These circumstances will explain the rather confusing diversity of outlook, the inequalities of construction and the marked variations in style which make the book somewhat more of a collection of individual essays even than most composite volumes. Whether or no we regret this, and think that the results would have been more intelligible had certain lines been more clearly laid down for each lecturer, it is evident that we are reading, not a book of nine chapters, but nine separate and distinct essays, which must be approached and judged as such.

The countries dealt with, in the order of their treatment, are: England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia and Holland. There are some notable omissions. It would not have been hard to find a capable lecturer on Roumania, and, though Catalonia, in spite of her abundant twentieth-century harvest, may be denied admission on the ground that she is not a nation, her literature ought at least to have found a corner in the essay on Spain. A more surprising omission still is that of Portugal. The essays on Holland and Scandinavia are shorter than the rest, which suggests that the compilers were particularly anxious not to produce a large volume.

As the editors point out, the aspects taken by individual essayists vary considerably: we may add that the specific virtues of their contributions vary too. Where the preface mentions the 'condescending' attitude, it presumably refers to Mr Isaacs' rather superior chapter on English literature, from which he expects 'half-wits and certain kinds of academic folk' to dissent. The tone of M. Saurat's patient yet illuminating study of Modern France, which we could wish much longer, comes as a pleasant contrast. But perhaps the most successful exposition is that of Prince Mirsky, on Russia. This writer has had long and what must often have been thankless experience of describing the literature of his country to those who know nothing about it. As a result, his perspicuity and vividness are remarkable. His essay is one which the reader will not forget. The Spanish contribution, by Dr Pastor, is noteworthy chiefly for its 'up-to-date'-ness, including in its survey the *Gaceta Literaria* (which, by the way, is a fortnightly and not, as stated on p. 122, a weekly) and novels such as those of Tenreiro and Azaña, which can hardly have appeared before the book was in the press. Mr Selver's essay on Czechoslovakia is perhaps rather too full of his own translations, which add to its interest, but absorb much apparently precious space.

The least commendable part of the book is its editing. The index has a good many omissions. Individual essays appear not to have been carefully revised: authors are allowed to refer to themselves as 'I' and 'we' on the same page, to misspell and to misaccentuate. The uses made of italics and the capitalisations are inconsistent, and, in the matter of translating the passages quoted and the titles of works dealt with, the editors are by no means happy. Why is one line of French translated

on p. 31 and a quotation of two dozen lines left untranslated on p. 38? Why are the titles of three of Benavente's plays translated (p. 109, ll. 1, 2) and a third, equally translatable, given in the original (p. 109, l. 3)? Such inconsistencies (cf. also pp. 102, 107, 113) give the book an appearance of slovenliness, which may be due merely to contempt for 'certain kinds of academic folk,' but looks ill in a work proceeding from an academic environment, where even the lesser ideals of scholarship ought to be respected. The Spanish contribution in particular gives the impression of not having been read in proof at all. The first complete paragraph on p. 105 appears to have slipped into the wrong place in the text, or into the text instead of into a footnote. So many accents are misplaced or omitted in this essay that it would be impossible in a brief review to make a list of them. And, though it is the worst edited essay in the book, it does not stand alone. The following are the principal misprints to catch the reviewer's attention: p. 91, l. 30: for 'Marcelimo' read 'Marcelino'; p. 106, l. 17: for 'Crawfurd' read 'Crawford'; p. 107, l. 4: for 'Galdás' read 'Galdós'; p. 119, l. 28: for 'hesition' read 'hesitation'; p. 121, l. 5: for 'Zuloga' read 'Zuloaga'; p. 249, l. 17: for 'choisies' read 'choisis'; p. 258, l. 9: for 'Epopée' read 'Épopée.' Finally we must record the absence of important (in some cases essential) details from at least five of the nine bibliographies.

E. ALLISON PEERS.

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SHORT NOTICES

The *Altenglische Lesebuch für Anfänger*, by Max Förster (3rd edition. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1928. x+69 pp. 2 M.), is an important little book, which even those who reckon themselves advanced scholars cannot afford to neglect; it contains on every page marks of that fine scholarship which we associate with the name of Professor Max Förster. The references to literature have been brought up to date and additions have been made to the vocabulary, which has been carefully revised. For example, *melcan* has been substituted for *meolcan* in accordance with Luick, *Grammatik*, § 137, 3. Particularly noteworthy and valuable is the treatment of the proper-names throughout, but the article on *Lündun* deserves special attention. Professor Förster, in several instances, utilises the results of Professor Sievers' researches into 'Satzmelodie.' We wish we could feel greater confidence in the possibility of verbal emendations based on these grounds in texts where the scribal tradition is so complicated and the personal equation so uncertain.

With reference to the note on pp. 68-9, we would point out that, while it is quite true that Ælfric says: 'Ic ne porfte na mare awendan þære bec butan to Ysaace, Habrahames suna, for-ðan-þe sum oðer man þe hæfde awend fram Ysaace þa boc oþ ende,' he also claims elsewhere (*Old English Pentateuch*, ed. Crawford, pp. 30-1 and 425) to have translated the remainder of the *Pentateuch* into English.

S. J. C.

Dr A. C. Sprague's *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1926. xx + 298 pp. \$4) is a valuable addition to the works dealing with the Restoration stage. It aims at throwing light on the vogue of Beaumont and Fletcher at that date, and this it does in scholarly and effective fashion. The study divides naturally into two sections; the first dealing with the theatrical history of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays from 1660 to 1710, the second with some twenty adaptations of those plays, written and, for the most part, produced during the same period. In his treatment of the stage-history of the plays themselves, the author has followed in the main the fortunes of the more important companies; but he also supplies at the end a summary of the whole history, besides referring to such matters as the preferences shown by Restoration audiences for the particular plays, and the comparative popularity enjoyed by Shakespeare and the two dramatists in question. Equally interesting is his account of the adapted plays, which include twelve tragedies or tragi-comedies and eight comedies. And while in each instance the various alterations are specified in detail, attempts are also made to suggest the particular reasons for which the revisions were made. In the main it would seem that the adaptations were due to the desire to bring the plays into conformity with one or other of the current dramatic theories; and in a useful summary at the end the author clinches the point. With the question of the influence of the two dramatists he does not deal, though he makes some interesting remarks on the subject in his Introduction. The subject obviously lay outside his thesis; and the thoroughness with which he has handled his theme—a theme that called for treatment—is a sufficient warrant for his self-imposed limitation. For the rest, the volume everywhere gives evidence of wide and relentless reading. Contemporary works of all kinds, newspapers, playbills, song books, diaries and the like, are utilised for the author's purposes; and careful scholarship has gone to the make-up of the work. It is well documented; it has a useful Bibliography; and it represents a welcome contribution to our knowledge of the English stage.

J. W. H. A.

The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D., collected and edited by Professor Edward S. Noyes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1926. xix + 260 pp. \$3). This collection of some seventy-four letters of Smollett, now brought together for the first time and carefully annotated, is the result of considerable industry and research. The complete texts of sixty-eight letters are given, fifteen of which had not been previously published, while additions are made to the texts of thirteen others; and the collection as it stands would seem to be tolerably complete. The value of the letters lies in the fresh light they throw on Smollett's life, of which comparatively little is known. No critical biography has hitherto appeared; and it is only with the help of such information as the letters supply that a sound biography could well be written. Among other things Smollett's relations with many of

his contemporaries are elucidated, notably his friendship with Lady Vane and his break with John Wilkes. The list of correspondents, moreover, includes the names of Garrick, Samuel Richardson, Home and Hume; while something is also learnt of Smollett's personality, his financial straits, as well as his sympathies with stranded compatriots. That the letters also incidentally provide many new sidelights on eighteenth-century life is also unquestioned; and all such details are discussed at length by the Editor in ample notes which occupy some 120 pages of his volume and are never dull reading. The work is in fact a good piece of editing. It is well indexed and documented; it embodies material of interest to others than specialist students, and the general get-up of the volume leaves little to be desired.

J. W. H. A.

It will be a surprise to English readers to learn that Sweden is producing the first complete translation of Boswell's *Johnson*, the only other being apparently an abridged version in German published in 1797. Messrs A. Bonnier of Stockholm have sent us the first two of five volumes of this translation by Dr Harald Heyman (1926-7. cxcv + 360 pp. and xiv + 519 pp. Each 15 kr.). The translation, as far as I have tested it, is admirably done; it is supplied with notes and profusely illustrated. The Introduction is written with fullness of knowledge, 120 pages being devoted to 'bibliografiske anteckningar.' One cannot, however, forbear reflecting that the Swedish reader who is sufficiently in touch with our literature to appreciate Dr Heyman's bibliography and scholarship might be expected to prefer reading Boswell in the original. I have noticed very few misprints: 'P. S. Boas,' 'K. G. Chesterton,' 'Russel St.' The Swedish disinclination to use capitals is extended to our English 'Mr,' 'Miss,' 'Sir' (not, however, 'Esq.'), even in quoted titles of books, and seems odd to English eyes. 'Lågkyrklig' is hardly adequately described as 'bristande ortodoxi' (p. 14). Each volume has a full index, and the work is divided into chapters. One can but envy Sweden's bookbuying capacity, that it should be able to pay what will presumably be 75 kronor for Boswell's *Johnson*.

J. G. R.

The second number of the *Studi Medievali* (Vol. I, fasc. 2) opens with so important an article on so important a subject, that, contrary to our usual practice, we feel impelled to call attention to it. Professor Mazzoni discusses and re-edits the well-known 'cantilena' *Salva lo vescovo sennato* and cogently urges that its composition must be placed between 1152 and 1157 (p. 281), some forty years earlier than has been generally held after Torraca's article. He also shows that, far from being an uncouth piece of writing, as has mostly been assumed, it provides, when properly edited and explained, remarkable evidence of the activities of Italian jongleurs and also of the early history of Italian poetry. In view of this article there are several statements in the history of early Italian literature that will require reconsideration.

C. F.

There are good reasons for putting before British readers the adventures of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna (*The Unconquered Knight*, translated and selected from *El Vitorial* by Joan Evans. Broadway Medieval Library. London: G. Routledge and Sons. 1928. xv + 232 pp. 10s. 6d.). Not only did he harry the coasts of Cornwall and Devon in the days of the first Lancastrian, and give a right royal scare to an English princess on her way to marry a Dutchman, but all that he did was done, or at least was represented by his chronicler as having been done, with the high spirits of an English schoolboy. As in school stories, there is a flavour of agreeable absurdity in so perfect a hero, who 'was always victorious and never defeated' either in love or in war. His story is of some historical pretensions as filling a gap in the line of official Castilian records, but it is of more consequence as a picture of seigniorial manners in the fifteenth century, treated with idealism and free from the grossness that stains so much of that age. Like all mediæval works this had its *longueurs*, and Miss Evans has been judicious in the decision to cut and the manner of so doing. One misses principally the didactic element, and the digressions, such as the lengthy extracts from the history of Brut and Dorothy, founders of England. These are also omitted in Llaguno's edition of the Spanish original, which combines the disadvantage of misrepresenting the author's text with that of being now virtually unobtainable by purchase. The original is completely represented by Circourt and Puymaigre's French translation which, with its excellent notes, is the standard of quotation. But it is a reproach to Spanish scholarship that a satisfactory text is still not available in the naïve and savoury language of Gutierre Diez de Games, especially in view of the remarkable excellence of the manuscript used by the French translators and its perfect legibility. Meanwhile, Miss Evans' version makes good reading, is excellently printed and is graced with interesting and apposite illustrations drawn from a number of other contemporary manuscripts.

W. J. E.

In *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language* (Washington: Hispanic Society of America. 1928. xi + 669 pp.) Professor Joseph Dunn has provided an authoritative and accurate work badly needed by English students of Portuguese. One of the reasons why this language, certainly one of the most interesting of living languages and spoken by some fifty-five million persons, has been less studied than it should be has been the chaos in the spelling. Many Portuguese still write *Alemtejo* for *Alentejo* (much as if we were to spell *intimate* *imintimate*) and *Cintra*, *Inez*, *Menezes*, *Gonçalves Vianma*, *Vasconcellos* for the sixteenth-century forms now officially restored: *Sintra*, *Ines*, *Meneses*, *Gonçalves Viana*, *Vasconcelos*. Educated persons will write *acaballo* and *acabál-o* for the correct *acabá-lo*. Professor Dunn follows throughout the official spelling of the reform of 1911, modified in a few respects in 1927. The modern spelling has on the whole given the language a cleaner and more vigorous appearance (e.g., *pronto*, *fruto*, *ino*, *escrito*, *filosofia*, *ontem*, *Espanha*,

instead of *prompto, fructo, hymno, escripto, philosophia, hontem, Hespanha*, and the suppression of many double consonants). The reform of 1911 tended to over-accentuation, and some words, e.g., *sciência*, had the look of wearing the *coroza*; but the worst case, the grave accent on the *u* when pronounced after *g* and *q* (e.g., *agüentar, freqüente*), is now, since 1927, at an end, the grave accent being replaced by the less hideous diæresis. Sometimes an apparently unnecessary accent is due to the existence of homonyms: *prêgávamos* ('we were preaching'), *pregávamos* ('we were nailing'). This complication of accents agrees in some measure with the genius of a language which in its many ingenious niceties, as in its wealth of phrases, is extremely difficult to master completely. Its variety of vowel pronunciation is perhaps unparalleled in any other language. The personal infinitive, very useful when grasped, is a stumbling-block to beginners. In the phonetic introduction and in the twenty-three other sections of this grammar (including a short section on the history and dialects of Portuguese, which does not mention the Mirandez dialect, admirably studied by Dr Leite de Vasconcellos), and another containing about three hundred Portuguese proverbs, the student will find careful and adequate information set out in the lucid and interesting manner of one who is perfect master of his subject.

A. F. G. B.

A new series entitled *Königsberger deutsche Forschungen* under the editorship of Josef Nadler, Friedrich Ranke, and Walter Ziesemer, is being published by Gräfe und Unzer, Königsberg. The first number is *Studien zum Liebesproblem bei Gottfried von Strassburg*, by Emil Nickel (1927. vi + 87 pp. 3 M.). In dealing with Gottfried's development of typical elements of court love poetry (pp. 1-33), Nickel lays stress on the part played by the ear in the birth of love. Tristan's voice is as seductive as his bodily beauty (p. 11). According to Nickel, Gottfried is the first German poet to introduce this element, which is ascribed to the influence of Ovid. After a detailed examination of the influence of Gottfried's predecessors (Reinmar, Veldeke, Hartmann, and Wolfram) on his treatment of love (pp. 33-61), Nickel passes on to an investigation of Gottfried's own views on love (pp. 61-86). This last section gradually resolves itself into an interesting experiment in interpretative criticism of Gottfried's poem.

The fifth volume of the *Tübinger germanistische Arbeiten* is *Der Monolog im höfischen Epos*, by Emil Walker (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1928. xiv + 286 pp. 15 M.). After discussing the monologue in epic and lyric poetry in general (pp. 1-17), Walker proceeds to an investigation of the various kinds of monologues, viz., prayer, lamentation, expression of joy, and so on (pp. 17-188). In the last section he deals with the development of the monologue from its introduction in early religious verse to its fullest exploitation in and through court epic poetry (pp. 189-260). Veldeke, Hartmann, Wolfram, and Gottfried are treated separately and in detail, and the influence of their sources on them clearly shown. This influence is, of course, particularly difficult to esti-

mate in the case of Gottfried, and must, to some extent, be based on conjecture. Here Walker shows due caution. An appendix contains statistical details (pp. 261-286). This is the first thorough investigation of the monologue, and it deals with no less than fifty-eight poems. Both in scope and in execution it is a remarkable piece of work for a doctor dissertation.

A. C. D.

In his introduction to his critical edition of *Der jüngere Sigenot* (Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1928. lxxxiii + 209 pp. 15 M.) Professor A. Clemens Schoener subjects all known versions of the poem to an exhaustive linguistic analysis and concludes that the original *Sigenot* was the work of an Alsatian poet of the thirteenth century. The manuscript versions clearly point to an Alemannic prototype; in most of the printed versions efforts are made to eliminate Alemannic forms, but they are still discernible. As a result of his investigations, the editor finds that a critical text must be based mainly on the Strassburg MS. s¹; this he regards as superior to the *Dresdner Heldenbuch* version, to which Steinmeyer had previously allotted pride of place. Schoener shows that Kaspar von der Roen's East Franconian text goes back to an Alemannic source and that, in part at least, it must have been dictated. The introduction also contains a section on the position of *Sigenot* in Middle High German literature. *Der jüngere Sigenot* appears to be an expansion of the *Sigenot* story contained in *Der ältere Sigenot*, but it goes back to a still older version; the additions show the influence of the *Ecke* poem and others in the group, particularly *Virginal*, which is also of Alemannic origin. The great variety of readings found in the MSS. and prints and their wide geographical distribution bear witness to the enormous popularity of the *Dietrich* epic down to the sixteenth century.

R. J. M.

Miss Anna Swanwick's translation of Goethe's *Faust*, the First Part of which, Professor Breul reminds us, appeared as far back as 1850, still maintains, in spite of a certain Victorianism in turn and phrase, the first place in popularity with English readers; and it is a tribute to this popularity that Messrs Bell are able to issue a new edition of the translation in their 'Bohn's Popular Library' (lxx + 437 pp. 2s.). For the new edition Professor Breul has brought his useful introduction and bibliography up to date.

With a view to interesting the English-speaking public, innocent of German, in the literature of the German Romantic period, Professors Frederick E. Pierce and Carl F. Schreiber of Yale University have put together under the title *Fiction and Fantasy of German Romance* a representative anthology of the Romantic writers (New York: Oxford University Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. viii + 392 pp. 11s. 6d.). The selection includes such longer items as the whole of Kleist's *Käthchen von Heilbronn* and, in somewhat abbreviated form, Arnim's *Isabella von Agypten*. The translations are, with very few exceptions, by the editors,

who are also responsible for two interesting introductory essays on 'The German Romanticists and Anglo-Saxon Romanticism' and 'The German and his Romanticism.'

J. G. R.

Included a little incongruously as Vol. XI of the *Cornell Studies in English* is *A Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle*, by Professors Lane Cooper and Alfred Gudeman (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. xi + 193 pp. \$ 2), which will be welcomed by all students of literary æsthetics. It is, in fact, a first step towards that great work which must some day be written, a history of the Aristotelian Poetics in Western literatures. I have put this volume to the test in some of the byways of Aristotelian interpretation, and found it exceedingly full and reliable. But the difficulty with such a bibliography is to define its range. Addison's *Spectator* papers, for instance, are included; but if these are to have a place, the door is obviously thrown open to hundreds of other works—especially Italian, French, and German—which deal more immediately with Aristotelian theory than Addison; indeed, one is inclined to ask, can any treatise at all dealing with the theory of drama or epic be justifiably excluded? But we have all reason to be grateful to Professors Lane Cooper and Gudeman for the very useful handbook they have given us.

To the self-sacrificing labour of Professor Lane Cooper we also owe *A Concordance of Boethius (The Two Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy)* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America. xii + 467 pp. \$ 5), as we have owed to him in the past similar concordances to Horace and to the Latin, Greek and Italian poems of Milton. We regret to learn that impaired eyesight has made the assistance of volunteer helpers necessary. The text on which the Boethius concordance is based is that of the *Loeb Library* (1918). The expenses of publication have been borne by the Heckscher Foundation at Cornell University, and the volume forms the first of the special monographs planned by the new Medieval Academy of America.

J. G. R.

Professor Otto Jespersen writes to us with reference to the review of Aronstein's *Englische Wortkunde* in our January number (p. 108): 'A remark by the reviewer makes it appear as if I said that English people usually called a ram a *male sheep* or a turkey-cock a *gentleman-turkey*, whereas I give it as a curiosity in a quotation from T. Baron Russell, who says that such expressions "belong to the natural history of refined Boston only"; to which I add that the whole linguistic prudery "now belongs to ancient history" (*Growth and Structure*, 5th edn., p. 226).'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1928–February, 1929.

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- Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier. Zusammengestellt und eingeleitet von L. Spitzer. 2. Aufl. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 10 M.

Mediaeval Latin.

- COOPER, LANE, A Concordance of Boethius: The Two Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy. Cambridge, Mass., Medieval Academy of America. \$5.

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- ALTROCCHI, R., Some Holograph Annotations by Tasso to Horace's 'Ars poetica' (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xliii, 4).
 ANTONINI, G., Il romanzo contemporaneo in Italia. Aquila, Vecchioni. L. 9.
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 RIGILLO, M., Gnomologia dei 'Promessi Sposi.' i. Piacenza, Porta. L. 15.
 TORRACA, F., Scritti vari. Milan, Soc. Ed. Dante Alighieri. L. 50.
 VALSECCHI, F., G. Carducci. La sua mentalità e la sua poesia. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 25.
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- Altportugiesische Lieder. Auswahl. Herausg. von S. Pellegrini. (Sammlung romanischer Übungstexte, xiv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. i M. 60.

- CANO, J., *La Poética de Luzán*. Toronto, Univ. of Toronto Press. \$2.
 CROCE, B., *Realtà e fantasia nelle memorie di Diego Duque de Estrá* (Atti della R. Accad. di Napoli, lii, 1). Naples, Sangiovanni.
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 LERCH, E., *Historische französische Syntax*. II. Leipzig, O. R. Reisland. 21 M.
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- Adamsspiel, *Das*. Herausg. von K. Grass. 3. Aufl. (Samml. romanischer Übungstexte, vi.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 6 M.
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 BENJAMIN, R., *The Life of H. de Balzac*. London, W. Heinemann. 15s.
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- JOHNSTON, E., Le Marquis d'Argens. Paris, H. Champion. 12 fr.
- KLEMPERER, V., Die moderne französische Lyrik von 1870 bis zur Gegenwart. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 8 M. 40.
- MORGAN, B. T., Histoire du Journal des Sçavans depuis 1665 jusqu'en 1701. Paris, J. Gamber. 30 fr.
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- TRAHARD, P., Prosper Mérimée de 1834 à 1853 (Bibliothèque Mérimée, ii). Paris, H. Champion. 75 fr.
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- WALLAS, M., Luc de Clapiers, Marquis de Vauvenargues. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 12s. 6d.

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- BRØNDUM-NIELSEN, J., Gammeldansk Grammatik i sproghistorisk Fremstilling. I. Copenhagen, J. H. Schultz. 10 kr.
- DIEM, H., Philosophie und Christentum bei S. Kierkegaard. Munich, C. Kaiser. 12 M.
- JACOBSEN, J. P., Samlede Værker. Udg. af M. Borup. iv. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 4 kr.
- JACOBSEN, L., Svenskevældets Fald. Studier til Danmarks Oldhistorie i filologisk og runologisk Lys. Copenhagen, Levin og Munksgaard. 10 kr.
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(b) Old and Middle English.

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(c) Modern English.

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- BROWN, H., Ben Jonson and Rabelais (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xlv, 1).
- CLARK, W. S., Notes on Two Orrery MSS. (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xlv, 1).
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- EMPEROR, J. B., The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry, ca. 1600-50 (Univ. of Missouri Studies, iii, 3). Columbia, Miss., Univ. of Missouri. \$1.25.
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(a) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

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THE TROJAN LEGEND IN ENGLAND

SOME INSTANCES OF ITS APPLICATION TO THE POLITICS OF THE TIMES

I.

PROFESSOR GORDON, in his essay on the Trojans in Britain¹ makes a spirited appeal for the recognition of the Trojan Myth as worthy of an honoured place among our national legends. He claims that the stories of the Trojan Brut and of his great descendant Arthur have a twofold title to our respect. First, they have 'produced a body of literature to which, if you except Virgil . . . Rome can show nothing comparable,' and secondly, they were once 'officially believed' and therefore they have influenced men's actions as well as their thoughts.

The aim of this article is to trace some of the phases of that official belief as reflected from time to time in English literature, and incidentally to re-interpret in the light of it the symbolism of Macbeth's vision².

We know that the claim to a Trojan ancestry, first formulated (as far as is ascertained) on behalf of the Romans by Ennius, after being established and sanctified by Virgil, was adopted by other Western nations. Hunnibaldus Francus, writing in the sixth century, begins his Latin History of France with the Trojan War and asserts that the French nation derives its origin from Francio, a son of Priam³ and as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century Parvi, in his funeral oration for Ann of Bretagne (died 1514) traces her descent from Brut and Ynogne⁴. Indeed Warton assures us that 'many European nations were antiently fond of tracing their descent from Troy.'

But it is in our own land that the legend took deepest root and flourished most greenly. That this was very largely due to the literary genius of Geoffrey of Monmouth few will doubt. Brut and his descendants, as represented by Geoffrey, found ready acceptance with historians as the founders and makers of Britain; while Arthur and his deeds went home to the hearts and imaginations of men. It was Arthur rather than Brut whom Geoffrey centralised as the hero of his epos and

¹ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. IX, p. 9.

² *Macbeth*, Act IV, Scene I.

³ Cited by Warton, *History of English Poetry*. Diss. 1.

⁴ Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, T. I, p. 187, cited by Gunn, Translation of Nennius.

it was Arthur that (in more senses than one) the public would not willingly let die.

The Arthur of the later knightly romances, the 'first and chief of the three best Christian and worthy' was, we know, no local hero; his glory was a European possession and the stories of his deeds and of the achievements of his knights are a part of European literature. The stages by which he, one among the many British kings whose story Geoffrey professes to relate, became the hero of European romance has occupied the pens of many competent writers, but the political significance of his earlier reputation in England, a very much slighter, though not uninteresting theme, seems generally to have escaped notice. To what extent and for what purpose did he, a wandering but pervasive shade on the borderland between tradition and poetry, come to invade the realm of history proper, and acquire substance enough to make his mark on certain state documents? What has his story meant to England in a political as distinct from a poetical sense?

To answer these questions it is necessary first of all to disentangle some of the earlier threads of that complex web on which was woven the story known to Malory and the French romancers, and to consider the purpose and outlook of the 'great book of Geoffrey Arthur' which for so long passed as authentic history.

The following points are now generally accepted by scholars¹:

(1) There was an historical Arthur, a chieftain (though not a king) of Britons who successfully resisted the Saxons in a series of battles, one of which was fought *circa* 518 at 'Badon Hill,' and who was killed at the battle of 'Camlan'². This was the 'Dux bellorum' mentioned by Nennius, a warrior about whose memory fantastic tales were already gathering long before Geoffrey's time, and of whom William of Malmesbury writes that he was 'a man certainly worthy of celebration, not in foolish dreams of deceitful fables but in truthful histories, since for a long time he sustained the declining fortunes of his native land and incited the uncrushed courage of his people to war.'

(2) The songs and prophecies of certain Welsh bards, among whom were Taliessin and Myrddin (Merlin), were current in oral tradition in

¹ The greater part of this article was written before the publication of Sir E. K. Chambers' momentous *Arthur of Britain*. It has been partially revised in the light of that work, which, however, substantiates most of the points on which my further conclusions are based. The chief exception to this is the doubt cast by Sir E. K. Chambers on the existence of a pre-Galfridian Merlin.

² The topography of Arthur's twelve great battles has been exhaustively discussed with widely differing results. For the latest view on this question see Sir E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-204. For the date of 'Badon Hill' see the article on Gildas in *D.N.B.*, also Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

early times in Wales. In particular the sayings attributed to Myrddin Wyllt (also known as Merlin Silvestris) were held in great repute and were made a convenient vehicle for later prophecies¹ predicting the overthrow of the Saxons by the Britons.

The Merlin of Romance, Merlin Ambrosius, is a creation of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He took the Ambrosius 'son of a Roman consul,' mentioned by Nennius (who elsewhere² refers to him as a boy of miraculous birth begotten without a father), endowed him with the prophetic reputation of the Myrddin Wyllt above mentioned and called him Merlinus Ambrosius³.

Geoffrey first published his prophecies of Merlin *ante* 1135 as a separate book, before the appearance of his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, but incorporated them in the later editions of the *Historia* as Book VII.

The Ambrosius with whom Geoffrey identified Merlin is first heard of in Gildas as Ambrosius Aurelianus, but it is Nennius (in one version of his origin) who first makes him into 'the boy without a father,' in this account he is also represented as a 'magus' who prophesies the final overthrow of the Saxons by the Britons. It is Geoffrey who first connects Merlin with Caermarthen and first suggests that he was begotten of a daemon or incubus⁴.

Leaving aside, for a moment, the question of Merlin and his prophecies and turning to the pre-Galfridian Arthur, we have to do with a British champion who for a time managed to stem the tide of Saxon invasion—a tribal hero whose prowess was already, in the ninth century, becoming the subject of legend—and who, but for one short passage in Nennius, would long since have been translated to the shadowy realms of mythology.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, while professing to treat Arthur as an historical character, makes of him a descendant of Trojan kings, the ruler of a European empire, and the founder of an order of chivalry under whose influence 'dames did wax chaste and knights the nobler for their love.' With this last aspect, which was taken up by successive romancers and which gave birth to the tales of Lancelot and Guinevere, of Tristram and Iseult and all the deathless stories which had their culmination at

¹ Welsh materials for the Merlin legend do not go back beyond the twelfth century, but the earliest forms extant, though possibly influenced by Geoffrey, appear to embody much more primitive material. See E. Anwyl's article on Merlin in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

² It will be remembered that Nennius, as we have it, is a compilation and contains in places alternative accounts of the same matter.

³ Thus giving rise to the theory (first put forth by Giraldus Cambrensis) of the existence of two Merlins (Merlin Ambrosius and Merlin Silvestris).

⁴ *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Books VI, XVII and XVIII.

Lyonesse, we here have nothing to do. The Arthur of Geoffrey's *Historia* is the greatest monarch of the Trojan line who ever ruled in Brut's kingdom of Britain; he is a warrior and an empire-builder, but he has no love-story and the knightly romances of the Arthuriad proper, together with the Graal cycle, are of a later and a foreign growth.

Geoffrey's account of the Trojan settlement of Britain, and particularly his association of Merlin with the House of Uther, were, however, to have a definitely traceable effect upon the course of English history and, as a result of this, to make their own separate impact upon our literature. Indeed, great as was the popularity of the later growth of Arthurian romance, the official belief accorded to Geoffrey's version of the Trojan tales secured for these a reputation in a different sphere, their influence in which is due to their having been accepted as historical fact. It is in this character that we find them colouring a considerable body of minor literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even affecting the structure and ornamentation of some of the greater works of Spenser, Milton and Shakespeare.

Geoffrey's purpose in writing his immortal fiction is still a subject of speculation. William of Newburgh, we know, diagnosed it quite simply as being due to the Welshman's 'inordinate lust of lying' coupled with a desire to exalt his own countrymen. Geoffrey himself, with engaging candour, tells us that, while he was marvelling upon the absence of any written history concerning 'the kings that had dwelt in Britain before the Incarnation of Christ,' Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, offered him 'a most antient book in the British language that did set forth the doings of them all...from Brut the first king of the Britons onward to Cadwallader...all told in stories of exceeding beauty¹.' Geoffrey had merely to translate this *librum vetustissimum* 'with care into the Latin speech,' and the defects of history were made good².

Whatever his purpose may have been, some of the immediate consequences of his work, apart from the immense stimulus given to romantic fiction, are worth considering. First, the claim to Trojan ancestry, already, as we have seen, common to many of the nations which had come under the Roman sway and occurring in Nennius' account of the Britons, became more definitely and emphatically associated with the

¹ This and all subsequent passages from Geoffrey's *Historia*, quoted in English, are from the translation by Dr Sebastian Evans.

² It is sometimes forgotten, in discussing this point, that the discovery of an ancient book (in a tomb, for choice) is often alleged to give the necessary touch of realism to early fiction, the classic example being that of Dictys Cretensis. The interest in this case lies in Geoffrey's choice of a sponsor.

racés inhabiting England¹, Wales and Brittany. Secondly, Arthur sprang into prominence as a national hero, not of the Welsh and Bretons as at first, but of the composite race ruled over by the Norman and Angevin kings.

It will be necessary to look a little more closely at this widening of Arthur's nationality. When Geoffrey dedicated his *History of British Kings* to Robert of Gloucester, the fusion of the English and Norman races was far advanced while intercourse between Norman and Welsh² on the Welsh border had been constant almost from the Norman invasion. Thus no difficulty was experienced in accepting Arthur as the hero of the composite race, though Brut the eponymous hero, and Cadwallader the last of the native line of kings, to a great extent retained their narrower nationality. The latter is the subject of frequent prophecy among the Welsh and was at one time expected to 'return' and restore the fortunes of the British race.

Jusserand was the first, as far as I know, to suggest that the adoption of Arthur as national hero was the result of a considered policy on the part of the Norman rulers to further the amalgamation of races within the island³; but he certainly claims too much when he says it was the Normans who 'induced the conquered race to adopt the theory of Trojan origin, a theory already discovered and applied by the French to their own early history,' though they undoubtedly influenced the English in this matter⁴. It does, however, appear likely that the Normans were not unwilling to stress the common origin of the races on both sides of the Channel⁵ and to exploit the Arthur story and the Merlin prophecies in their own interests.

Dr Sebastian Evans, too, suggests that the *Historia Regum Britanniae*

¹ The Scots and Irish were curiously marked out as foreigners from the first. According to Nennius they derived their origin from a Scythian of noble birth who was expelled by the Egyptians, amongst whom he had been living, at about the time the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. They first settled in Spain and colonised Ireland from there. 'The Britons came to Britain in the third age of the world; in the fourth the Scots took possession of Ireland'—*Nennius*, Translation by W. B. Gunn.

² It will be remembered that Robert of Gloucester was a son of Henry I by (supposedly) Nesta ap Tewdwr, daughter and heiress of the last Welsh king: and Giraldus Cambrensis, Geoffrey's sprightly critic, was grandson of the same lady by a Norman father. Giraldus felt the bond of race imposed by his double ancestry. See chapter x of his description of Wales.

³ Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*. See also his *Literary History of the English People*, pp. 111 ff.

⁴ It was a common belief, centuries before the coming of the Normans, that Britain was named from the Trojan Brut and colonised by his descendants. Nennius says he obtained his account 'ex annalibus Romanorum,' 'ex antiquis libris nostrorum' and 'ex traditione veterum,' nor was the Trojan origin of the British questioned even by Geoffrey's detractors.

⁵ As the Britons derived from Brut and the Franks from Francio, so did the Normans from Antenor the Trojan.

was written at the instigation of Henry I, and under the direction of Walter of Oxford, with the deliberate intention of helping to weld together the loosely articulated possessions of Henry into a European Empire, very much as Virgil's *Aeneid* had helped to consolidate the Empire of Augustus. He claims that it is in intention and substance an epic of Arthur and the British Empire rather than a history of many kings and that it owes the non-recognition of this purpose to the fact that the intended Empire failed to materialise. 'It is an epic that failed, for it was to have been the national epic of an empire that failed. When John lost Normandy and much beside in the early years of the thirteenth century, that empire, never more than an inchoate empire, came to an end for ever. King Arthur, Geoffrey's creation¹ as Aeneas was the creation of Virgil, the king who was to have been the traditional hero of the Anglo-Welsh-Norman-Breton nucleus of empire and all the dominions which that empire might thereafter annex to its own, was left... a national hero unattached, a literary wonder and enigma to ages which had forgotten the existence of the composite and short-lived empire which was the justification of his own existence².'

A critical edition of the *Historia*³ with the collation of all known manuscripts, and especially of the various forms of the prophecies, is necessary before we can do much towards substantiating or refuting this interesting theory. Meantime it is not impossible, as Dr Evans claims, 'that the portrait of Arthur is drawn in great part from the living Henry...' and there is certainly nothing fantastic in the idea of Geoffrey's being commissioned to write the book for the Norman patrons whose approval he so sedulously claims; just as, less than a century later, Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his *Parzival*, exploited the *matière de Bretagne* in praise of the house of Anjou⁴. It is also worth noting in this connection that in Geoffrey's *Historia* Brut was from the beginning marked out by divine prophecy as the founder of an empire whose sons should have world-wide sovereignty:

... Ipsi
Totius terrae subditus orbis erit

and also that at the great coronation scene at Caerleon on Usk the list of tributary princes and nobles who came to do homage to Arthur,

¹ Sir E. K. Chambers has shown (*op. cit.*, chapter III) that the conception of Arthur as a world conqueror and as the convener of a famous 'court' is probably earlier than Geoffrey. None the less, it is true that Arthur as he became known to twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe was 'Geoffrey's creation.'

² Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Histories of the Kings of Britain*, Translator's Epilogue, pp. 359 f.
³ I have lately learned that Mr Acton Griscom of Columbia University has such a work in hand.

⁴ Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, translated by J. Weston, Introduction.

beginning with 'Angusel king of Albany that is now called Scotland¹' and including the archbishops of the three metropolitan sees, coincides rather closely with the princes temporal and spiritual from whom Henry claimed, or hoped to claim, allegiance. To this may be added that William of Newburgh definitely accuses Geoffrey of flattering Arthur in terms applied by Virgil to Augustus².

The prophecies must next be noticed. As has already been pointed out Geoffrey's Merlin is a composite figure based partly upon the child Ambrosius mentioned by Nennius³ and partly upon the Myrddin Wyllt of Welsh tradition⁴.

In Nennius' account Vortigern found himself unable to build a tower of refuge against his enemies because the materials collected for its construction during the day disappeared each night. He was advised by his *magi* that the ground on which the tower was to be erected must first be sprinkled with the blood of 'a boy born without a father.' The search party sent by the king to find the necessary victim came upon a group of children playing at ball and heard one of them taunted by the others with the words 'O homo sine patre, bonum tibi non eveniat.' This child was brought before Vortigern and at once confounded the *magi* by revealing that the true cause of the phenomenon which had baffled the builders was that under the pavement was a pool, and under the pool were two vases, in each vase a tent, and in the folded tents two sleeping serpents a white and a red. When these were disclosed, they began to strive together and the red one 'apparently the weaker of the two recovering his strength expelled the white one from the tent. . . .' The boy challenges the *magi* to interpret the omen and when they have confessed their ignorance he expounds it thus:

The pool is the emblem of this world and the tent that of your kingdom: the two serpents are two dragons; the red serpent is your dragon, but the white serpent is the dragon of the people who occupy several provinces and districts of Britain even almost from sea to sea; *at length however our people shall rise and drive away the Saxon race from beyond the sea, whence they originally came* (Sed tamen ad ultimum gens nostra consurget: et illam saxonum destruet gentem, deiecitque ab hac insula trans mare unde antea venerant)⁵.

This is the whole of the prophecy as given in Nennius.

¹ This was cited again and again by kings of England from Edward I to Edward VI as a proof of their rights over Scotland.

² Sir E. K. Chambers also describes Geoffrey's account of the conquest and settlement of Albion as 'obviously a literary exercise on the Virgilian model' (*op. cit.*, p. 31).

³ Nennius (or a copier) evidently confused this elusive personage with Ambrosius Aurelianus, the Romano-British conqueror of Vortigern.

⁴ It is naturally not without great diffidence that one differs from Sir E. K. Chambers in a point like this, but though there may be no documentary *proof* of the existence of a non-Galfridian Merlin, it is perhaps permissible to assume one, since indirect evidence seems to favour it, as long as scholars are not agreed on the subject.

⁵ W. B. Gunn's edition of Nennius (Vatican MS.).

Geoffrey relates the incident of the finding of the lad (whom he describes as 'Merlin that is also called Ambrosius') and the revealing of the sleeping dragons beneath the pool very much as it is found in Nennius but, according to Geoffrey, when 'the King bade Ambrosius Merlin declare what the battle of the dragons did portend,' instead of prophesying the victory of the red, as in Nennius,

he straightway burst into tears, and drawing in the breath of prophecy spake, saying: '*Woe unto the Red Dragon, for his extermination draweth nigh*: and his caverns shall be occupied of the White Dragon that betokeneth the Saxons whom thou hast invited hither. But the Red signifieth the race of Britain that shall be oppressed of the White. . . . At the last she that is oppressed shall prevail and resist the cruelty of them that come from without. For the Boar of Cornwall shall bring succour and shall trample their necks beneath his feet. The islands of the Ocean shall be subdued unto his power and the forests of Gaul shall he possess. The house of Romulus shall dread the fierceness of his prowess and doubtful shall be his end.'

After this clear reference to the victories of Arthur over Saxons and Romans we are told: 'Six of his descendants shall follow his sceptre, but after them shall rise up the German worm.' The varying fortunes of the Britons in their struggles with the Saxons, ending with the establishment of the latter, are shadowed forth and we are told:

Again shall our little gardens be filled of foreign seeds, *the Red one shall pine away at the furthest end of the pool*. Thereafter shall the German worm be crowned and the Brazen Prince [Cadwallo] be buried.

The German invader in his turn is conquered by the Normans:

For a people in wood and jerkins of iron shall come upon him and take vengeance upon him for his wickedness. . . . and the ruin of the foreigner shall be made manifest. The seed of the White Dragon shall be rooted out of our little gardens and the remnant of his generation shall be decimated. . . . Two dragons¹ shall succeed whereof the one shall be slain by the arrow of envy. . . .

And so we are brought down to the writer's own day. 'The Lion of Justice [Henry I] shall succeed at whose warning the towers of Gaul and the dragons of the island shall tremble. . . .' There are even references to the Norman game laws. 'The feet of them that bark shall be cropped short. The wild deer shall have peace but humanity shall suffer dole.'

The concluding part of the prophecy is more obscure and bears unmistakable signs of having been brought up to date by a later hand. On this point all commentators are agreed. The question of the extent of the interpolations and additions must wait until a critical text is forthcoming, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Geoffrey's hand is withdrawn after the allusions to the events of his own day. The clearly

¹ William I and William II.

historical part ends shortly after the foundering of the White Ship. 'The Lion's whelps shall be transformed into fishes of the sea and his Eagle shall build her nest upon Mount Aravius.' Later manuscripts include what is probably an allusion to Henry's own death. The parts dealing with contemporary events are quoted by Suger, Abbot of St Denis and minister of Louis the Fat¹ and by Ordericus Vitalis² both of whom explain the allusions.

Thus from the Dragon prophecy of Ambrosius which foretold the final victory of the Welsh Britons over the Saxon invader, Geoffrey evolves a detailed *ex post facto* prophecy of what had actually happened down to his own time, including the final subjugation of the Welsh and the Norman dominion over Saxon and Briton alike. The concluding part of the prophecy in the *Historia* is a jumble of recognisably historical references and of astrological rigmarole. It is probably of different dates³, and by various hands. One passage, often quoted as showing that Geoffrey subscribes to the 'British hope' of a final supremacy for the line of Brut, is in contradiction to the whole tone of his book and must have a word here. It runs as follows:

Cadwallader shall call unto Conan and shall receive Albany into his fellowship. Then shall there be slaughter of the foreigners: then shall the rivers run blood: then shall gush forth the fountains of Amorica and shall be crowned with the diadem of Brutus. Cambria shall be filled with gladness and the oaks of Cornwall shall wax green. The island shall be called by the name of Brutus and the name given by foreigners shall be done away....

This prediction appears to belong to the collection of prophecies definitely connected with the hope of the re-establishment of a British kingdom, the earliest expression of which is the Dragon prophecy in Nennius. They are quite distinct in tone from the prophecies of Geoffrey's *Historia*⁴ and are loosely associated with the name of Merlin Silvestris or with a certain 'Eagle of Shaftesbury.' Giraldus Cambrensis, who tempers his belief in the prophecies of his countrymen with a cautious scepticism and takes Geoffrey himself with a grain of salt, none the less accepts the existence of the two lines of prophecy. He attributes to 'Merlin Ambrosius' the sayings found in the *Historia* and to 'Merlin Silvestris' all the others. Of the non-Galfridian prophet he says: 'longe plenius et apertius quam

¹ *Gesta Ludovici Regis, cognomento grossi.*

² He is quoting from a *Libellus Merlini*, Geoffrey's first version of the prophecies which he later incorporated in his *Historia* as Book VII.

³ Some passages almost certainly belong to the reign of King John.

⁴ It is true, there is a parallel passage to this in the *Vita Merlini* which is generally supposed to be by Geoffrey: but the circumstances giving rise to the latter poem are not known, nor is its date or authorship quite certainly established. It certainly has not the pro-Norman trend of the famous *Historia*.

alter prophetavit...¹ Selden, too, who knew his *Historia* well, distinctly states that the *Eagle* prophecies are older than those of Geoffrey's Merlin².

Geoffrey's manipulation of the Dragon prophecy of Nennius shows clearly enough what his intentions were, even if we disregard the implication of his dedications. The *Historia*, read as a whole, plainly indicates that British supremacy is a thing of the past, any hope of it having been forfeited by the vices of the Britons, and rendered impossible by their internal dissensions³. Chapter xvi of Geoffrey's final book ends with the flight of Cadwallader, the last of the native princes, with the greater part of his people and the settlement of the Island by the Saxons. Cadwallader's lament over the 'grievous iniquities' of the Britons sums up the situation:

In vain have we so oft recovered our country from them [foreign invaders] seeing that it was not God's will we should reign therein forever....Return ye Romans: ye Scots and Picts return; return ye Ambrons and Saxons! Behold Britain lieth open unto ye!...Not your valour driveth us forth but...the God whom never hath our people been slow to offend....

...From that time the power of the Britons ceased in the island and the English began to reign⁴.

The lament of Cadwallader has a close parallel in a sermon which Geoffrey delivers in his own person⁵ in which he tells the Britons roundly that their country was lost as the result of their own dissensions and the pride that forbade them to own allegiance to 'one only king'; he concludes his homily with the words: 'Forth of all these (strong places and cities) shall they be driven and scarce again if ever shall they recover the glories of their ancient estate.' The final words of the *Historia* hold out no hope of a revival of British supremacy:

as barbarism crept in, they were no longer called Britons but Welsh....But the Saxons...throwing off the sovereignty of the Britons, held the empire of all Loegria under their Duke Athelstan, who was the first to wear a crown among them. But the Welsh degenerating from the nobility of the Britons, never recovered the sovereignty of the island, but on the contrary, quarrelling at one time among themselves, and at another with the Saxons, never ceased to have bloodshed on hand either in public or private feud.

¹ 'Erant enim Merlini duo; iste qui et Ambrosius dictus...et sub rege Vortigerno prophetizavit, ab incubo genitus, et apud Kaermerdyn inventus...alter vero de Albania oriundus qui et Celidonus dictus est, a Celidonia silva in qua prophetizavit...Hic autem Merlinus tempore Arthuri fuit, et longe plenius et apertius quam alter prophetasse perhibetur.' *Itin. Camb. Lib. xi, Cap. viii.*

² *Polyolbion*, Book xi, Selden's note.

³ Gildas and Giraldus Cambrensis stress the same note.

⁴ Chapters xvii and xviii of Book xii with their account of Cadwallader's vision, supported by the authority of the Shaftesbury Eagle and the mention of the time whereof *Merlin had prophesied unto Arthur* are palpably inconsistent with the rest of the book, and suggest insertion by another hand. Geoffrey's Merlin disappears from the book before the birth of Arthur and Geoffrey goes out of his way (Book xi, chapter ix) to express disbelief in the Eagle prophecies.

⁵ Book xi, chapter ix.

Geoffrey explains with his usual ingenuousness that he published his translations of the prophecies in response to public demand, but more particularly at the request of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln¹.

The immediate popularity of the *Historia* soon gave a wide currency to Geoffrey's version of the prophecies. They were copied, translated and re-edited from time to time and as occasion arose were re-interpreted and brought up-to-date by scribes at different historical crises, beginning with an exposition by John of Cornwall as early as 1155. There is no space here to give more than a few instances. The curious will find a rich mine in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum where the prophecies are adapted again and again to suit various historical parties and events. One interesting collection with adaptations from Geoffrey was evidently made by a person of Yorkist sympathies in the time of Edward IV². Minot applies the Galfridian prophecies to the victories of Edward III, while the ambassadors sent by Edward in 1329 to claim the regency of France opened their speech by stating that Merlin had foretold that lilies and leopards should be united under one monarch of France and England.

Froissart, again, finds that Merlin had foretold the passing of the crown of England from the Plantagenets to the House of Lancaster. He was at Berkhamstead in attendance on Queen Philippa in the year 1362, when he heard a knight speak thus to the ladies assembled in the garden:

Il y a en ce pays vng liure qui sappelle brust. Et dient moult de gens que ce sont des sors Merlin, mais selon le contenu de celluy liure le royaume et la couronne dangleterre ne retournera pas au prince de galles ne au duc de clarence ne ja ne seront roys dangleterre non obstant quilz soient filz au roy edouard mais retournera la couronne en lhôtel de lenclastre.

Froissart continues:

En ces iours que le cheualier dist la parole nestoit point henry le conte de derbyne; ne ne fut sept ans depuis. Mais ces parolles vindent de mon temps a effect: car ie viz depuis le comte henry derby roi dangleterre³.

The Prophecies also did duty on the continent. The English relied on them as promising victory in the French Wars, but other nations also found them useful. A fourteenth-century *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* contains a 'prophecy' by Merlin foretelling the overthrow of the Moors at the battle of the Salado. And '*Un altre libre appellat profacies de Merli en frances*' existed in the library of King Martin of Aragon in 1410.

¹ The choice of a sponsor is again significant.

² See Cotton Vespasian, E, VII. The prophecies of the Shaftesbury Eagle were in like manner brought up-to-date. The version in Brut y Breninocdd appears to refer to the Wars of the Roses.

³ Froissart, Vol. iv, 1518, feuillet LXXXX, cited by Michel, *Vie de Merlin, . . . suivie des Prophéties de ce Barde*. . . 1837.

So much for Geoffrey's manipulation of the Ambrosius prophecies and their subsequent development; meanwhile a less evident, but equally important, contributory stream to the current of popular belief and sentiment had its source in the body of oracular sayings previously referred to and attributed to the original Merlin Silvestris or to the Eagle of Shaftesbury: these continued to hold their place in Welsh oral tradition and must have a word here.

The original model for all these prophetic utterances is perhaps to be found in the Sibylline Oracles¹, but a great revival of Welsh prophetic literature in the eleventh century coincides with the return of Rhys ap Tewdwr (heir to the throne of South Wales) in 1077, and with the landing of Gruffyd ap Cynan (Prince of North Wales) in 1080. These two princes returning from exile, the one from Ireland, the other from Armorica, united forces and in 1080 regained the throne of their ancestors. It is to be noted that a common feature in the original Welsh prophecies, as distinguished from those adapted by Geoffrey of Monmouth for his Norman patrons, was an anticipation of the return to life of the Welsh princes Conan (Cynan) and Cadwallader who were to be joint leaders of a victorious force expelling the English. Later, it was Arthur who was to return and re-found the British Empire, a belief that was tenaciously and even militantly alive in Cornwall and Brittany until the twelfth century, and after².

(To be concluded.)

A. E. PARSONS.

COTTINGHAM, YORKS.

¹ A Welsh translation of the Sibylline Oracles based on *De Sibyllis* of Isidore of Seville exists in a thirteenth century MS. Many of these written prophecies are, however, post-Geoffrey and may have been influenced by his *Historia*. (See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, p. 565 ff.)

² In 1113 a riot was occasioned at Bodmin by certain monks from Laon who denied that Arthur was yet alive. The story is given in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, C.L. VI, 983.

ON THE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS IN EARLY NEW ENGLISH

THE following notes on the development of the Middle English vowels and diphthongs in Early New English are meant to be supplementary to the accounts of this development that are given by our chief modern authorities, Professors Wright, Wyld, and Zachrisson¹.

I have tried in particular to explain the probable phonetic processes of the independent Sound-Changes that took place in Early New English. The processes of these changes have, it seems to me, not always been satisfactorily dealt with by the authorities mentioned above, partly because they make use of a phonetic system that is in some respects inadequate and out of date. The phonetic vowel system that I have adopted is that set forth by our principal English phonetician, Professor Daniel Jones, in his latest works (e.g., *The Pronunciation of Russian*, p. 56), a system based on the Cardinal Vowel Chart in which the various vowel-phonemes are placed according to their Points of Articulation. The phonetic symbols used in the course of this article consequently denote vowels that can be described as follows:

- [i] High (or Close) Front slightly lowered.
- [ɪ] High Front considerably lowered and retracted.
- [e] Semi-High (or Half-Close) Front.
- [ɛ] Semi-Low (or Half-Open) Front.
- [æ] Low (or Open) Front slightly raised.
- [a] Low Front slightly raised and retracted.
- [ə] Semi-Low Flat (or Central).
- [u] High Back Round slightly lowered and slightly advanced.
- [ʊ] High Back Round considerably lowered and advanced.
- [ɔ] Semi-High Back Round advanced.
- [ɒ] Semi-High Back Round lowered.

¹ Their works are referred to as follows: J. Wright, *An Elementary Historical New English Grammar*, Oxford, 1924 (Wright); H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 2nd ed., 1921 (Wyld, *M.C.E.*); H. C. Wyld, *Studies in English Rhymes from Surrey to Pope*, 1923 (*S.E.R.*); H. C. Wyld, *A Short History of English*, 3rd ed., 1927 (*S.H.*); R. E. Zachrisson, *The Pronunciation of English Vowels from 1400 to 1700*, 1913 (Zachrisson).

References are made to the following early Grammarians: Smith, *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione* (Smith, 1568); Hart, *Orthographie* (Hart, 1569); Delamothe, *The French Alphabet* (Delamothe, 1592); Gill, *Logonomia Anglica* (Gill, 1619); Wallis, *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (Wallis, 1653); Cooper, *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (Cooper, 1685).

- [ʌ] Semi-Low Back advanced.
- [ɔ] Semi-Low Back Round slightly lowered.
- [ɒ] Semi-Low Back Round considerably lowered.
- [ɑ] Low Back Round advanced.

The Cardinal Vowel system has the merit of making perfectly clear the movements of the Articulation Point of the tongue that are the chief cause of Vowel Sound Changes. It also dispenses with the unnecessary and often very doubtful distinction between Tense and Slack (or Narrow and Wide) vowels.

1. MIDDLE ENGLISH [i].

Zachrisson is probably right in considering that M.E. [i] was diphthongised to [ɛi] in E.N.E. The view taken by Wyld and Wright, that the first stage in the diphthongisation was [ei], seems to depend upon the doubtful statements of early grammarians who could not describe accurately the first element of the new diphthong. Diphthongisation, but not necessarily to [ei], is indicated by very early N.E. spellings with *ey*, such as *bleynd*, *St Editha* (1421), *keynd*, *Mary Magdalene* (c. 1490). Our first certain description of the [ɛi] pronunciation is by Wallis, 1653, but it may be indicated by Gill, 1619.

The phonetic process of the change was probably as follows. M.E. [i] was first diphthongised to [ɪi], a pronunciation of [i] which is at the present day fairly common in Standard English. Then [ɪi] was lowered and retracted to [ɛi], very probably in order to dissimilate it from the [i] sound that had developed from M.E. [ē]. The further slight lowering of the first element that has resulted in N.E. [aɪ] may date about 1700.

E.N.E. spellings with *ey* may quite well represent [ɪi]. It is likely, indeed, that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries pronunciation varied from [ɪi] to [ɛi]. [ɪi] is not very different from [i], which had developed from M.E. [ē], and this may explain the fairly frequent rhymes of the two sounds in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century verse. *Tottel's Miscellany*, *alike—seke*, *he—flie*, *hye—me*, *be—eye—see*, *eyes—these*, *field—begilde*. *Thersites*, *flye—be*. Heywood, *Pardoner and Frere*, *se—by*. Sackville, *Induction*, *grief—life*, *shine—fine—seen*, *keel—while*, *wheel—smile—erewhile*; *Complaint of Buckingham*, *chief—life*, *while—wile—wheel*, *be—die*, *be—fly*, *life—thief*, *be—see—sty*. *Gismond of Salerne*, *decree—hye*, *lyfe—grief*, *see—skye*, *I—me*, *dye—me*, *whel—smile*. Spenser, *Amoretti*, *flie—tree*, *lyfe—grief*; *Gnat*, *vine—greene—seene*; *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, *seeke—lyeke*. Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, *me—fly*. Donne, *Poems*, *seeke—like*, *like—Greeke*, *drive—Eve*. Fletcher, *Faithful Shep-*

herdess, be—eye. Jonson, *Poetaster, thief—life*. Drayton, *Barons' Wars, disagreeing—flying*; *Heroical Epistles, lees—eyes*. After the opening years of the seventeenth century these rhymes seem to become very rare; probably the [əɪ] pronunciation was now absolutely regular.

2. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ē].

M.E. [ē] was raised to [ī] before the middle of the fifteenth century. Zachrisson and Wyld (*M.C.E.*) cite a large number of occasional spellings with *i* or *y* from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

What do these spellings exactly mean? They are of course not phonetic spellings in the strict sense of the word. They must indicate that M.E. [ē] had become a sound not far distant from one or both of the sounds regularly spelt *i* or *y*, i.e., from the sounds that had developed from M.E. [ī] and [ɪ] respectively. Now so long as M.E. [ī] could still be pronounced [ɪ], in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the new [ī] sound could easily be confused with it; and on the other hand [ī] is of course comparatively near to [ɪ], which had regularly remained unchanged from M.E. Rhymes of [ī] with [ɪ] are not uncommon in E.N.E. Thus in *Gismond of Salerne* we find *committ—feet, with—teeth*; Sidney has *killeth—feeleth*, and Donne *greet—it* and *chin—between*.

It is probable, however, that some of these occasional spellings really indicate a shortening of [ī] to [ɪ]. Thus in E.N.E. *priest* (*priste, Paston Letters*) rhymes with *Christ*, which was pronounced with either [əɪ] or [ɪ]. Bale, *King John, prystes—antichrysts*; Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister, Christ—priest*; Porter, *Two Angry Women of Abington, Christ—list*; Herbert, *The Temple, missed—Christ*. Herrick, *Hesperides*, has *priest—Holy-Grist*, and Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans, priest—resist*. Similarly *sheep* (*shype, Paston Letters*) may have had a pronunciation with a short vowel. This is indicated by Shakespeare's pun in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act II, Sc. i, l. 219:

Margaret. Two hot Sheepes, marie.

Boyet. And wherefore not Shippes?

Shortening is also probable in *beseech* (*besiche, Queen Elizabeth; besyking, Paston Letters*). The rhyme *beseech'd—enrich'd* occurs in Shakespeare's *Lover's Complaint*, and *beseech—wretch* in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. The tendency to shorten [ī] before [tʃ] has prevailed in *breeches* (rhyming with *stitches, Gammer Gurton's Needle*). In several of these occasional spellings we find *i* or *y* before *v*, e.g., *belyve, slyves, Paston Letters*. Here also a tendency towards shortening may be indicated, a tendency that has prevailed in N.E. *sieve*.

Weary (*wyry*, *Paston Letters*) had the double forms *weri* and *wēri* in M.E., and consequently was pronounced [werɪ] as well as [wēɪ] in E.N.E. The spelling *wyry* may denote the short vowel, since in E.N.E. [ɪ] in open syllables approximated to [e]. The rhyme *merry*—*weary* occurs in *Ralph Roister Doister*, in Spenser's *Colin Clout*, in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and elsewhere.

3. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ɛ̃].

Since in the fifteenth century there was a general tendency to raise long vowels, and since the Semi-High Front vowel [ē] very early became the High Front vowel [i], one would expect that the Semi-Low Front vowel [ɛ̃] would rise towards [ē]. The upward movement of [ɛ̃], however, seems to have been more gradual than that of [ē], and I do not think there is good justification for Wyld's statement (*M.C.E.*, p. 209) that the development of the new [ɛ̃] sound can be placed in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Our first clear evidence that [ɛ̃] had become [ē] is Florio's equation of the sound with the close Italian [ē] in the Preface to his *Italian Dictionary* of 1611. What probably happened was that in the fifteenth-century M.E. [ɛ̃] was raised to a position intermediate between [ē] and [ē], and became a sound that can be described as Semi-Low Front raised. Then, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, this sound was further raised to [ē].

The statements of both the English and the French grammarians of the sixteenth century point to a sound rather lower than [ē]. Thus Smith, 1568, and Hart, 1569, equate the sounds in *met* and *meat* as short and long. Delamothe, 1592, gives the general rule that French *ai* and open *e* are both pronounced as English *ea*. Since French [ē], as in *été*, was very near to the Cardinal Vowel [ē], an English vowel sound with a rather lower articulation point would easily strike a French ear as nearer to [ɛ̃].

Moreover, it is probably because M.E. [ɛ̃] had been raised comparatively little that in the sixteenth century we find it occasionally rhyming with the [æ̃] or [ɛ̃] that had developed from M.E. [ā] and M.E. [ai]. Wyld, *S.E.R.*, p. 53, gives a list of these rhymes, but includes one or two doubtful examples. In the case of *teares*—*heares* (*hairs*) in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* the second word, as the spelling indicates, goes back to M.E. *hēr* or *hēr*; according to Wright, p. 79, the spelling *hair* is due to French influence. The rhyme *dreams*, *streams*—*Thames* should also be excluded; for *Thames* goes back to O.E. *Temese*, and the usual Elizabethan pronunciation is shown by the spelling *Temmes* in *Tottel's Miscellany*, or

Themmes in Spenser's *Prothalamion*. The rhyme may indicate an alternative pronunciation of *dreams*, *streams*, with a short vowel; *stream* rhymes with *them* in Donne, Chapman, Jonson, Herrick, and Vaughan. Rhymes in which the word with the *ai* spelling goes back to an Anglo-French original are also rather doubtful (Zachrisson, p. 67). The following is a list of indubitable examples earlier than 1650:

Sackville, *Complaint of Buckingham*, *break*—*betake*, *make*—*speak*. Spenser, *Hymn of Love*, *meanes*—*raines*; *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, *states*—*seates*; *Colin Clout*, *lay*—*sea*; *Visions of Bellay*, *beames*—*flames*; *Shepherd's Calendar*, *have*—*sheave*. Lyly, *Maid's Metamorphosis*, *play*—*flea*. Sidney, *Arcadia*, *play*—*flea*, *breake*—*sake*. Gismond of Salerne, *laies*—*seas*, *again*—*meane*. Peele, *Welcome to Essex*, *sea*—*lay*. Shakespeare and Fletcher, *Henry VIII*, *play*—*sea*. Drayton, *Barons' Wars*, *way*—*sea*, *pay*—*sea*—*day*; *Elegies*, *congeal*—*hail*. Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, *away*—*sea*, *Epistle to Fidelity*, *maid*—*plead*, *Elegies*, *may*—*sea*. *On the Author of Britannia's Pastorals*, *cave*—*leave*—*grave*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Maid's Tragedy*, *sea*—*day*, *away*—*sea*. Middleton, *A Fair Quarrel*, *take*—*break*. Jonson, *Epitaph on the Lady Jane*, *great*—*state*. Herbert, *Temple*, *seas*—*keyes*, *plea*—*key*. Herrick, *Hesperides*, *they*—*flea*, *dames*—*streams*; *Noble Numbers*, *they*—*sea*.

While M.E. [ē] was regularly raised towards [ē] in E.N.E., it is clear that in some dialects, including the lower-class dialect of London, it had a different development. In these it was raised to [i] in the fifteenth century, and fell together with the [i] that had already developed from M.E. [ē]. The first grammarian to mention this [i] pronunciation is Gill, 1619, who ridicules it as one of the pronunciations of *nostrae Mopsae*. But it is corroborated by occasional spellings (with *i*, *y*) and occasional rhymes (with words that had [ē] in M.E.) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

When these spellings or rhymes, however, concern words which in M.E. had [ē] from O.E. [ǣ], i-umlaut of [ā], they cannot be adduced as good evidence of this sound-change, because in the S.E. dialect of M.E., and in some other dialects as well, this [ǣ] had become [ē], from which E.N.E. [i] would regularly develop. Thus in Surrey's rhyme *grene*—*cleane*, *cleane* may go back to M.E. *clēne*. In consequence of this possibility, the only indubitable rhymes of M.E. [ē] words with M.E. [ē] words which Wyld (*S.E.R.*, p. 60) cites from writers earlier than 1650 are *streeme*—*seeme* from Spenser, *greatness*—*sweetness* from Marston, and *beat*—*fleet* from Drayton. These rhymes, however, are more numerous

than this would suggest, as the following list will show. The word that had M.E. [ē] is the first in each pair:

Castle of Perseverance, *mele* (meal)—*stele* (steel), *sete* (seat)—*mete* (meet). *Interlude of the Four Elements*, *leve* (leave, noun)—*greve*. Spenser, *Épithalamion*, *speakes*—*cheekes*; *Hymn of Love*, *beame*—*seeme*; *Prothalamion*, *streeme*—*seeme*; *Visions*, *beaten*—*sweeten*. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *leape*—*creepe*, *extream*—*deame*. Lyly, *Poems*, *leap*—*keepe*, *extremes*—*misdeems*. Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, *instead*—*breed*. Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, *leaving*—*greeving*. Browne, *The Shepherd's Pipe*, *leave* (noun)—*leeve*. Drayton, *Nymphidia*, *leap*—*deep*. Chapman, *Iliad*, *leaves*—*beeves*. Jonson, *Underwoods*, *zeal*—*kneel*. Ramsay, *Upon the Death of Jonson*, *speak*—*Greek*. Morton, *The New English Canaan*, *great*—*feet*. Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess*, *break*—*creek*. Middleton, *Roaring Girl*, *great*—*fleet*. Herbert, *Temple*, *leaf*—*grief*, *cheap*—*keep*. The rhymes of *great* with *feet* and *fleet* are particularly interesting, as showing the early existence of the pronunciation [grīt], common in the early eighteenth century.

It may be added that the rhyme *disease*—*these*, cited by Wyld (*S.E.R.*, p. 60) from Habington, is no evidence of an [ī] pronunciation. We learn from Hart, 1569, and Gill, 1619, that *these* was pronounced [ðēz], and this is supported by the rhyme *rays*—*these* in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*.

4. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ū].

The line of development by which M.E. [ū] became N.E. [ʌv] is fairly clear. The vowel was diphthongised early in the fifteenth century, was a diphthong with a rounded first element during the sixteenth century, and became N.E. [ʌv], with the first element unrounded, in the course of the seventeenth century. The following, which is a slight emendation of what Wyld suggests in *M.C.E.*, p. 230, may have been the phonetic process of the change. Probably the first stage in the diphthongisation of [ū] was to [vu], which is at present a fairly common pronunciation of [ū] in standard English. Then, very probably in order to dissimilate [vu] from the [ū] which early in the fifteenth century had developed from M.E. [ō], both elements of the diphthong were lowered and advanced, so that it became [-ov], with a pronunciation approximating to that heard in N.E. *boat*. Finally, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the first element was lowered still further and completely unrounded, and the diphthong became [ʌv], very probably through the intermediate stage [ʌv], which is the analysis given by Cooper, 1685.

That the sound was a diphthong with a rounded first element in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is clear not only from the statements of grammarians but also from a good many occasional rhymes with original M.E. [ɔv], which seems to have had two pronunciations, [o+v] or [ōv], but in either case was a rounded sound. In the following examples the word with original M.E. [ū] is the first of each pair: *Tottel's Miscellany*, *bow* (verb)—*low*, *bough*—*grow*. Spenser, *Astrophel*, *nowe*—*bowe* (noun); *Colin Clout*, *now*—*low*. Lyly, *Poems*, *now*—*slow*. *Gismond of Salerne*, *now*—*grow*, *know*. Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, *fowles*—*soules*; *Much Ado*, *cow*—*low*; *Twelfth Night*, *bowing*—*growing*; *Winter's Tale*, *allowing*—*growing*; *Henry VIII*, *town*—*known*; Sonnet LX, *brow*—*mow*. Campion, *Poems*, *bows* (verb)—*grows*. Donne, *Poems*, *foule*—*soule*, *down*—*owne*, *crowne*—*owne*. Daniel, *Delia*, *brow*—*bow* (noun), *renown*—*overthrown*. Drayton, *Barons' Wars*, *bow* (verb)—*blow*, *Crown*—*own*, *crown*—*down*—*overgrown*. Browne, *Epistles*, *fowls*—*souls*. Chapman, *Iliad*, *crown*—*own*, *frown*—*own*, *vows*—*shows*, *town*—*grown*, *now*—*snow*, *brow*—*show*, etc. Carew, *Poems*, *bow* (verb)—*throw*, *renown*—*unknown*, *now*—*bow* (noun). Herrick, *Hesperides*, *fowles*—*sowles*, *gown*—*grown*. Herbert, *The Temple*, *foul*—*soul*. Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*, *town*—*shown*, *cloud*—*bestowed*, *foul*—*soul*, *down*—*thrown*, *thou*—*know*, *outgrow*—*bestow*, etc.

In the Scottish dialects M.E. [ū] has remained unchanged, e.g., *hoose*, N.E. *house*. This must be due to the fact that in the fifteenth century there was no [ō] sound in Early Scots, since in the preceding century [ō] had been fronted and raised to a sound approximating to [ȳ]. Consequently there was no vowel sound rising towards [ū] and no need for dissimilation—an interesting example of the dependence of these sound-changes on one another.

5. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ɔ].

This is the Semi-Low Back Round vowel. Its development in E.N.E. probably corresponds exactly to that of the M.E. Semi-Low Front vowel [ɛ]. It was slightly raised to [ɔ̄] or [ō̄] in the fifteenth century, and further raised to [ō] in the seventeenth century. Its intermediate position between [ɔ] and [ō] in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries explains the conflicting descriptions of it as one or the other by the English and the French grammarians.

6. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ɔv].

There are two views with regard to the history of this diphthong. According to Wyld, *S.H.*, p. 125, it fell together with [ɔ] in L.M.E., and had the same development (see above). According to Wright (p. 640), it remained a diphthong in the E.N.E. period, and did not fall together with M.E. [ɔ] until this had become [ov], at earliest in the late seventeenth century. Zachrisson (p. 216) is probably right in assuming that both pronunciations existed. The monophthongal pronunciation was pretty certainly that of ordinary speech; the diphthongal pronunciation is supported mainly by the statements of the English grammarians, but the rhymes with the diphthong that had developed from M.E. [ū] (see above) show that it was more than a mere theoretical pronunciation suggested by the spelling.

7. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ɔv].

This became [ɔ] before the end of the fifteenth century. The phonetic process was probably as follows. The final [v] sound influenced the preceding [ɔ] sound in the direction of lip-rounding, and then by reciprocal assimilation the rounded [ɔ] and the [v] combined to become the intermediate sound [ɔv]. Wyld (*M.C.E.*, p. 252) assumes an intermediate [ov] stage which seems highly improbable.

8. MIDDLE ENGLISH [æi].

It is clear that this diphthong became the monophthong [æ̃] in the fifteenth century, fell together with the [æ̃] that had developed from M.E. [ā], and had the same development, becoming [ē] in the later fifteenth century, [ē] in the early seventeenth century, and [eɪ] in the eighteenth century. Early grammarians, however, describe a pronunciation which seems to be [æi]. This may be a purely artificial pronunciation suggested by the spelling. It has additional support only from a few very rare rhymes with the [æi] sound that had developed from M.E. [ī] or M.E. [ɔi]. *Thersites* (early sixteenth century), *boye—awaye*. Spenser, *Amoretti*, *remain—eyen*. Weever, *Epigrams*, *right—straight*. *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1568, *joy—stay*. Daniel, *Delia*, *annoy—pay*. Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*, *voice—days*, *oil—fail*.

9. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ɛv].

In L.M.E. the diphthongs [ɛv], [iv] had fallen together as [iv], which, however, was generally spelt *eu*, *ew*. The diphthong [ɛv], on the other hand, remained unchanged, but had the same spelling. The history of

the two diphthongs has been clearly stated by Wright, pp. 61, 62, but his dating of the sound-changes is probably too late. The diphthong [iv] became [jū] in the fifteenth century, and fell together with the [jū] which had become the most common pronunciation of original M.E. [ȳ]. The diphthong [ev], on the other hand, probably suffered only a slight raising of its first element, corresponding to the raising of M.E. [ē] towards [ē̄], and in the sixteenth century had become approximately [ev]. In the later sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, however, this pronunciation was displaced by the pronunciation [jū], and the sound fell together with the [jū] from M.E. [iv] or [ȳ]. It is very probable that this displacement was due to the fact that the two diphthongs had the same spelling. It is not an independent sound-change, but is the result of the working of analogy.

This theory with regard to the development of the diphthong finds strong support from an examination of E.N.E. rhymes. In the early sixteenth century words like *dew*, *few*, *shew*, *shrew*, do not rhyme with words ending in [jū]. The only exception I have been able to find is *beshrew*—*trew* in Rastell's *Interlude of the Four Elements*, 1519. In the later sixteenth century rhymes of original [ev] with [jū] begin to appear, but are rare. Spenser, *Amoretti*, *shew*—*trew*, *shew*—*hew* (*hue*); *Shepherd's Calendar*, *dewe*—*grewe*; *Colin Clout*, *few*—*pursew*. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, *beauty*—*duty*. Round about 1600, on the other hand, they become common and eventually regular. *Return from Parnassus II*, *shew*—*hew* (*hue*). Donne, *Poems*, *few*—*you*. Jonson, *The Penates*, *dew*—*knew*; *Prince Henry's Barriers*, *few*—*new*; *Chloridia*, *dew*—*true*; *Underwoods*, *dew*—*grew*, *yew*. Browne, *Miscellaneous Poems*, *dew*—*knew*. Drayton, *Idea*, *beauty*—*duty*; *Nymphidia*, *dew*—*rue*—*you*; *Elegies*, *few*—*pursue*, *few*—*new*. Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess*, *few*—*true*. Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, *dews*—*shoes*. Carew, *Poems*, *dew*—*hue*, *flew*. Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*, *beauty*—*duty*, *dew*—*you*. Herbert, *Temple*, *dew*—*grew*, *you*. Herrick, *Hesperides*, *few*—*true*, *shew*—*grew*, *dew*—*grew*, *blew* (*blue*), *too*, etc.

10. MIDDLE ENGLISH [I].

M.E. [i] has regularly passed unchanged into N.E. But in E.N.E. there was a tendency to lower it to [e], as many occasional spellings show. It is clear from these spellings (collected in Wyld, *M.C.E.*, p. 228) that the tendency was strongest in open syllables and before [ns]. It is fairly well illustrated in E.N.E. rhymes.

In open syllables the rhyme of *spirit* with words like *merit*, *inherit*,

is very common. In a poem attributed to Donne, *O Fruteful Garden*, the spelling is *sperrit*, and *speriets* occurs in the *Verney Memoirs*. Equally common is the rhyme of *hither* with words like *whether*, *feather*; and the spelling *hether* occurs in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, and Donne's *Break of Day*. The following are other examples. Heywood, *Play of the Wether*, *wyttynge—swettyng*. Spenser, *Tears of the Muses*, *riches—wretches* (cf. *rechis*, Queen Elizabeth); *Gnat*, *never—river*; *Ruines of Rome*, *river—ever*. *Pericles*, *mirror—error*. Jonson, *Penates*, *mirror—terror* (cf. *merours*, Lydgate). Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, *emprynted—contented*, *commission—impression*.

Before [ns]. Weever, *Epigrams*, *pence—since*. Donne, *Poems*, *since—innocence*. Chapman, *Iliad*, *since—offence*. Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part ii*, *Prince—hence*. Cf. *sence*, Bishop Latimer and *Verney Memoirs*.

The following are other instances of [ɪ] words rhyming with [e] words. They seem to be unsupported by occasional spellings, and some may merely be imperfect rhymes. Spenser, *Tears of the Muses*, *afflict—inflect*; *Ruines of Rome*, *bred—hid*; *Shepherd's Calendar*, *next—mixt*. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, *shift—theft*. Chapman, *Iliad*, *men—din*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *hill—sell—ill*; *Faithful Shepherdess*, *hill—well*. Jonson, *Rules for the Tavern*, *bliss—excess*. Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*, *this—excess*, *well—hill*, *sin—then*.

11. MIDDLE ENGLISH [ʊ].

This 'short o' sound has regularly passed unchanged into N.E. But in the S.W. and W. Midland dialects it was unrounded to [ɔ] and then probably fronted to [æ] in the fifteenth century, and this [æ] pronunciation found its way into London English and held its ground until the eighteenth century. This is clear from the statements of French grammarians and from a large number of occasional and satiric spellings (Wyld, *M.C.E.*, p. 240). Corroborative rhymes are more common than would appear from Wyld, *S.E.R.*, p. 71, where Shakespeare's *dally—folly* is the only certain example earlier than 1650. There are several in Shakespeare, who, of course, came from the West Country.

Tottel's Miscellany, *blastes—frostes*. Spenser, *Ruines of Rome*, *armes—stormes*; *Gnat*, *batt—hott—lott*. Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *crab—bob*, *man—on*, *pap—hop*; *Richard II*, *short—heart*; *King Lear*, *Tom—am*, *departure—shorter*; *Lucrece*, *folly—dally*; *Venus and Adonis*, *follow—hallow*. *Edward III*, *storme—harme*. Donne, *Poems*, *lost—chast*. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *masse—crosse*. Jonson, *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, *hallow—follow*. Middleton, *Mayor of Queenborough*, *gallops—*

trollops; *Women Beware Women*, *part—short*. Herbert, *Temple*, *storm—harme*. Herrick, *Noble Numbers*, *hath—wrath—froth*. *Phyllida Flouts Me*, *dog—bag—rag*. Most probably the following are additional examples, but it is possible that they may indicate the rounding of [ɑ] after [w], which, however, does not seem to have established itself in Standard English until late in the seventeenth century. Spenser, *Elegie for Astrophel*, *plot—what*. Lyly, *Poems*, *hollow—swallow*. Drayton, *Elegies*, *warmer—former*. Jonson, *Sad Shepherd*, *sward—lord*. Herrick, *Noble Numbers*, *swallow—follow*. *A Twelfe Night Merriment*, *wander—stander—yonder*.

W. S. MACKIE.

CAPE TOWN.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH TASTE AND 'THE BEGGAR'S OPERA'

IN 1922 the *Beggar's Opera* at Hammersmith was advertised as 'London's Longest Run,' and many people will remember the great interest then provoked by Sir Nigel Playfair's brilliant revival of Gay's play: an interest which has never quite died down, since the *Beggar's Opera* has lately been revived again in England and articles on the work and its author have duly appeared afresh in the newspapers.

The *Sunday Times* of September 2, 1928 reports that a *Beggar's Opera* 'adapted to German taste,' produced the previous evening, has 'taken Berlin by storm,' and this proof of recent foreign interest in Gay's work suggests that it may not be inopportune to call attention to an aspect of the *Beggar's Opera* which seems so far to have escaped much notice. Whatever may or may not be the German reaction to the play, the *Beggar's Opera* does provide an admirable illustration of the differences between English and French standards of taste with which students of literature (especially of the eighteenth century) are constantly faced. Indeed, the 'fortune' of Gay's play in France during the last two hundred years has been so thoroughly significant of the tendencies of the period, that I am surprised that it has not already been used more fully to support generalisations based chiefly on the French attitude towards English works of art of much greater merit and importance than this of Gay's.

The *Beggar's Opera* was first produced, it will be remembered, on January 29, 1728, and ran for sixty-two nights, a success unparalleled in its generation. All the town flocked to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and Frenchmen in considerable numbers must have gone to see Miss Fenton's Polly Peachum and Walker's Macheath. Not only the French refugee population of London, and especially those eking out their existence by supplying 'nouvelles de Londres' to the continental periodicals, but also less permanent visitors to England, who were just at that time beginning to come over in some number to a little-exploited country on voyages of discovery and sheer curiosity. At any rate, one such traveller has left his impressions of the *Beggar's Opera* on record, but, before noticing his candid remarks, we should in fairness remember that already before this date something of a tradition had been established among the French in respect of their opinion of English recreations and

amusements, even if their ideas about English literature were still un-crystallised and hazy.

As early as 1694 hints at important general differences of national taste in pleasures had appeared in works such as Samuel Sorbière's muddled and voluminous *Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre*, or Jacques Misson's better arranged *Mémoires et Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre* in 1698; while, a few years later, comments had been more direct and more outspoken. Lesage, the grammarian, for instance, in 1715 in his 'account of things in England as they are,' *Remarques sur l'Angleterre*, had shown clearly which way the wind was blowing. For, according to him, the English, probably not on the whole as 'jaloux, défiants, vindicatifs' as they are sometimes said to be, nevertheless display deplorable characteristics:

Ilz se plaisent à voir combattre des Gladiateurs, à voir déchirer des Taureaux par des Chiens et à voir combattre des Coqs, et au Carnaval ilz se divertissent à tirer avec des Bâtons contre des Coqs, mais c'est moins un effet de leur Cruauté que de leur Grossièreté.

Moreover, it is not only the 'canaille, fort brutale dans ce Païs,' but also the upper classes who lack refinement in their recreations and have no regard for the *bienséances* of a politer nation. Similarly, in 1717, Deslandes, in his short essay called *Nouveau Voyage d'Angleterre*, had evidently been less interested in the political crisis of the moment of his visit than in the startling contrast he observed between certain English and French habits:

Le goût que les Anglois ont pour les Révolutions les plus sanglantes, paroît assés vif jusque dans leurs Plaisirs. Un combat d'animaux qui se déchirent, ou de deux Gladiateurs prêts à s'égorger, est un Spectacle auquel ils courent en foule... Je ne sçai si ce n'est point là une marque certaine que leurs mœurs sont encore impolies et grossières. Un goût raffiné cherche des plaisirs qui flattent la Nature, et dédaigne ceux qui la choquent; ces Athlètes qui n'ont en vûë qu'un gain sordide, lui font horreur. Les Anglois au contraire proportionnent leurs applaudissemens à la cruelle bravoure de ces Malheureux; leurs blessures les réjouissent et le sang dont ils sont couverts les divertit....

while, as for English plays, they are full of 'expressions grossières qui font le charme de la plus vile populace.' Again in 1725 the French-Swiss Louis Bêat de Muralt, sensible man of the world as he was, had seen fit to devote a considerable portion of his *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les Voyages* to remarks of much the same sort. The pleasures of the English seem always, he said, to contain an element of 'ferocity,' the favourite pastime of slaughtering cocks being only rivalled by a delight in witnessing fights, either of men or beasts, in which blood is shed; it being noteworthy, moreover, that all classes of society share in these lamentable tastes, the noble mixing freely on such occasions

with the 'canaille' and showing a lack of refinement astonishing to the foreigner.

Quotations could easily be multiplied to show that other travellers of the day thought as did Muralt, and it is clear from his disarmingly *naïf* and outspoken letters¹ that opinions of much the same kind were held by César de Saussure, who attended a performance of the *Beggar's Opera*.

Like his predecessors, he found the English populace 'brutal' and 'insolent,' and the whole nation ready to take pleasure in amusements only to be described as 'grossiers' as well as extraordinary. He pushed his enquiries further than prize fighting, and, besides giving what must be one of the first foreign accounts of English horse races and a cricket match, he discusses at some length the position of the theatre as an English national amusement. He does not think much of those of our plays that he has seen. They are strange productions. The unities are not observed; the plays are overloaded with intricate plots, 'mots piquants à double entente que les Anglais appellent *humours*,' and, what is worse, they too often contain 'crudités.' Indeed, he says:

L'auteur cherche ordinairement plus à plaire à la foule qu'aux gens de goût. En un mot le théâtre anglais n'est point châtié, ni épuré, comme l'est celui de Paris. Témoin cette pièce si fort en vogue qu'on l'a jouée hier pour la vingt-deuxième fois, sous ce titre *The Beggar's Opera* ('Opéra des Gueux'). C'est une espèce de farce, les décorations représentent une prison et des maisons de débauche; les acteurs sont des voleurs de grand chemin et des libertins fieffés, les actrices sont des catins. Je vous laisse à penser ce qui peut sortir du cœur et de l'esprit de gens de cet ordre. La pièce est remplie de vaudevilles très jolis mais trop libres pour être chantés devant des dames qui ont de la pudeur et de la modestie.

It seems quite clear that César de Saussure, while willing to use the *Beggar's Opera* as an example to support his main contentions, did not seriously consider it as drama in his sense of the word, but rather as one of the strange *divertissements* of the English public which he had taken pains to describe and which seemed so unattractive to his French mind. The fact that the London correspondents of the French periodicals either make no allusion to the *Beggar's Opera* at this date, or merely refer to it in passing as 'une pièce' which is attracting large audiences, is no doubt significant of a similar attitude on their part. It will be remembered, also, that a far more important traveller than César de Saussure, who was in England at the time, does not speak of the great success of the season, though he had a good deal to say of another success of the moment, *Gulliver's Travels*, and much more to say than De Saussure about English drama in general. It is hard to believe that

¹ *Lettres et Voyages de M. César de Saussure en Allemagne en Hollande et en Angleterre*, ed. B. Van Muyden, Paris, 1907.

Voltaire, befriended by Gay's friends, Swift and Pope, did not go to see the *Beggar's Opera*, for we know that long afterwards he told a visitor to Ferney how Gay 'showed him the *Beggar's Opera* before it was acted' and how he 'loved Gay vastly'.¹ But, in spite of allusions to Sir Homer Pope and Sir Ovid Gay in a personal letter, the Voltaire of the *Lettres Philosophiques*, cautiously conservative still for the most part in his views on English drama, seeing Shakespeare's tragedies as 'farces monstrueuses' even while admiring the work of 'bons poètes comiques' like Congreve where 'les règles du théâtre sont rigoureusement observées,' the Voltaire of 1728 could probably scarcely be expected to have thought differently from De Saussure.

Gay died early in 1733, and shortly afterwards we find the abbé Prévost, eager to reveal English ways to the French, alluding with an air of surprise to the English poet's burial at Westminster. Speaking of Milton, Shakespeare and Shaftesbury in volume iv of his periodical, *Le Pour et Contre*, Prévost says:

Il est en effet bien surprenant que ces grands Hommes n'aient reçu aucun honneur à Westminster, tandis qu'on y voit M. Gay, dont tout le mérite est d'avoir composé l'*Opéra des Gueux*, qui n'est qu'une turlupinade, assez ingénieuse à la vérité, mais pleine de traits bas et obscènes.

It is difficult to find in all Prévost's twenty volumes of criticism an instance of more sweeping condemnation. For though on several occasions he regrets that the English have not more 'régularité dans leur méthode,' and that 'il manque assez souvent aux meilleurs ouvrages d'Angleterre une certaine perfection de goût qui se fait désirer plus rarement dans les nôtres,' he is staunchly anglophilic at heart even as regards literature, and ready to appreciate in the main writers as strange to French taste as, for example, Swift.

As time goes on, however, as the general influence of the *Lettres Philosophiques*, of the *Pour et Contre*, and of the work of other go-betweens less important than Voltaire and Prévost makes itself felt in France, there are indications of coming modifications in French opinion with regard to English taste in drama as in other entertainment. There are, for instance, signs of a growing tendency on the part of French critics, conscious of their public's ever-increasing interest in all things English, to try and make excuses for those English customs and habits and literary works which seem to them to let down the general standard of English excellence. Thus the abbé Granet, writing in 1738 in his *Réflexions sur les Ouvrages de Littérature*, makes plain his approval of

¹ *Notes and Queries*, Nov. 18, 1854.

sentiments already expressed by Louis Riccoboni in his *Réflexions sur les différents Théâtres de l'Europe*, and adds a suggestion which is at least original and unexpected, besides being well-meaning:

Tous les Poètes Anglois dramatiques ont au-delà de l'imagination ensanglanté la Scène: leurs Tragédies n'offrent que des objets terribles et leurs Comédies sont revêtues d'une indécence que ne connoissent point les Théâtres des autres Nations. Pourquoi cela? C'est que les Anglois sont naturellement rêveurs, et qu'ils s'endorment aux Spectacles; ainsi il faut du carnage dans la Tragédie et des obscénités dans la Comédie pour tenir le Spectateur Anglois attentif.

Similarly, Cartaut de la Vilate is typical of many another critic in his attempt to put the blame on the English character and temperament, when in his *Essai sur le Goût* (1750) he says:

Un Anglois sort de son caractère quand il se montre sur le ton de l'agréable ou du plaisant, et fait produire des contorsions à son génie. Ses agréments grimacent et marquent du métalent (*sic*) dans l'art de s'embellir. Il manie la plaisanterie avec la finesse d'un Homme qui est dans l'habitude de dire grossièrement la Vérité.

In regard to English novels especially, kindly condescension of this kind was being abundantly shown by French critics of repute at this time. By Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, for instance, who thought that 'Les Lettres de Paméla,' reduced by two-thirds and despoiled of 'tout ce qu'il y a de bas, de grossier, de peu croyable,' would have been 'le plus joli roman qui eût paru depuis longtems¹.' By Maty, who regretted that in *Peregrine Pickle*, as in *Roderick Random*, the author dwelt on scenes that are low and licentious, on 'grossièretés de matelots' and on 'langage et observations d'un grivois revêtu².' By Desfontaines, who reproached the English for their persistence in putting scenes of low life into their stories³. Or by the abbé de La Porte when he consoled with us for our lack of that 'enjouement' with which Nature has been pleased to endow the French, and expressed his sympathy with a 'nation sérieuse et mélancolique' which cannot be gay without being vulgar⁴.

Meanwhile, indifferent, no doubt, for the most part to the views of the armchair critics, the French theatre-going public was taking a hand in the game and itself showing signs of changes in taste which were to coincide with and support the development of anglomania in France. No longer are imitations of the manner of Molière and Racine the only plays applauded. Le Sage and Marivaux have not worked in vain. Settings and characters are becoming less classical, less lofty, more every-

¹ *Lettres amusantes et critiques sur les Romans...* Paris, 1743, p. 43.

² *Journal Britannique*, avril, 1751.

³ *Observations sur les Ecrits Modernes*, xxxiii, p. 313.

⁴ *Observations sur la Littérature moderne*, La Haye, 1752, vii.

day, more humanly possible, more localised. Voltaire has trained up a generation to appreciate the *drame à thèse*: a moral, especially of contemporary and local import, is quickly becoming the *sine qua non* of a really successful play. If in 1738 La Barre de Beaumarchais can still exclaim in astonishment at the nature of the plot and characters of *The London Merchant*¹, the day is not far distant when, in translation, that same *London Merchant* and Moore's *Gamester* will be popular with French audiences, and Diderot will say of Lillo's work 'cette Pièce étincelle de beautés sublimes.' Fresh references to the *Beggar's Opera* by French writers illustrate this changing taste as well as the rapid development of anglomania in France. One wonders what Gay would have said had he been able to read the remarks of the abbé Leblanc, distinguished anglophile and man of letters, who, in his *Lettres d'un François*², attributes to the author of the *Beggar's Opera* an intention that his greatest admirers at home can hardly suppose him really to have entertained—that of a thoroughgoing social reformer. The spectacle of a man drowned in drunkenness, says Leblanc, is the best possible lesson in temperance, and the surest way of inspiring a detestation of low company is to make plain the risks one may run by courting it. Such, he says, is the 'but moral' of the celebrated *Opéra des Gueux* by M. Guay (*sic*) and of several other English plays 'qui ne scandalisent que ceux qui ne s'aperçoivent pas de l'utilité que la Jeunesse en peut retirer.' Such remarks savour indeed of the generation which, in its zeal for ulterior and humane motives, interpreted *Gulliver's Travels* as a 'conte moral,' but it is only fair to Leblanc to notice the rest of his views. For, having as anglophile done his best for Gay's work, as admirer of traditional French standards of 'bienséance' he gives a vigorous warning in a lengthy footnote as to the precise nature of this particular 'moralité.' In this farce, he says, so scandalous and so vaunted by the English, the scene is entirely laid in prisons or in the dens of thieves:

C'est à la honte du Théâtre et du goût des Anglois, que leurs Comédies sont remplies de Rolles de Voleurs, et que l'*Opéra des Gueux*, dont les Personnages sont autant de Brigands et de Coupe-Jarrets, a si longtems amuse et amuse encore la Ville de Londres, et qu'il a trouvé des Protecteurs dans les premières Personnes du Royaume de l'un et de l'autre Sexe.

¹ *Lettres sérieuses et badines sur les Ouvrages des Savants*, La Haye: 'Les Anglois savent être originaux en toute matière. Il leur suffit de le vouloir. Qu'auroient fait par exemple un Molière, un Regnard, un Destouches du sujet que je vais vous exposer (shop assistant urged to crime by a depraved woman; both discovered and hanged)... N'est-il pas vrai qu'en France ce sujet auroit paru trop tragique pour une Comédie et trop bas pour une Tragédie? Un hardi Anglois n'y a trouvé aucune difficulté. Il en a fait une Pièce, à laquelle je ne sais quel nom donner, généralement applaudie à Londres.'

² La Haye, 1745, III, p. 183.

One feels that this footnote represents Leblanc's true opinion. Bourgeois and sentimental comedies are, no doubt, coming into favour in France; their characters are still several grades higher socially than thieves and turnkeys. That the 'vil peuple' might be interested in itself (as it seems to be in England) is at this date a question of no importance; that polite society could there find interest is still quite unbelievable to the mind of the educated Frenchman. In 1745, indeed, he prides himself on this attitude.

Yet, in spite of remarks such as Leblanc's, the next definite stage in the fortune of the *Beggar's Opera* in France is quickly reached.

In 1749, Fréron, writing in the heyday of his fame as journalist and critic in the *Lettres sur Quelques Ecrits de ce Temps*¹, quotes a long and entertaining letter from a French actor, one Desormes, who has been inveigled by the scapegrace theatrical manager, Jean Monnet², into accompanying him to London to start a 'comédie française' at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and who now relates the disastrous experiences of the French company. Their lamentable and literally painful reception is contrasted with the pleasant welcome always, or nearly always, extended to English companies in Paris. For, though it is true that a company from London (composed of actors of French refugee families) has just been refused permission to play in Paris, this refusal was only too reasonable, since they wished to perform a translation of the *Beggar's Opera*, a 'farce où il n'entre que des voleurs de grand chemin, des grisettes et autres gens semblables.'

The facts at least, as stated by the journalist, are accurate. The *Beggar's Opera*, condemned, derided, half-heartedly excused, as has been seen, by the most anglophile French critics, in 1749 went the way of practically all English literary productions of any celebrity whatsoever at the time. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of the passion, so scornfully described on several occasions by Grimm in his correspondence³, the mania, rather, for translation from the English which swept over France in the middle of the eighteenth century, and led persons, with the briefest knowledge sometimes of one or the other of the languages, to try their hand at a French rendering of even the most patently unsuitable material.

¹ Vol. II, Letter IX.

² See also *Mémoires pour servir à la vie de Jean Monnet*, Londres, 1772.

³ E.g., August 1, 1753: 'Nous ne voyons depuis quelque temps que des ouvrages traduits de l'anglais; cette mode, qui dure déjà plus longtemps que les modes n'ont coutume de durer en ce pays-ci, ne semble pas vouloir passer encore.' August 15, 1754: 'Le démon traducteur nous poursuit ici avec le même acharnement que le démon romancier...'

This translation, the work of a Mr A. Hallam¹, proves on examination to be an interesting effort. It is what the majority of translations of the period are not: a faithful rendering, the work of a person at home in French, whatever his extraction—English or mixed French-English—may have been.

The characters of the original are all carefully preserved. Peachum has become *Délateur*. Lockett is *Tourneclaf*. Macheath, the highwayman, appears as *Du Butin*; Diana Trapes as *Diane de la Friperie*; while one cannot but admire the perseverance which renders the women of the town (Mrs Coaxer, Dolly Trull, Mrs Vixen, Betty Doxy, Jenny Diver, Mrs Slammekin, Suky Tawdry, Molly Brazen) as *Madame Cajoleuse*, *Dorothée Cour-de-Nuit*, *Madame Grondant*, *Babeau Catin*, *Jeanneton du Plongeon*, *Suzanne Pimpante* and *Manon l'Effrontée*.

The setting and plot of the original are kept in every detail and so are all the stage directions. As for the text itself, it is as close a translation as it well could be, both as regards prose and verse. Part of Filch's conversation with Mrs Peachum in Act I, Sc. vi, for instance, is a typical example:

Filch. I had a fair Tug at a charming Gold Watch. Pox take the Tailors for making the Fobs so deep and narrow! It stuck by the way, and I was forc'd to make my Escape under a Coach. Really, Madam, I fear I shall be cut off in the Flower of my Youth, so that every now and then (since I was pumpt) I have Thoughts of taking up and going to Sea.

Larroneau. J'ai presque embauché une belle Montre d'Or: Maudits soient les Tailleurs! ces Coquins font les goussets si profonds et si étroits! Elle s'est arrêtée en chemin, il m'a fallu quitter prise et m'échapper en passant sous un carrosse. En vérité, Madame, j'ai peur d'être emporté dans la fleur de ma jeunesse; de sorte qu'il me prend souvent envie de me repentir (depuis que je fus pellotté (*sic*) dans la boue) et de m'enroller pour aller servir sur mer.

Or, again, Peachum's exhortation to Polly in Act I, Sc. vii:

Peachum. You know, Polly, I am not against your toying and trifling with a Customer in the way of Business, or to get out a Secret, or so. But if I find out that you have play'd the Fool, and are married, you Jade you, I'll cut your Throat, Hussy. Now you know my Mind.

Délateur. Tu sais bien, Manon, que je ne prétens pas t'empêcher de badiner avec nos Chalands, pour l'avantage de nos affaires, ou pour découvrir leurs secrets; mais si je trouve que tu ayes fait la sottise et te sois mariée, je te couperai la gorge, coquine, compte là-dessus.

As for the verse, when we remember that the French lines were not only to translate the English, but also to go to the same tunes as in the

¹ *L'Opéra du Gueux avec Les Chansons sur les Airs Anglois.* Représentée (*sic*) sur le Petit Théâtre François dans le Marché au Foin. Traduite de L'Anglois de Mr Gay par Mr A. Hallam. Nos haec novissimus esse nihil. Mart. à Londres chez Guillaume Meyer, Libraire dans May's Buildings, proche St Martin's Lane. 1750. (prix 1s. 6d.)

original, we must give credit to Hallam for taking great pains. Polly's song in Act I, Sc. viii, is a good sample of the best of the translation:

Air X.—Thomas, I cannot, etc.

Polly

I, like a Ship in Storms, was tost;
Yet afraid to put in to Land:
For seiz'd in the Port the Vessel's lost,
Whose Treasure is contreband.

The Waves are laid,

My Duty's paid.

O Joy beyond Expression!

Thus, safe a-shore,

I ask no more,

My All is in my Possession.

Manon

Battuë du Vent, je craignois terre,
Comme une Chaloupe marchande,
Laquelle a entrepris de faire
Commerce de contrebande.

Les Vents sont cois,

J'ai payez droits,

Oh! Joye qui passe expression!

Il ne faut plus rien,

Pour faire mon bien,

Mon tout est dans ma Possession.

Or, again, the opening song of the play, when Peachum is revealed seated, studying his account-book:

Air I.—An old Woman clothed in Gray, etc.

Peachum

Through all the Employments of Life
Each Neighbour abuses his Brother;
Whore and Rogue they call Husband
and Wife:

All Professions be-rogue one another:

The Priest calls the Lawyer a Cheat,

The Lawyer be-knaves the Divine:

And the Statesman, because he's so great,

Thinks his Trade as honest as mine.

Delateur

Dans tous les Emplois de la Vie
Chaque voisin dit mal de son Frère.
Gueuse et Coquin sont Femme et Mari,
Chaque profession maltraite son Compère.

L'Avocat, dit le Prestre, est Trompeur,

Et le Prestre est Fourbe, dit l'homme de

Loi,

Et le Ministre, par sa grandeur,

Se croit aussi honnête que moi.

Now and again one is almost led to expect a moment's genuine poetic inspiration. Macheath's song in Act I, Sc. xii, for instance, is not too badly rendered:

Air XV.—Pray, Fair One, be kind, etc.

Macheath

My Heart was so free,

It rov'd like the Bee,

'Till Polly my Passion requited;

I sipt each Flower,

I chang'd ev'ry Hour,

But here ev'ry Flow'r is united.

Du Butin

Mon cœur hors de Page,

Comme Abeille volage,

S'est arrêté enfin sur ma Manon;

De chaque fleur goûtant,

A toute heure changeant;

Mais, je les trouve toutes en ma Manon.

Certainly the version of what was to become an English catchword in Act II, Sc. xiii, might definitely be much worse:

Air XXXV.—Have you heard of a frolicksome Ditty, etc.

Macheath

How happy could I be with either,

Were t'other dear Charmer away!

But while you thus tease me together,

To neither a Word will I say;

But tol de rol, etc.

Du Butin

Avec l'une que je serois heureux,

Si l'autre belle n'étoit ici;

Quand vous me tourmentez toutes deux,

A l'une, ni l'autre je ne di

Que tol de rol, lol de rol, etc.

But the translator's efforts to be accurate undoubtedly in the end proved his undoing. For, in the majority of the verses at any rate,

gone are all traces of the lightness and sparkle of Gay's lines. Hallam comes labouring after, and produces a travesty of the original which could hardly fail to leave a French reader with a sad impression of dulness and clumsy mismanagement of his language. Mrs Trapes' lines in Act III, Sc. vi, for instance, in the middle of her spirited conversation with her cronies Peachum and Lockit:

In the Days of my Youth I could bill like a Dove,
Like a Sparrow at all times was ready for Love,
The Life of all Mortals in Kissing should pass,
Lip to Lip while we're young—then the Lip to the Glass.

are rendered:

Quand jeune, je baisois comme un pigeonneau,
J'étois prête à l'amour comme un moineau,
Que la vie des humains à baiser se passe;
Jeunes gens bouche à bouche, et vieux bouche à la tasse!

Macheath's duet with Polly in Act I, Sc. xiii, provides a still better example of the same sort of treatment:

Air XVI.—Over the Hills and far away.

Macheath

Were I laid on Greenland's Coast,
And in my Arms embrac'd my Lass;
Warm amidst eternal Frost,
Too soon the Half Year's Night would pass.

Polly

Were I sold on Indian Soil,
Soon as the burning Day was clos'd,
I could mock the sultry Toil
When on my Charmer's Breast repos'd.

Du Butin

Couché sur les Neiges du Nord,
Si j'avois en mes bras ma Belle;
Six mois (quoiqu'il gèle si fort)
De Nuit, seroient courts avec elle.

Manon

Esclave à l'ardent Africain,
Après la fin d'un brûlant Jour;
J'oublierois le chaud Terrain,
Reposant sur mon cher Amour.

Moreover, it is certain that the French reader would often be left with a worse impression than that of mere dulness and clumsiness. In his desire to miss nothing, Hallam has often made the translation more forcefully vulgar than the original. English terms are constantly rendered by even stronger French ones, which, in a context devoid of the charm of style of the original, could not fail to strike a French ear as outrageous. Mrs Peachum's song in Act I, Sc. viii, when she is upbraiding her erring daughter, will serve as a fair example:

Air VII.—Oh London is a fine Town.

Mrs Peachum

Our Polly is a sad Slut! nor heeds what we have taught her.
I wonder any Man alive will ever rear a Daughter!
For she must have both Hoods and Gowns, and Hoops to swell her Pride,
With Scarfs and Stays, and Gloves and Lace; and she will have Men beside;
And when she's drest with Care and Cost, all tempting, fine and gay,
As Men should serve a Cowcumber, she flings herself away.

You Baggage! you Hussy! you inconsiderate Jade! had you been hang'd it would not have vex'd me, for that might have been your Misfortune; but to do such a mad thing by Choice! The Wench is married, Husband!

Madame Délateur

Ah! chienne de Manon! qui méprises nos avis,
 La fille qu'on élève ira de pis en pis.
 Il lui faut coiffe et robe et des paniers si grands,
 Echarpe et corps, dentelles et gands; et puis faut des galands;
 Quand son orgueil a bien coûté, pour la faire paroître,
 Comme on doit faire à un concombre, se jette par la fenêtre.

Carogne! Salope! Coquine de Folle! si tu avois été penduë, je m'en serois consolée, ce n'auroit été que ton malheur; mais de faire une telle Folie de propos délibéré! Cette Drôlesse est mariée, mon Mari!

No, says Fréron, with much emphasis, in the article of the *Lettres sur Quelques Ecrits de ce Temps* already quoted, French taste could not accommodate itself to such a thing.

Yet in spite of the fact that Hallam's version was banned in Paris, in spite of the strong support given to the censor by so powerful a critic as Fréron and by several other reviewers, French interest in the *Beggar's Opera* did not come to an end in 1749. The growth of Anglomania and a steadily more definite spirit of opposition to authority could not be gainsaid. The widely read critical work, *Cinq Années Littéraires*¹, provides a good example of the trend of opinion at this period, when, in an article dated December 30, 1750, the author, Pierre Clément, deals at very great length with the refusal of permission to act Hallam's *Opéra du Guerux*. Adopting a favourite plan of disguise, and dressing up his article as a 'Letter from London,' Clément expresses his views very freely. Much, he thinks, can be said for the play, apart from the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of the translation. True, the 'bassesse' and 'grossièreté' of scenes such as those where Macheath is ensnared by the women, where he is received by Lockit at Newgate, where Lockit and Peachum review their spoils, is almost unbelievable, but nevertheless it is impossible to deny the originality of the plot, the charm of Manon (Polly Peachum), the attraction of the brave Macheath. 'Il me semble,' says the pseudo-Englishman, answering an imaginary French critic, 'que vous parlez bien légèrement d'une des meilleures Pièces de Caractère qui aient jamais été au Théâtre.' The subject is certainly 'bas,' but surely it is not the degree of elevation of a subject which makes a play good or bad. Is it not possible that low-life characters skilfully rendered may be infinitely dramatic? Is it not possibly this horror of the vulgar, these narrow 'bienséances' for some time prescribed for the French stage, that have enervated and almost annihilated French comedy? Is it not perhaps a pose of refinement that has been unconsciously adopted? Louis XIV turned away his head in disgust the first time that he saw Teniers'

¹ The Hague, 1754.

paintings. Was it on that occasion that he gave the best proof of his good taste? How is it that in France to-day there is a rage for Flemish pictures? Because they produce an effect of truth, which is precisely what is so admirable in the *Opéra du Gueux*! It is impossible to mention a French play where customs are more simply portrayed, characters better sustained, and it is difficult to think of four where one can find 'autant de sel, de bonnes allusions et de vraies plaisanteries.' Moreover, continues Clément triumphantly, no one could fail to admire the 'bonnes réflexions' of a philosophic nature in which the play is rich: utterances such as

Dans tous les emplois de la Vie
Chaque voisin dit mal de son Frère,

or 'de tous les animaux de proie il n'y a que l'homme qui vive en société.'

Several contemporaries of Clément's evidently thought as he did in this respect at any rate, and were ready to feel admiration for passages such as this last, almost suggestive of Rousseau in its emphasis. The generation which was to applaud Beaumarchais could hardly fail to find some attraction in the closing words of Mrs Peachum's tirade on the subject of Polly's marriage: 'Why, thou foolish Jade, thou wilt be as ill-us'd, and as much neglected, as if thou hadst married a Lord,' or in Peachum's regretful words to his wife: 'My Daughter to me should be, like a Court-Lady to a Minister of State, a key to the whole Gang.'

At all events, a year or two after the unfortunate reception of Hallam's translation, a *littérateur* of some importance, the abbé Yart of Rouen, was sufficiently attracted by the *Beggar's Opera* to devote considerable attention to it and to its sequel *Polly*. For some time he had been occupied with a lengthy work which began to appear in 1749 under the title *Idée de la Poésie Angloise*, and which was intended to give translations from the 'meilleurs Poètes Anglois qui n'ont point encore paru dans notre Langue' together with critical appreciations of their work. Having dealt in his first seven volumes with Philips, Rochester, Buckingham, Swift, Fenton, Pope, Prior, Cowley, Hill and others in no very obvious order, Yart opens his eighth volume with a 'Discours sur l'Opéra,' which, he says, is in his opinion poetry 'par excellence' in that it comprises the essence, attributes and effects of all that is opposed to prose. After quoting and appreciating works such as Addison's *Rosamond*, Congreve's *Judgment of Paris* and Milton's *Comus*, Yart proceeds to devote more than half of this (his last) volume to the *Beggar's Opera* and its sequel *Polly*. That Gay's work should have been chosen to

appear in such company is significant. It would indeed be hard to find anything more naively indicative of the tendencies of the day than this last part of Yart's work, both as regards choice of material and its treatment. He is clearly much attracted to anything English, and anything markedly successful in England. He is as susceptible as all his generation to a philosophic flavour in literary works of all kinds. He is at the same time the most respectably moral of critics, always anxious to condemn dubious conduct or sentiments and to maintain a thoroughly high tone in literature. In accordance with these ideas, he takes care, he says, that there shall not escape him in his translations 'aucune image qui puisse effrayer l'Innocence et alarmer la Pudeur,' and so, he continues, he prefers 'par le moyen des équivalens ou des omissions manquer, en quelque chose, à la fidélité du Texte, qu'au respect que je dois au Public.' The briefest reading shows that this principle is faithfully followed in the prose rendering of the *Beggar's Opera* which follows, and even emphasised by Yart himself at every opportunity. Thus, for example, in a note to Act I, Sc. iii, we read: 'j'omets ici des plaisanteries sur le meurtre qui m'ont paru trop lugubres,' and in a note to Sc. vii of the same act: 'j'omets ici quelques pensées un peu trop libres qui ne conviennent point au caractère vertueux de Polly Peachum.' The result can easily be imagined. Cut and curtailed at every point, Yart's prose version bears little semblance of the original. The very careful translation of the philosophic passages already admired by Fréron and by Clément could not prevent Yart's work as a whole from being intolerably dull. Then, too, in his critical commentary, Yart is so anxious to disclaim any semblance of approval of the vulgarity of the setting, plot and atmosphere of the play, that he could hardly fail to attract his reader's attention to this aspect more than to any other. 'That which will hardly be believed,' says Yart, 'by the French, so delicate in their taste, so disdainful of all that appertains to the People, so horrified at all that is low and criminal, is that this famous opera has as its chief characters a brigand chief and his gang, an informer and receiver of stolen goods, the turnkey of a prison, and their women.' In Act I, Sc. xii, he finds it necessary to inform his reader that one may include the revolting spectacle of the execution of criminals among the ferocious pleasures of the English, and in a note he apologises for the necessity of translating Act II, Sc. iv, which is 'indécence au dernier point' but necessary, unfortunately, to the action since it recounts the capture of Macheath. Why, he asks, did not Gay do something better? No doubt he had to make his characters use the terms of their trade,

but why did he insist on these terms throughout the play? Why did he not make the application of his allegory clearer?

Ces mœurs détestables ne devoient être que l'accessoire; le principal étoit de les appliquer continuellement aux vices prétendus de la bonne compagnie: l'allégorie devoit couvrir ou du moins orner le fonds; il falloit représenter des vices plus communs, plus dangereux, plus séduisans, sans noircir l'imagination de gibets, de potences, de meurtres, de prisons.

Yart's praise of the wit and 'malignity' of certain passages and of the tenderness and sensibility of the character of Polly Peachum is entirely lost sight of in the midst of this sort of condemnation, and he sums up his attitude in the following unequivocal terms:

L'horreur du bas n'est point ennemi du naturel, du plaisant, du naïf, du bon comique: c'est un préservatif contre les propos des Halles, les mauvaises pointes, les mœurs et les plaisanteries de la Canaille, et enfin contre tout ce qui est crime et infamie. Une Nation polie, décente, aimable et galante, comme la nôtre, doit avoir horreur de ce bas.

As for *Polly*, Yart's French rendering is analogous in every way to that of the *Beggar's Opera*. He admires the play enormously, he says, in certain respects. He warmly applauds the 'pensées philosophiques' which are even more frequently found there than in Gay's earlier work, and he finds the author's satirical intention thoroughly laudable. Gay, he says, having perceived the inefficacy of ordinary plays, and being concerned to notice the urgent need of correcting the rich and great, felt it his duty to use violent methods, to 'couper dans le vif, pénétrer jusqu'au fond du cœur et déchirer les entrailles de sa Nation pour la guérir d'une maladie désespérée.' *Polly*, he thinks, is most moral and instructive, and would be an admirable play if a good half of it were cut out, for unfortunately only too often the author has fallen into the same errors as in the *Beggar's Opera*. Accordingly, Yart's prose version of *Polly* is again a much depleted rendering of the original, and it is clear that the generation so avidly interested in *voyages imaginaires*, so eager to delight in Hurons and other noble savages, the generation trained up by Voltaire, by Holbach, by Prévost, and ready to drink in Rousseau's lightest word, is still unable to stomach the most congenial intention when conveyed in terms which might be described as low and vulgar¹.

Even Yart's treatment, however, did not completely kill French interest in the *Beggar's Opera*. Rather like moths fluttering round a candle, attracted while repelled, French critics seem unable to leave it alone and acknowledge themselves, as it were, defeated by it, while yet conscious that it is fundamentally distasteful to them.

¹ Act III, Sc. xi, of *Polly*, in which the Indian King questions Morano about European laws and customs and receives answers implying criticism, is in the most approved *voyage imaginaire* manner.

Thus in 1756, Patu, dramatic critic and zealous anglophile, devotes volume II of his *Choix de Petites Pièces du Théâtre Anglois* to the *Beggar's Opera* and the *What d'ye call it?*, 'deux Pièces du célèbre Gay, si connu par ses Ecrits, par la naïveté de ses mœurs et par sa liaison intime avec Pope et le docteur Swift.' By way of introduction Patu first translates in full Swift's eulogy of the *Beggar's Opera* in the third number of the *Intelligencer*, and then goes on to make his own prefatory comments. Ignoring the efforts of all his French predecessors, critics and translators of Gay, he once more describes the sensational success of the play in London in 1728 before proceeding as cautiously as any Yart to warn his French readers against the strangeness of the thing: 'Je sens combien le ton de ce drame peut paroître nouveau, étrange, bizarre même aux yeux d'un Lecteur François.' He is, however, simply desirous of acting as intermediary, he says. 'Mon but unique a été de faire connoître à Paris une Pièce que nos voisins considèrent comme un de leurs Chefs-d'œuvre.' A better psychologist, and probably less of a sentimental moralist than Yart, Patu does not waste time on excuses, but confines himself to a plea for a commonsense attitude on the part of his reader:

Il me paroît assez raisonnable qu'on ne juge l'Auteur que selon les Loix de son País; je veux dire, que l'on daigne considérer l'extrême différence entre les mœurs angloises et les nôtres, et qu'on ne décide sur les productions de nos voisins que d'après ces sages observations.

His version of the play shows nevertheless that he is typical of his generation, for, although it lacks Yart's enormous omissions, it is not nearly as literal as Hallam's version had been. Patu definitely modifies and tones down passages that Hallam had rendered with full force. The closing words of Peachum's tirade against Polly in Act I, Sc. vii, for instance, appear in Patu's version as 'je vous couperai le cou, petite impudente: vous m'entendez,' a distinctly milder rendering than that of Hallam already quoted in this article. It must be admitted that, apart from his tendency to soften the original, Patu is often more successful than Hallam in producing a smooth-running version. His French is more idiomatic and easy than the French of the earlier translation. Thus, for instance, if free, the rendering of Lockit's speech to Lucy in Act III, Sc. ii, is, at any rate, convincing:

Lockit

Peachum then intends to outwit me in this Affair; but I'll be even with him. The Dog is leaky in his Liquor, so I'll ply him that way, get the Secret from him, and turn this Affair to my own Advantage.

Des Barres

Oui-da...le frère Peachum voudroit être plus fin que moi dans cette affaire-ci: mais à bon chat bon rat: le vieil ivrogne qu'il est, a l'âme criblée lorsqu'il a bu; je saurai le conduire à sa chère bouteille, lui dérober son secret, et tourner les choses à mon avantage.

As regards the verses, Patu had more scope than Hallam in that his lines were not meant to go to the original tunes, but he was evidently no poet, and his results are often laborious and dull to the last degree, as the following typical examples¹ show:

Air X.

Polly

I, like a Ship in Storms, was tost;
 Yet afraid to put in to Land:
 For seiz'd in the Port the Vessel's lost,
 Whose Treasure is contreband.
 The Waves are laid,
 My Duty's paid.
 O Joy beyond Expression!
 Thus, safe a-shore,
 I ask no more,
 My All is in my Possession.

Polly Peachum

J'étois comme un vaisseau chargé de contrebande,
 Que les flots en courroux sont prêts à submerger,
 Et qui craint qu'un nouveau danger,
 Dans le port même ne l'attende.
 J'ai payé tous les droits: l'air n'est plus agité.
 Quels plaisirs mon cœur envisage!
 Me voici donc sur le rivage!
 Tous mes effets en sûreté:
 Ah! Que voudrois-je davantage?

Air XVI.

Macheath

Were I laid on Greenland's Coast,
 And in my Arms embrac'd my Lass;
 Warm amidst eternal Frost,
 Too soon the Half Year's Night would pass.

Le Capitaine La Forest

Transporté sous le pôle, en ce rivage sombre,
 Qu'on place seulement ma Polly dans mes bras:
 Ardent, même au milieu des horribles frimas,
 Pour moi la nuit d'hiver passeroit comme une ombre.

Polly

Were I sold on Indian Soil,
 Soon as the burning Day was clos'd,
 I could mock the sultry Toil
 When on my Charmer's Breast repos'd.

Polly Peachum

Vendue au barbare Affricain,
 Quand le soleil brûlant finiroit sa carrière;
 J'oublierois ma douleur, mes travaux,
 ma misère,
 Pourvu que ta Polly reposât sur ton sein.

Air XXXV.

Macheath

How happy could I be with either,
 Were t'other dear Charmer away!
 But while you thus teaze me together,
 To neither a Word will I say;
 But tol de rol, etc.

Le Capitaine La Forest

Oui, l'une d'entre vous allume tous mes feux,
 L'autre ne sert qu'à me confondre;
 Mais, puisque je vous vois, loin de me rendre heureux,
 Me tourmenter toutes les deux,
 Je n'ai plus rien à vous répondre
 Que là la la, là la la, etc.

Half-way through, Patu gives up the struggle and puts the remaining verses into the most straightforward French prose. The net result is melancholy reading. Like the original in plot, setting, characters, reminiscent of the original as far as sheer words go, but utterly unlike the original in atmosphere, spirit and tone.

¹ Cf. Hallam's version of these examples, quoted above.

The impression of dulness which is left by Patu's translation on the present-day reader seems to have been the impression chiefly left on his contemporaries. Very few of the reviewers of his *Choix... du Théâtre Anglois* make any special reference to the *Beggar's Opera*, and, when they do, their comments are lukewarm. Thus the review in volume III of the *Année littéraire* for 1756 hardly goes beyond warning its readers not to confuse Patu's version with that of Hallam, while the review on page 94 of the *Affiches de Province* for 1756 is quite tame in its condemnation:

Cette Pièce a eu, dit-on, à Londres un succès prodigieux, qui n'étonnera point ceux qui connoissent un peu le goût des Anglois.

Patu probably did more by sheer dulness to kill French interest in the *Beggar's Opera* than all its vehement opponents by their diatribes on English bad taste, and it seems likely that no further serious attempts to bring the play before the notice of French readers would have been made, had not interest in Gay himself been fostered by Madame de Kéralio's translation of his *Fables* in 1759¹. She prefaced her translation by the long article on Gay in Chauffepié's supplement to Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, where the circumstances of the first production of the *Beggar's Opera* had naturally been dealt with at some length in the general account of Gay's life. This article contains Swift's eulogy of Gay² nearly in full, and possibly this sympathetic criticism, sponsored by Mme de Kéralio, inspired the anonymous compiler of the *Nouveau Théâtre Anglois* in 1767 to insert a version of the *Beggar's Opera* in his collection of translations of English plays. This, which would seem to be the last French version attempted, reveals itself on examination as a mere boiling-down of Hallam's translation. All the verses are omitted and pages of Hallam's text are summed up in a few words. Scenes i and ii of Act I, for instance, are condensed into ten lines: a sad performance.

References to the *Beggar's Opera* by French writers do, it is true, occur again from time to time before the end of the century and even after, usually in connection with the various different translations of Gay's *Fables* which, after Mme de Kéralio, achieved considerable success in France. Thus De Mauroy, in his life of Gay at the beginning of his pleasant verse rendering of the *Fables* in 1784³, alludes to nearly all Gay's works, and so do Joly de Salins in 1811 and all the other nineteenth-

¹ *Fables de M. Gay suivies du Poème de l'Eventail*. Le tout traduit de l'Anglois par Madame de Kéralio.... Londres/Paris, 1759.

² *Intelligencer*, III.

³ *Fables choisies de John Gay par M. D. M. Officier d'Infanterie*. A Philadelphie et se trouve à Paris, 1784.

century translators¹. The attitude adopted by these, almost invariably, is that the plays, and especially the *Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*, are to be considered as freakish jests or, indeed, indiscretions on the part of a distinguished poet and moralist². For it is a moralist, a not unworthy successor of La Fontaine, that these translators always see in the author of the *Fables*. In the *Fables* they triumphantly seize on what others long before them had tried to find in the *Beggar's Opera*, and duly adapted, pruned and modified by the admirers of *Adèle et Théodore* and *l'Ami des Enfants*, Gay's poems appear finally as schoolroom fare. Versions of 'The Hare and many Friends' and 'The Spaniel and the Cameleon,' for instance, are found in most nineteenth-century French collections of fables from various languages for children's use.

Thus, like some other English writers, Gay in the end achieved a foreign fame he can hardly have dreamt of, and perhaps, being a kindly man, he would not have been displeased by it. As regards the *Beggar's Opera*, one feels that he would have been flattered as well as amused by the attentions bestowed on it by Frenchmen of his century: flattered to think that his work should play a part in the game of international relationships, amused to see it twisted, distorted and pulled inside out to meet the needs of anglophile and 'philosophe' critics. While, being what he was, his laughter would have held a hint of pity and even contempt for what would seem to him most melancholy limitations of outlook and a sad lack of a saving sense of humour.

SYBIL GOULDING.

OXFORD.

¹ E.g., *Fables choisies*, by Amar du Rivier in 1802; *Fables morales, instructives et amusantes*, by J. B. A. Guiot in 1842; *Fables... de John Gay traduites en vers français*, by De Chatelain in 1853; *Fables... choisies*, by A. Elwall in 1854; etc.

² It is worth noting that La Coste, in his *Voyage philosophique d'Angleterre fait en 1783 et 1784*, like his early predecessors, stresses English grossness as reflected in amusements and says that the English drama is still 'dans son premier état de barbarie,' while J. Fiévée, as late as 1802, expresses the same sentiments in his *Lettres sur l'Angleterre*.

FRENCH ROMANTICISM: A TRADITION OF DISSENT

‘EVER since then,’ wrote Mr Logan Pearsall Smith in his essay on *Four Romantic Words*, ‘the history of art has been the history of conscious and violent revolutions and reactions, instead of that gradual and unconscious modification of an inherited tradition which characterized its development in previous ages.’ This statement refers to the general position of the arts and handicrafts since the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. But it applies with special force to the situation of literature in France, where the history of Romanticism has been a record of dissensions, producing, in the long run, a veritable tradition of dissent. Compared with the steadier progress of classical production, the development of romantic literature appears clearly as a sporadic series of disruptions and revolts, restlessly originating from within. The lava of Individualism, ejected from the crater of the Revolution, has never cooled. It breaks out perpetually in new spurts and detours, with a scorching impulse to diversify and differentiate itself from the previous eccentricities of its flow. The Romantic spirit is alive, certainly, with a sort of nomadic dissatisfaction and disquietude, an inability to settle for long or to build firmly. Cain, Ahasuerus, Mazeppa, René are still, under thin disguises, its favourite incarnations; journeyings and voyages, however revolutionised in speed, facilities and risks, remain its preferred mode of existence. More and more it justifies a recently coined appellation—*la littérature des départs*. Yet with ‘anywhere out of the world’ for goal, it has never succeeded in getting outside itself. For though Romanticism in France has been, as we shall attempt to show, a record of dissensions, like Nonconformity in England, it clings to its ‘fundamentals,’ even though they be but negative formulas of perpetual secession from the dogmas of a previous dispensation. One may still safely assert that the newest literary sect there will no more imply a reversion to Classicism than the last dissenting ‘split’ here connotes a return to Catholicism. *Plus ça change*... Already there is talk of a neo-romanticism. ‘Un fait demeure patent,’ it was recently affirmed, ‘L’état d’esprit—ou plutôt de sensibilité—qui a créé le romantisme se perpétue et se renouvelle¹.’ The curious ‘ambivalence’ of the situation is well brought out in the

¹ Robert de la Vaissière, *Romantiques du xix^e siècle*. (*Les Nouvelles littéraires*, April 13, 1927)

phrase of M. Pierre Lasserre: 'Nous ne croyons plus au Romantisme. Il n'a pas cessé de nous accabler¹.'

It is of the essence of a movement based on the delusive cult of originality to be perpetually discontented with itself. A notable feature of French Romanticism has been its inability to attain a formula that would satisfy more than a generation of adherents. Another is the violence of its internal reactions, which seem almost entirely motivated by the impulse to get further away from their origin, but which are actually tracing minor revolutions within a vicious circle whence they cannot escape. The incessant revolt of the Romantic artist may be a sign of creative vigour, but it indubitably points to a curtailment of the rich resources with which society can succour the individual. The lava of Individualism may become fertile soil for the myriad fantasies of subjective flora; it can supply nothing solid enough to construct a strong monument of objective art. Dionysos may dance in the jungle of its fecundity, but no temple will be raised for the worship of the calmer god.

We have only to listen to the observations made by each new generation of nineteenth-century artists on the work of their predecessors, and *vice versâ*, to be assured of the instability of the Romantic ideal. The most formidable adversaries of the Romanticists, it has been said, were not the Classics, but certain of the Romantics themselves, only too eager to withdraw from an affair which had started badly. Chateaubriand, for instance, never frankly allied himself to the new school. By 1836 his reserve had become almost open hostility. In the course of his *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise* he insinuates what might be called a complete criticism in miniature of the Romantic programme and practice. Thus, for the stage, where a mistaken imitation of Shakespeare is working mischief: 'La liberté qu'on se donne de tout dire et de tout représenter, le fracas de la scène, la multitude des personnages, imposent, mais ont au fond peu de valeur; ce sont liberté et jeux d'enfants. . . . Cet amour du laid qui nous a saisis, cette horreur de l'idéal. . . .' And he proceeds to denounce, as a depravation of the intelligence, the excesses of picturesque realism in drama and the novel. 'Arrière donc,' he cries, 'cette école animalisée et matérialisée. . . .'² He regards as unfruitful the attempts to invent a new versification or to freshen and enlarge the poetic vocabulary. Few, indeed, of the 'conquests' made by the men of 1830 appear other than retrograde steps, signs of a decay in taste which permits impotence

¹ Pierre Lasserre, *Le Romantisme français*, Paris 1908, p. 536.

² Chateaubriand, *Le Paradis Perdu*, suivi de *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise*, Paris: Garnier, 1886, p. 354.

to masquerade as talent¹. Of still more interest to our theme is the sense this Essay shows of the brevity of Romantic reputations and the accelerated supercession of modern literary generations: 'Ceux qui s'appeloient la jeunesse en 1830, où sont-ils? Voici venir des grands hommes de 1835, qui regardent ces vieux de 1830 comme des gens de mérite dans leur temps, mais aujourd'hui usés, passés, dépassés. Les maillots arriveront bientôt dans les bras de leur nourrice: ils riront des octogénaires de seize ans, de ces dix mille poètes, de ces cinquante mille prosateurs, lesquels se couvrent maintenant de gloire et de mélancolie dans les coins et recoins de la France².'

Sainte-Beuve hardly exaggerated when he referred to the lack of love shown by Chateaubriand to his literary offspring. But this was not the only source of trouble for earnest Romanticists in the year 1836. Not only does their revered progenitor deny them; their most brilliant cadet turns and molests their flanks with a shaft of irony. Without adopting the view that Alfred de Musset's romanticism was a mere accident of youth, an attack of scarlet fever, we imagine that Nisard was not wrong when he said: 'Alfred de Musset, aussi original que ses deux aînés, est plus dans la tradition classique, qui est l'originalité même de la France³.' Having outdone his picturesque contemporaries in passionate experiment and elaborate pose, he could jest at their studied faithfulness to the romantic rôle, flicking their idol, the moon, which his ruthless fancy perceived dotting the i of a jaundiced steeple, and mocking their mannerisms in the delicious *Lettres de Depuis et Cotonet*, which deepened the breach with, among other offences, the devastating distinction that the chief difference between classic and romantic lay in the latter's predilection for the adjective. Yet, from the standpoint of his complacent elders, Musset remained a petulant, irresponsible child of genius. His attitude had its sting, but this could be ignored in the soothing caresses of the hour. His sallies were not permitted to affect the main course of production.

From within Romanticism itself, with the unobservant approval of the masters, something more dangerously recalcitrant was in preparation. Who could have predicted that *le bon Théo*, after leaving Rioult's studio to lead the attack on the Night of *Hernani*, would soon have chased passion out of poetry by inaugurating a type of literary art in which enamels and cameos should have precedence over soul and sentiment? Gautier was not, of course, 'anti-romantic.' He simply gave an original

¹ Chateaubriand, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

² Chateaubriand, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

³ D. Nisard, *Histoire de la Littérature française*, Paris 1889, vol. iv, p. 526.

turn to a rich but narrow vein present in Romanticism from the first. His achievement justifies itself as a brilliant, polished facet of romantic pictorialism; but the theory based upon it has revolted every true Romanticist from Hugo to Verhaeren. Even Baudelaire, whose worship of Gautier is sumptuously recorded in the dedication of the *Fleurs du Mal*, had, half a decade earlier, deplored the effects of his doctrine in a criticism of the *École païenne*: 'Congédier la passion et la raison, c'est tuer la littérature. Renier les efforts de la société précédente, chrétienne et philosophique, c'est se suicider, c'est refuser la force et les moyens de perfectionnement. S'environner exclusivement des séductions de l'art physique, c'est créer de grandes chances de perdition¹.'

To-day Gautier's reputation as an artist, after having survived more successfully than that of most of his contemporaries, is suffering partial eclipse. For M. Gide he is 'l'artisan le plus sec, le moins musicien, le moins méditatif que notre littérature ait produit².' For Marcel Proust the 'parfait magicien ès lettres françaises' was a third-rate poet.

It is with Leconte de Lisle and the Parnassians, and especially with Flaubert, that we get the first systematic revolt against the Romanticism of 1830, which the preface to the *Poèmes antiques* defines as 'un art de seconde main, hybride et incohérent,' or, more bitterly still, as 'une comédie bruyante jouée au profit d'une autolâtrie d'emprunt.' In opposition to this: 'Nous sommes une génération savante...' And the author of the poems flatters himself on 'l'impersonnalité et la neutralité de ces études.' Superb is his contempt for Lamartine's imitators—'la horde cruelle et inexorable des élégiaques échappés de la barque d'Elvire, l'école des noyés sous les larmes.' And, if these are not enough to point an attitude, there is that proud, vindictive sonnet, *Les Montreurs*:

Je ne te vendrai pas mon ivresse ou mon mal,
Je ne livrerai pas ma vie à tes huées,
Je ne danserai pas sur ton tréteau banal
Avec tes histrions et tes prostituées.

Nothing could seem more final than this deliberate reaction from égoism and effusion in the direction of an almost classical sobriety and reserve. Yet two generations have scarcely passed before a movement as violent and determined has deserted the standards fixed so powerfully by Leconte de Lisle, and turned the tables on his entire view of art. The defection of the Decadents, the Symbolist revolt are familiar facts in recent literary history. One example will suffice. Thirty years after the

¹ Ch. Baudelaire, *L'Art romantique*, p. 306. (Edition used throughout: *Œuvres complètes*, Paris 1868-70.)

² André Gide, *Incidences*, Paris 1924, p. 165.

Poèmes antiques, the Belgian Parnassians can accuse Émile Verhaeren, a deserter from their company, of having attacked the deceased 'Pontiff' in an obituary notice, 'avec une inintelligence et une hargne contre lesquelles nous nous sommes cabrés¹.' And of the two attitudes it is Verhaeren's which is characteristic of a generation that witnessed the passing of Leconte de Lisle with far more relief than ours has beheld the decline of his great contemporary's domination. For now Flaubert, in Alain's phrase, 'Flaubert descend dans les limbes².' And with him Maupassant... We are tempted to quote the line which is turned so frequently to-day against the celebrities of yesterday:

O soleils descendus derrière l'horizon!

The critical writings of Baudelaire are sprinkled with lively judgments which show a marked personal divergence from the position of his immediate predecessors. He disapproves of Lamartine and of Musset because, as artists, they lack will-power and are insufficiently masters of their inspiration. He is particularly severe on Musset, whom he accuses of invoking heaven and hell in his *table d'hôte* adventures, of pouring forth muddy torrents of grammatical and prosodical errors, and of being altogether incapable of the 'grind' necessary to transmute a passing fancy into a work of art. His indictment of a mediocre painter of Romantic tendencies reveals a certain conformity to the critical standards of the Parnassians, beyond whom, however, as an artist, he progressed far. 'Voilà,' he says, confronted by the works of Boulenger, 'les dernières ruines de l'ancien romantique—voilà ce que c'est de venir dans un temps où il est reçu de croire que l'inspiration suffit et remplace le reste;—voilà l'abîme où mène la course désordonnée de Mazeppa.' And, as if the point in the attack is not clear enough, he adds: 'C'est M. Victor Hugo qui a perdu M. Boulenger³.'

The Master's radical defect he hits off in a remarkable phrase: 'un grand poète scriptural qui a l'œil fermé à la spiritualité⁴.' Baudelaire's insistence on the spirituality of art helped to prepare for Symbolism, a movement whose ideal was never better defined than in the answer he gave to the question: What, in the modern conception, is pure art?—'C'est créer une magie suggestive contenant à la fois l'objet et le sujet, le monde extérieur à l'artiste et l'artiste lui-même⁵.'

Here, in germ, is another new sect, another schism from the Romantic

¹ *La Jeune Belgique*, xiv, 1895, p. 330.

² Alain, *Propos sur l'Esthétique*, Paris 1923, p. 50.

³ Ch. Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁵ Ch. Baudelaire, *L'Art romantique*, p. 128.

spirit, which a surviving Symbolist has castigated in harsh terms: 'Ce détestable esprit, que notre génération n'a pas encore bien filtré, empoisonne parfois l'intelligence, alors que le tempérament même lui est hostile¹.'

As the century proceeds, the duration of literary schools diminishes. Romanticism had flourished for twenty-five to thirty years. Symbolism lasted from ten to fifteen. As early as 1891, five years after he had heralded in the Symbolist movement with his *Figaro* manifesto, Jean Moréas founded the *École romane*, in direct opposition to the radical anticlassicism of the régime he had helped to establish. Demonstrations of reaction succeeded almost annually, until, in 1900, M. Romain Roland could look back on Symbolism as a spell of literary malady, preceding the promise of a return to health. By that year the disintegration of the School had become apparent in the multiplication of minor poetic sects. The word 'school' loses all significance, save as a means of protecting some diminutive or ephemeral coterie, may be an isolated individual, from the risk of being identified with the larger, dissolving body.

To-day Symbolism survives only perhaps in the mind of M. Robert de Souza, while the spirit he detests, so far from having been 'filtered off,' thrives to the annoyance of its critic. Indeed, it is a veritable chameleon, prolonging its life by constantly changing colour. Having shown how readily it can do this, we now propose to catch it in the act of swallowing its tail, a feat it seems to find as convenient to perform as the other.

So far we have been concerned to show how insecure was the reign and succession of Romanticism in France, even in the years of its triumph. Our examples have been taken, not from hostile critics (that would have been too facile a method), but out of the mouths of creators who started within the pale. And it would not be difficult to multiply them so as to prove—we think conclusively—that the strong literary movement, whose full consciousness dates from the third decade of the last century, has introduced a period of uncertainty, of shifting ideals, of perpetual revolts and recantations, of chronic *revirements de goût*, which ends in the violent oppositions and intellectual crisis of to-day.

Has Romanticism proved as uncongenial to the French literary genius as Parliament has so far proved inadaptable to the requirements of French government?

¹ Robert de Souza, *Où nous en sommes*, Paris 1906, p. 53.

Such a question many Frenchmen are anxiously asking themselves, in one form or another. For us the answer is complicated by a fact without reference to which our survey would be not only too rapid, but seriously misleading and incomplete. We have shown something of the internecine warfare that has raged between the Romantic generations and their forbears or successors. The result may be a picture of Anarchy; it is not a proof of Anti-romanticism. These rebels have a tradition after all—what M. Maurras calls the *nearest* tradition, so near them in fact that often they cannot distinguish it. ‘Une tradition juste,’ he says, ‘est examinée avant d’être acceptée. Mais l’esprit de révolte refuse même de connaître ce qu’il subit par sa faiblesse¹.’ The strange thing is, that many of the greatest rebels have either believed themselves from the first to be more genuinely romantic than their predecessors, or have mildly admitted in the long run that they are good Romantics after all!

That Baudelaire, in answering the question as to what is the modern notion of pure art, is defining his own view of Romanticism, and not proposing a new theory of poetry, appears from another remark of his, to which he actually refers the reader for his description of Romanticism: ‘Qui dit romantisme dit art moderne, c’est-à-dire intimité, spiritualité, couleur, aspiration vers l’infini, exprimées par tous les moyens que contiennent les arts².’ What, after all, Baudelaire attacked was simply ‘le rococo du romantisme, le plus insupportable de tous sans contredit³.’

Flaubert, after a life spent in struggling like a Saint George of letters with the dragon of Romanticism, admits, in his correspondence, the *vieux romantique* in his make-up. But perhaps the most striking instance of this *virevolte* (to borrow just the term for the kind of schism and surrender we are considering) is the case of Émile Zola. In the hey-day of Naturalism he could write: ‘Il a fallu notre manie de lyrisme, notre maladie romantique, pour que le xix^e siècle ait mesuré le génie d’un homme à la quantité de sottises et de folies qu’il a mises en circulation dans les cerveaux de ses contemporains.’ Later on, he recants with: ‘Eh bien oui, je suis un romantique. Nous avons tous sucé ça à seize ans⁴.’ Zola is outdone only by the extreme left wing of to-day’s revolt. The Surréalistes bow at the feet of Hugo, ‘quand il n’est pas bête⁵,’ Alphonse Rabbe, Philotée O’Neddy and Pétrus Borel. ‘Dire que j’ai cru en Pétrus!’ sighed Gautier at the end of his life. Nowadays it

¹ Ch. Maurras, *Prologue d’un Essai sur la Critique*. (*La Revue universelle*, May 15, 1927.)

² Ch. Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ Cf. E. Seillière, *Émile Zola*, Paris 1923, p. 88.

⁵ André Breton, *Manifeste du Surréalisme*, Paris 1924.

would be Borel who could sigh at Gautier's expense. The curve of eccentricity has come full circle. The unprecedented poetic vocabulary of the *avant-garde* of the moment, that of the Surréalistes, is, in the opinion of a contemporary, 'un xixième siècle empaillé¹.' To revert to our metaphor, the chameleon swallows its tail. Nothing is left for it now but to turn into a Neo-classic!

Insecurity of reputation may, after all, have been no more characteristic of the century of Romanticism than of any other period, equal in productivity. But what is curious and noteworthy is that the century which has been the most prolific in literary estimates, and far more preoccupied than any with perfecting an art, and even a science, of literary criticism, should now appear, from a certain angle, to have been perhaps the most uncritical of centuries. Romanticism had to break down the criticism of judgment to live at all, and to substitute for it the criticism of appreciation, which descended rapidly into impressionism—a new and delightful kind of creation, but surely not a sound critical method. The recent critic can of course be censorious (as any artist can be), but the shifting standpoints and changing standards, which are all he has to depend upon, undermine the possibilities of a stable critical attitude. Which of the following judgments is right? Goethe's estimate of Walter Scott as a great mind, unequalled anywhere and worthy of comparison with Shakespeare, or Croce's estimate of him as not an artist, but an industrial producer worthy of comparison with the author of *Self Help*? More than a century divides the two verdicts. In that time, how many reputations have been wafted to the skies, then buried five fathoms deep, to reappear, like Vigny's *Bouteille à la mer*, bearing its damp, defaced, but still readable record to the shores of Immortality!

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CARDIFF.

¹ Cited in *La Nouvelle Revue française*, November, 1927, p. 676.

A TRANSITION POINT IN GERMAN ROMANTICISM

THE general reproach to theorists of art is that they do not contribute to the production of art, but increase the stock of bad art. The German romantic theorists, Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, who came nearer to a creative aesthetic than most philosophers, are in the curious position of being classed with, and of having given rise to, a kind of poetry and a poetical personality which are in many ways in opposition to theirs. Merely that they were theorists and largely intellectuals implies a definite distinction from the later poets, who more thoroughly than any other body of poets rejected the reason. What has Friedrich Schlegel to do with Clemens Brentano? The former an ideologist, with no graces or facility; one who had arduously to learn how to enjoy, completely without spontaneity: the latter a child of delight, a musical personality if there ever was one, never without some resonance in his feelings and imagination, never able to get free of sensation, which was magnified by his vivid phantasy. And Novalis and Tieck—as Schlegel said of Novalis’ *Ofterdingen*: ‘was der Kern und das Wesen ist in jenem göttlichen Fragment, das liegt fern fern ab von allem wenigstens was Tieck sagt und sagen kann¹.’ Novalis learnt from Tieck how to express himself, for Tieck could turn anything into a presentable literary form; but their attitude to art was entirely different; or perhaps Tieck had a devotion to art while Novalis’ was for something which is only expressible in art. If one compares Kaspar David Friedrich or Philipp Otto Runge, the contemporaries of the first romanticists, with the later ‘romantic’ school of painting, the Nazarener, a parallel distinction can be made. But all these artists classed themselves as romantic, the later even recognised their derivation from the earlier. It seems then possible that the connection between them may be closer and more essential than is apparent, the one inherent in the other. It is the purpose of this essay to investigate this.

The ‘romantic’ poet is for the Schlegels as for Novalis an objective artist, one who has full control over his vision and arranges it in such a way as to produce a poetical effect. Romantic poetry, said Friedrich Schlegel, ‘kann zwischen dem Darstellenden und Dargestellten, frei von allem idealen und realen Interesse auf den Flügeln der poetischen Reflexion in der Mitte schweben, diese Reflexion immer wieder potenzieren².’

¹ Letter to A. W. Schlegel, April 17, 1801.

² *Fragmente*, No. 116, in the *Athenäum*.

That is, there are no prescriptions for the poet to follow, of idea (form) or of *emotion*; by the quality of his reflexion, i.e., of his intellect, he gives significance to any phenomenon, physical or psychical, thus giving it aesthetic value. The poet stands over his work, disposing of its elements as he will; 'urbanity,' or, as Schlegel sometimes calls it, 'Liberalität,' is 'die einzige Möglichkeit, dann noch eine schöne Einheit über das Ganze zu verbreiten'¹—implying the necessity for the poet not to be carried away by any one aspect, or element, of his work. The poetic faculty is then conceived of as an intellectual, rational one; and Schlegel's belief (in which Novalis concurred) in the phantasy as the creative source, is not contradictory to this. It must be noted that he calls wit the 'Erscheinung, der äussere Blitz der Fantasie'²—and phantasy is for him rather the unexpected, even extravagant, combination of ideas (cf. his predilection for paradox) than the production of images which have no actual existence. Both Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis insisted on the autonomy of the work of art, its freedom from all determinants; and the phantasy seemed to them the freest of all man's faculties. And though Novalis redeems himself by his apprehension of the fundamentally organic nature of the work of art, they both often fall into the error of confusing the two ideas 'autonomy of the work of art' and 'free caprice of the author,' which leads them to such statements as: 'die romantische Poesie muss...als ihr erstes Gesetz anerkennen, dass die Willkür des Dichters kein Gesetz über sich leide'³ (Schlegel); or of proclaiming the poetical state of mind to be purely intellectual, as in 'man sollte nichts darstellen, was man nicht völlig übersähe, deutlich vernähme, und ganz Meister desselben wäre'⁴ (Novalis).

Compare now with this theoretical romantic poet the romantic personality as it has become fixed as a type. One designates as romantic an emotional idealism that refuses to recognise any bounds, a delight in the emotions themselves which tends to sentimentalism, a wildness in thought and behaviour, a love of the phantastic and improbable. These qualities imply a refusal to recognise the reason as a trustworthy guide, a scorn of the lessons of experience, which is considered individual and accidental, a faith in instinctive convictions, which, owing their existence apparently to the very nature of the spirit, belong to a realm of values where physiological and psychological conditions have no place. There is much mysticism in this attitude. The romanticist believes

¹ Letter to A. W. Schlegel, March 6, 1796.

² *Ideen*, No. 26.

³ *Fragmente*, No. 116.

⁴ Novalis, *Schriften*, herausg. von E. Heilborn, Berlin, 1901, II, p. 281.

in the existence of a store of value to which one may attain at moments of inspiration; but, apart from such accidental rationalisations as his religion, he finds this store of value in the ecstasy itself. It is not for him to decide whether the object of his emotion is noble and worthy, the emotion is its own justification. Consequently he overthrows accepted standards, rejects happiness in the ordinary sense of self-control, security, 'balance,' and lives a disordered, extravagant life in which all his ecstasy fructifies little except in the production of art and in the indication of greater possibilities of living. He reminds man of his animal nature, at the same time reassuring him by making clear the indefinableness, the potentiality of this nature.

The theoretical and actual 'romantic poet' differ then completely—so completely as to make comparison on the plane of these definitions almost impossible. It is necessary to delve into the essential experience and the personality of both groups in order to get the two ideas into one perspective. In Brentano's *Godwi*, a transition work produced by a true romantic poet in the time of the ascendancy of the theorists, we find the two tendencies side by side, and have an opportunity of seeing more clearly their relationship. *Godwi* is 'ein verwilderter Roman'; the author's aim is to avoid any unifying principle other than his own humour. 'To gather experience' might be the aim of the hero; but then, one is not always sure who is the hero. There is no historical thread. Anecdotes are inserted which may at any moment become the main theme, related sometimes by the author, sometimes by a minor character, sometimes by the temporary hero in the first person. The book was laughed at by all, not least by the Schlegels, who were always alternately amused and annoyed by Brentano's wildness. But there is much in it which derives from them, as there is much that combats their beliefs. The work owes its shapelessness largely to their influence and prescription—Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* could have been its prototype. In *Godwi* the author's will is indeed paramount; but so free as to bring to light the other side of the autonomy theory: for conceiving everything only according to the quality of his own spirit and desire, he finds himself captive in an eternal circle of imaginary phenomena; this captivity is worse than the limitedness and chaos of the world of sense. Schlegel's 'romantic irony' also finds its place in this novel: Brentano, like Tieck, delighted in scenes of idyllic charm and soft persuasiveness, of tender and gentle emotion-alism; and took a more vigorous, even sadistic, pleasure in wilfully destroying them. Again, in the early part of the novel he uses terms and ideas invented by the theorists. He speaks of a man who is 'einer von

den Mächtigen, deren Leichtsinn Universalität, deren Treue Einseitigkeit (sein würde)¹; or makes remarks such as 'Mythen sind Studien der dichtenden Personalität²': all terms and ideas of Friedrich Schlegel's; or he uses phrases of Novalis', as his mention of 'geheimnisreiche, chemisch-poetische Worte³.' The first part of the book is dominated by the ideas of Friedrich Schlegel. Friendship and love are to be made witty, intellectual, sociable; in the midst of passion one is to retain one's wits and to be able to treat it from all aspects; thought and feeling are to meet in close companionship. The problem of sensuality is the first guiding idea—how to make feeling pregnant, eventually how to get free to feel. Brentano has in this first part a faith in the intellect which is that of Schlegel and Novalis. Like them he says: 'Wenn wir die Kunst nur kennen, so werden wir auch Künstler werden können⁴,' and emphasises the artificiality of art, talking of the 'Lüge der Kunst⁵.' In the whole work his attitude to the plastic arts is that of Friedrich Schlegel. Like a true romanticist he has no immediate appreciation of these arts, and when at the end of *Godwi* he constructs a 'beautiful' monument, he does so by using allegorical figures, and describes the effect in terms of light and shade, in the moonlight. The highest praise he gives to arabesque is 'full of harmony and music⁶,' practically Friedrich Schlegel's definition of the arabesque.

But this accord with theoretical romanticism lasted no longer in his book than in his life. In the middle of *Godwi* we come across an open criticism of Fichte's philosophy, which had provided the basis for the romantic aesthetic⁷. And before this there is a steady turning away from many of their doctrines. Novalis exulted always in the fact that man meets everywhere the pattern of himself; everything had value for him in so far as it reflected the spiritual organisation of man; and he continually dwelt on the creativeness of the ego (Fichte's 'allgemeines Ich'), which has brought the phenomenal world into being as a symbolical reproduction of itself. Brentano also felt how strongly all objects and experiences smack of our personality, but with a different reaction. Of his hero he says: 'er öffnet die Arme mit Sehnsucht, und nimmer kann er mehr umarmen als sich selbst, so entsteht bei immer neuen Versuchen und stetem Zurückkehren ohne Erfolg diese entsagende Trauer in ihm⁸...' To Brentano, always desirous of something afar, loss of identity was the first condition of happiness; and he finds—as he had already instinctively found in his life—that the chief barrier to the dissolution of self to which

¹ *Godwi*, Bremen, 1801, I, p. 187.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 311.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 165.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 12 ff.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 95.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 146.

he aspired is thought. It is only thought which proves many things, apparently so different from us, to correspond to us: by its very existence it posits a duality between observer and observed which prevents a fusion, a loss of one in the other; and further, only seeks to find itself, not lose its individuality. The theme of *Godwi* becomes then an attack on thought and consciousness, and a recommendation of feeling and sensation. Brentano says: 'Nur dann sind wir glücklich, wenn wir nicht wissen, wie wir es sind, wenn wir geboren sind und Kinder. Wenn wir jeden Mechanismus eines Lebens ergründen wollen, so sind wir zum Tode reif...', and again: 'alles Wissen ist der Tod der Schönheit, die in uns wohnt, und dieselbe wäre, wär' gleich die Wissenschaft noch nicht erfunden.' His one aim is now to break through the 'düstere Wolke von Reflexionen¹' in order to enjoy; and philosophy assumes an ever more fatal appearance for him. Finding passion and the senses the source of all values and all joy, he cries: 'Die Philosophie mit der Reflexion zerschlägt alle Töpfe des Prometheus².'

The book settles down to the affirmation of the supreme value of the passions. There is a sort of apotheosis of the girl *Violette*, a romantic *filie de joie*. Having from the beginning a scorn for all regular employment, a devotion to the impulsive life, which are in strong contrast to Schlegel's angular, self-conscious character and to Novalis' idealisation of the useful, ordinary family life, Brentano attacks all moral systems and proclaims the 'Keuschheit der natürlichen Sinnlichkeit³': 'der sey ein Sklave, der sich selbst besitze⁴.' He complains 'dass in unserm Zeitalter die Liebe gefangen ist, die Bedingungen des Lebens höher geachtet sind als das Leben selbst⁵,' and demands that masculine and feminine should take precedence over human. Life is valuable only when emotion rules it, and art is the notation of the moments when this is so. The distinction between art and poetry, a favourite thesis of the Schlegels, is done away with; Brentano denies that principle of the distancing of experience which their theories of allegory imply (cf. Brentano's enthusiasm for folk-poetry). He splits up the objects of experience into the poetical and the non-poetical, a division quite contrary to the theorists' principle that poetry results from an intellectual attitude, which may even be arbitrarily assumed, in the artist, under the influence of which everything becomes an element of poetry.

In *Godwi* Brentano illustrates the two issues of theoretical and actual romanticism and brings them into direct contrast. He does not attempt

¹ *Godwi*, I, pp. 211, 225, 284.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 362.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. xiii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 442.

³ Cp. *ibid.*, II, pp. 359 ff.

a solution, however, and though we see them in one perspective we are not nearer being able to reconcile them. Like all poets Brentano seized on that which he felt to be immediately significant, and ignored the rest; but what connexion has this with theoretical romanticism in particular? We can come near to an answer, I believe, only by a study of Novalis, of his personality and his work.

Novalis' ideal of personality, defined and hinted at in so many of his letters and fragmentary thoughts, often seems Kantian. The great and good man is for him he who can control his desires and who acts according to the idea of the good which is present in his mind and can be achieved only through his will. The 'good life' was his ultimate aim, to which art and poetry were subservient; and his note-books abound in such phrases as: 'Moralität... ist Aufopferung der Neigung¹', 'wo Pflicht und Tugend sind, da' wird jenes flüchtige Wesen (die Glückseligkeit) von selbst ein- und ausströmen²', 'der Mensch muss die Natur bezwingen, ihm gebührt Herrschaft des Willens und Untertänigkeit der Empfindung³'; he speaks of the 'Kontrolle der Reize und Reizbarkeit durch den Verstand⁴.' But what *was* the personality of Novalis? The central occurrence of his life was the death of his betrothed, Sophie: did he make this a whet-stone for his moral grandeur? Instead of conquering his grief in a 'manful' fashion, he rather indulged it for the sake of prolonging those values which it had revived or brought to birth in him. Domination of self seemed to have no purport, whereas the prolongation of the spiritual communion with Sophie was his deepest desire. And so Novalis, far from being a representative of the greatness of man's will, of the power of self-determination, is one of those who, for the sake of one supreme mystical value, are ready to give up the rational, social ideals they before believed in. He says here and there: 'Ich fange an, das Nüchterne, aber echt Fortschreitende, Weiterbringende zu lieben⁵', or posits the 'Mysticismus des gesunden Menschenverstandes⁶'; but no one was less common-sensical than he. The essence of his personality was intangibility, elusiveness; he looked like a visionary, Friedrich Schlegel said, and seemed always to be in communion with realities unapparent to the others.

What is the reconciliation of this antagonism in Novalis?—for if there is one, it leads us towards a reconciliation between theoretical and actual romanticism. Novalis wished to make life 'poetical,' by which he means

¹ Cp. Novalis, *Schriften*, ed. cit., II, p. 244 etc.

² Letter to A. W. Schlegel, January 12, 1798.

³ Novalis, *Schriften*, II, p. 276.

⁵ Letter to Caroline, January, 1799.

⁶ Novalis, *Schriften*, II, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

significant; and this he thought could be done only by attaching it to some permanent reality. Following Kant, he believed that only through the will are we aware of the absolute. In theory, however, the will is opposed to the body; it denies the latter significance; it was thus necessary for Novalis to try to effect a fusion. In his cult of the mystical communion with Sophie he found that his whole spirit, will and inclination combined, concurred. Will was determined by the immediacy and preciousness of this value—so much so that when desire grew less strong the will was employed to bolster it up. Only then when the necessity of this communion became uncertain did an antagonism arise between inclination and will; the Kantian will proved to be only a disintegration from a former entity in which it had been absorbed. So Novalis comes to an apprehension of what now would be called the 'Lebenswille,' the life-force, the idea of which Fichte had perhaps confusedly perceived and Schopenhauer was to discuss; and which gave so large a place to Jakob Böhme in Novalis' thought and esteem. All things are manifestations of and possessed by this will, and man acts most in accordance with it when all his faculties—intellect, will, feeling—unite in one direction; indeed, only so can man's actions become more than merely arbitrary and achieve a wider significance—become 'symbolical,' as Novalis said they must. Self-determination had meant for Kant the rule of reason and will; for Novalis it meant the harmonising of all the faculties under the sway of a revelation which flashed up from so fine an experience that one could not say whether it was sentimental or intellectual. When then Novalis, face to face with death, cries: 'Wähl' ich nicht alle meine Schicksale seit Ewigkeiten selbst?¹' he does not mean that he has power over his body, but that the whole temper of his mind and body leads him irresistibly along the way he has gone, all is equally a revelation of his essential spirit. In the same sense he wrote at this time: 'Gemüt und Schicksal sind Namen *eines* Begriffes²,' defining elsewhere 'Gemüt' as 'Harmonie aller Geisteskräfte-gleiche Stimmung und harmonisches Spiel der ganzen Seele³.' Self-determination is now the realisation of the whole self as it expresses itself in its spiritual temper (Gemüt)⁴. Novalis' life can be considered as having taken its inevitable form if his theories were to be applied, if life was not to be scorned as insignificant—we find a parallel development in Schiller's ethic, an attempt comparable to this at fusing

¹ *Tagebuch*, October 9, 1800.

² Novalis, *Schriften*, I, p. 172.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 156.

⁴ Schleiermacher developed in the same way from the Kantian devotion to the will. In the second *Rede über die Religion* he says: 'Diese Begriffe, wodurch euch die Natur erst im eigentlichen Sinne Anschauung der Welt wird, habt ihr sie aus der Natur? Stammen sie nicht ursprünglich aus dem Innern des Gemüts her?' Kant would have said 'aus dem Willen her.'

will and inclination in order to make life significant. But the final form of Novalis' thought, and of his personality, is romantic, so that here a bridge is thrown across the gap between romantic theory and practice. By a consideration of his aesthetic and his poetry the gap, I hope, will seem less formidable still.

Poetry was for both theoretical and practical romanticists the highest activity of man; but while the latter opposed it to philosophy, the former considered that it was the finest product of the philosophical faculty. Philosophy prepares the world, said Novalis, for the 'efficacious influence of ideas' which poetry produces and applies. Philosophy implies knowledge; and Novalis insists over and over again that the poet know much, and be in such control of his knowledge as to be able to systematise it. He himself was for a long time devoted to the sciences, physics, chemistry, geology, investigating and speculating indefatigably in order to complete the system of those sciences. Above all he gave himself to the contemplation of mathematics. But it was not as a 'scientist' that he studied; what he saw and sought to perfect in the sciences was 'symbolische Körper unsers Innern'¹; he wished to discover the force infusing all phenomena, to interpret all phenomena as equally significant revelations of this force, thus presenting himself with an analogy of the nature of man. In mathematics he saw this analogy most clearly, for there everything is a formula of everything else, all is equally valuable, and there is no limit to the potentialities of the axioms. Novalis aimed at achieving a clear idea of the form of the sciences—this was their importance for him. At the beginning of his fragment *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* he describes a school of geology in its ultimate significance for him, and we, his readers, perceive only a musical structure.

In poetry Novalis had the same aim. He wished to represent the essential form of life, the spirit which creates and infuses all things. Freedom is the nature of this spirit, and consequently freedom must be the chief characteristic of the work of art. The phantasy is apparently the freest faculty of the mind, and so Novalis made the phantasy the organ of poetry; and he called the fairy-tale the 'Kanon der Poesie'², because in it there is absolute freedom from conditions. He demanded that the world of the work of art should be completely different from actuality, for otherwise the elements of art would continually assert their independence and impose their own conditions, restricting the freedom of the central spirit—for Novalis saw that for the author to control arbitrarily the natural destinies of the form of the work or of the subject-

¹ Novalis, *Schriften*, II, p. 495.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

matter he used—as Friedrich Schlegel advocated—was a refutation of the theory of the autonomy of a work of art. Indeed he said that the greater the poet, the less arbitrary his work¹; and insisted that the poet should attain to complete consciousness of his subject and control of his medium so that the work should form a closed and perfect system.

Art was then for Novalis an intellectual process whereby the creative spirit of the universe could be made perceptible. But his theory had not explained where suitable symbols were to be found. All the objects of experience are concretions of this ethereal essence and so its opposite. It was the same problem as was set him in his life; and just as there he had found the most certain revelation of the infinite spirit in his 'Gemüt,' so in his poetry the same. In the *Hymnen an die Nacht* he expresses the desire of his spirit to dissolve into the universal spirit, undistracted by the immovability of form and the appearance of accidentality in the phenomena which the light brings to view. In his cult of death in his life, and in these hymns to the night, death and night have a twofold significance—one as definite physical conditions to which he instinctively aspired, one as valid symbols to his intellect of the essential spirit of which he was everywhere aware. In his novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* he represented the expansion of this spirit in a human life; it begins with dream and foreboding and ends with the achievement of poetry. Yet far from having such a thesis as Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, in the form, 'the good life is such-and-such,' Novalis sets out to represent life as it essentially is. All the adventures which befall his hero are signs and symbols of the expansion of his mind, and have no other reality; Novalis keeps them as far as possible intangible and unreal, so that they shall make no claims on the reader for their own sake nor shall be an obstruction in the movingness of the whole, denoting a fixed and static state of mind. At the same time he casts over the whole the veil of an unrealistic rhythm, following neither sense nor emotion, with its own balance and individuality, interposed like a magic glass between us and the objects described. Novalis depicts the essential nature of the personality, the quality of which determines the impressions it receives, i.e., which creates, like Fichte's 'allgemeines Ich,' as an emanation of itself the world in which it exists. And this is the 'Gemüt,' for it is the 'Gemüt' which harmonises all impressions into a central experience, gives its character and temper to this experience, and assimilates it into its growing system as the body does its food.

But here we are in the midst of romantic poetry. For though Novalis

¹ Novalis, *Schriften*, II, p. 172.

explicitly refused to recognise as poetry sentimental and moving writing, and said: 'Poesie ist Darstellung des Gemüths, *der innern Welt in ihrer Gesamtheit*¹,' yet he found that the significant moments for this inward world are signalled by emotional movements in the mind, that the greatest is that of love. Thus all the experiences of the hero in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* are emotional, though they affect the whole complex of his mind. The later romantic poets were not then in opposition to Novalis' theory when they believed that the emotional moments are the poetical, that it is the business of poetry to give lastingness to these moments. Novalis said it was necessary to cultivate a new organ for supersensual truth; the romantic poets, including Novalis, cultivated the sense which perceives the *signs* of supersensual, spiritual realities. The condition of inward unity, induced or at least signalled by the dominance of an emotion, is the aim of all. And the romantic belief in the truth of feeling (cf. Kleist, for whom confusion of feeling was the tragic theme) is in this light reconcilable with Novalis' mistrust of it; it had perfect validity for Novalis for the immediate purpose of creation.

Friedrich Schlegel in a letter to Novalis once said: 'Freilich was für Dich Praxis, für mich war reine Historie².' This exactly expresses the value of Novalis in such a study as this. He was a philosopher who tried to live his philosophy, a poet who turned his theories into poetry. His life was realised and given form by the central experience on his betrothed's death in a way that would have been impossible for Schlegel; and his poetry, to which he entirely devoted himself at the end of his life, had the same all-fusing singleness of meaning for him. By this attempt at realising in perceptible symbol his highest values he did not refute their intellectual origin; but the method of their representation was to be other than intellectual. He found there was no meaning in creation, no necessity to create, unless he was under the sway of some 'revelation' which presented his mind with an adequate symbol. And this revelation, organising the mind and faculties in perfect unity, made the will a superfluous concept; for it could only act in accordance with the whole tendency of the spirit. Self-determination was achieved by the mere existence of the symbol. Novalis had to renounce the independence of the intellect and the consciousness, he could no longer be arbitrary but had to give himself up to his symbol, and the sign of this was an emotion. The Kantian concept of a controlling will had thus developed into the concept of a creative centre where reality and the essential self fused into the resultant creation. In no other way was

¹ Novalis, *Schriften*, II, p. 363.

² Letter of December, 1798.

creation possible. And so Novalis, fusing intellect and emotion into one perception, corrects Friedrich Schlegel, who, though desiring to mix them, never broke through their integrity; he takes the way of the romantic poets and justifies it.

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‘INDO-EUROPEAN’ AND ‘INDO-GERMANIC’

OF the many terms proposed for the group of languages which comprises some Asiatic and most European tongues, three only have gained a large number of adherents: ‘Aryan,’ ‘Indo-Germanic’ and ‘Indo-European.’ Though some scholars still use ‘Aryan’ in the wider sense, it has become more usual to designate only the Indo-Iranian group by this term, especially since grave doubts have been thrown on the Eastern origin of the primitive Indo-European stock. ‘Indo-Germanic’ is exclusively used in Germany whilst in other countries both ‘Indo-Germanic’ and ‘Indo-European’ are found.

Philologists are largely concerned with words and their meanings and it is a curious reflection that they have been unable to suggest a suitable name for the prototype of a large group of languages—a label which does not countenance misleading notions. The term employed in Germany is admittedly bad, yet it has the advantage of being the only one in use there. In England both ‘Indo-Germanic’ and ‘Indo-European’ are current, and one ought to go.

Even if philologists have been unable to agree, they have been eager to discuss the merits of the terminology and reasons for and against have sometimes been advanced with more heat than seems proper in a question of such relative unimportance. In the latest publication which discusses this question¹ we find:

In der deutschen Wissenschaft wird den betreffenden Sprachen seit langer Zeit die Bezeichnung ‘indogermanisch’ beigelegt. Der Terminus gibt die beiden entgegengesetzten Pole des geographischen Gebiets der weit ausgebreiteten Sprachgruppe an, denn die germanischen Sprachen—besonders wenn man die germanischen, d. h. die englischen, deutschen, skandinavischen und schwedisch-finnländischen Kolonien in Nordamerika mitzählt—werden von allen grösseren europäischen Sprachen der Gegenwart am weitesten im Westen, das Indische aber innerhalb des gesamten Sprachgebiets am weitesten im Osten gesprochen.

The explanation given here to support the suitability of the term—especially the inclusion of the United States and Canada, countries which a hundred years ago would hardly have suggested the epithet ‘germanisch’ to the minds of philologists—merely attempts to define an antiquated term in the light of present knowledge. There is no doubt that ‘Indo-Germanic’ was first chosen by scholars who did not realise that the Celtic languages belonged to the same family. When the Celtic branch came to be studied ‘Indo-Celtic’ was proposed. Presumably there was

¹ T. E. Karsten, *Die Germanen*, 1928, p. 1.

not a sufficient number of philologists of the Celtic stock, for the term never became popular and it is now extinct.

Not only was 'Indo-Germanic' a palpable misnomer, but for a long time its invention was credited to the wrong man. Friedrich Schlegel was supposed to have used the term first in his bold essay which did so much to stimulate philological enquiry¹. This notion seems to have been started in Germany by August Fick². An earlier statement to the same effect is to be found in Max Müller³. Yet 'Indo-Germanic' occurs nowhere in Schlegel's work. As far as is known⁴ it seems to have been invented by Klaproth (1823) who constantly employs 'Indogermanen' and 'indogermanisch' without explaining his terminology⁵. From this one would imagine that Klaproth either used the term in an earlier work where he explained it or that he found it in the writings of another philologist: no such reference has as yet appeared. Even if he did not invent the appellation it cannot have existed long before the *Asia Polyglotta*. In 1818, Kopitar writes in a review⁶: 'Verfasser scheint garnichts davon gehört zu haben, dass Deutsch, Slawisch, Griechisch, Latein, Persisch, Sanskrit und die andern von Eichhorn zum iranischen Sprachstamm gerechneten Sprachen zu *einem* Stamme gehören, wiewohl man bisher den Grad der Verwandtschaft noch nicht angeben kann.' Kopitar is, therefore, not yet aware of a term which will avoid printing a list of all the related languages. Probably 'Indo-Germanic' is merely a shortening of some such phrase as Friedrich Schlegel's⁷: 'indisch-lateinisch-persisch-germanische Sprachfamilie⁸'. A similar grouping in which Indian comes first and Germanic last occurs in an earlier work by Klaproth. We there⁹ read of the Afghans that they were 'in der grossen

¹ Friedrich Schlegel, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, 1808.

² F. C. A. Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*², 1870, I, p. x:

'Friedrich Schlegel bildete den Namen "Indogermanen," der sehr häufig geworden ist.'

³ F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1861, I, p. 162: 'It surely required somewhat of poetic vision to embrace with *one glance* the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy and Germany, and to rivet them together by the simple name of Indo-Germanic. This was Schlegel's work.'

⁴ Cp. Gustav Meyer in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, II, pp. 125 ff.

⁵ Julius Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823. The work is written in German although printed at Paris.

⁶ *Wiener Jahrbücher*, II, p. 259.

⁷ In a notice of R. Kodes, *Über die Anfänge unserer Geschichte*, in *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1819 (*Werke*, VIII, p. 256).

⁸ The languages enumerated by Schlegel are significant when we remember that he derived his notions on the relationship of some of the Indo-European languages from Alexander Hamilton who knew little Greek and less Slavonic. In the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1809, Hamilton compared Latin, Germanic, Persian and Sanskrit roots. Cp. R. W. Chambers and F. Norman, 'Alexander Hamilton and the Beginnings of Comparative Philology,' in *Studies in English Philology, a Miscellany in Honour of Professor Fr. Klaeber*, 1929.

⁹ J. Klaproth, *Archiv für asiatische Litteratur, Geschichte und Sprachenkunde*, St Petersburg, 1810, I, p. 81. (Only one volume appeared.)

Indisch-Medisch-Sclavisch-Germanischen Völkerkette, die vom Ganges bis zu den Brittanischen Inseln reicht, als ein Glied anzusehen.'

By taking the first and the last element of this unwieldy compound Klaproth presumably formed 'Indogermanen' and 'Indogermanisch.' Since the new term was only an abbreviation there was no need to explain.

Julius Klaproth was not sufficiently well known as a philologist, and his term was not adopted immediately. It was only when Pott used 'Indo-Germanic' on the title-page of an important philological contribution¹ that this name became more generally known. Yet on page xiii of his famous work he talks of the 'Indoeuropäische Stamm' and on page xxx we meet 'der Sanskritstamm.' All three terms were obviously current at the time. Pott, as we see, uses them all, but after *Sanskritstamm* he adds in parenthesis: 'oder mag man ihn den Indo-Europäischen, Indo-Germanischen zu benennen vorziehen.' In a later publication² Pott has made up his mind on the plea of familiarity:

Verschiedene Benennungen jenes Stammes. Die Verlegenheit, für Völker und Sprachen passende Collectivbenennungen aufzufinden, zeigt sich in vollem Masse auch bei dem hier in Frage kommenden Sprachstamm, dessen von uns gewählter Name (Indogermanisch), so viel sich sonst gegen seine Zweckmässigkeit einwenden lässt, wenigstens sehr gangbar und allgemein verständlich geworden ist.

About the appositeness of 'Indo-Germanic' Pott seems to have entertained doubts. These doubts were, apparently, not of enough moment to abolish 'Indo-Germanic,' although a powerful opponent to such a misleading term arose in Franz Bopp. On the title-page of his *Comparative Grammar* (1833) Bopp enumerates: 'Sanskrit, Zend, Griechisch, Lateinisch, Lithauisch (in the edition of 1835 also 'Alt-Slavisch'), Gothisch and Deutsch.' In the second edition³ 'Armenisch' is added. Towards the end of the preface to this second edition Bopp remarks:

Ich nenne den Stamm, dessen wichtigste Glieder in diesem Bûche zu einem Ganzen vereinigt werden, den *indoeuropäischen* (but not on the title-page), wozu der Umstand berechtigt, dass mit Ausnahme des finnischen Sprachzweiges, so wie des ganz vereinzelt stehenden Baskischen und des von den Arabern uns hinterlassenen semitischen Idioms der Insel Malta alle übrigen europäischen Sprachen, die klassischen, alt-italischen, germanischen, slavischen, keltischen und das Albanesische, ihm angehören. Die häufig gebrauchte Benennung 'indogermanisch' kann ich nicht billigen, weil ich keinen Grund kenne, warum in dem Namen des umfassendsten Sprachstammes gerade die Germanen als Vertreter der urverwandten Völker unsers Erdtheils, sowohl der Vorzeit, als der Gegenwart, hervorzuheben seien.

In spite of this categorical statement Paul⁴ attributes the introduction of 'Indo-Germanic' to Bopp.

¹ A. F. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1833.

² A. F. Pott, *Indogermanischer Sprachstamm*, in Ersch und Gruber, *Encyclopaedie*, 1840, pp. 1-112.

³ Franz Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, Berlin 1857.

⁴ Hermann Paul, *Deutsche Grammatik*, I, 1916, p. 4, Anm.: 'Indogermanisch ist die

Still, nobody in Germany seemed inclined to listen to the objections that Bopp had voiced. 'Indo-Germanic' won the day. On the grounds of suitability much could be said for and against 'Indo-Germanic' and 'Indo-European'; when, however, the supporters of 'Indo-Germanic' urge priority they are laying themselves open to attack. Leo Meyer¹, at the beginning of the twentieth century, and T. E. Karsten in his latest work, regard 'Indo-European' as of later date than 'Indo-Germanic.' According to Karsten 'Indo-European' is first found in 1859 in the work of Pictet². We have seen that Bopp already gave his verdict in favour of 'Indo-European' two years earlier, and that Pott in 1833 is familiar with although not partial to 'Indo-European.' In Pictet also the use of the term can be traced back much further. In 1837 he begins his treatise on the affinities of the Celtic languages with the Sanskrit³: 'La grande famille des langues indo-européennes a été depuis quelque temps l'objet de travaux et de recherches d'un haut intérêt⁴.' The substance of this book had already appeared a year previously in a series of open letters to A. W. Schlegel⁵. In these letters the term 'Indo-Germanic' occurs once⁶, no doubt due to the acquaintance of the author with Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen* to which there are frequent references⁷; apart from this isolated occurrence we meet only 'Indo-European⁸.'

Whenever Pictet mentions 'Indo-European' he seems to have taken it for granted that the term would be readily understood. He cannot have found it in any German works for at that time the Germans, apart

von Bopp eingeführt und in Deutschland allgemein gebräuchliche Bezeichnung des Sprachstammes....' The similarity of the names Bopp and Pott has probably led to this confusion.

¹ Leo Meyer, in *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1901, p. 451: 'Die Benennung "indogermanisch" ist eben die erste, die als zusammenfassende für den als nah zusammengehörig und wirklich verwandt erkannten Sprachstamm gebraucht worden ist.'

² T. E. Karsten, *op. cit.*, p. 2: 'Ausser dem Attribut "indogermanisch" gibt es aber noch einige andere, vor allem die von dem Schweizer A. Pictet eingeführte und nicht bloss in Frankreich und den romanischen Ländern, sondern auch z. B. in Schweden und Finnland eingebürgerte Bezeichnung "indoeuropäisch"....' And p. 3, note: 'Das Wort "indogermanisch" begegnet zum frühesten bei Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823, das Wort "indoeuropäisch" bei A. Pictet in dem Werke: *Les origines indo-européennes ou les Aryas primitifs*, Paris, 1859-1863.'

³ A. Pictet, *De l'affinité des langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*, Paris, 1837.

⁴ Further references: Pictet, *op. cit.*, p. vi: 'dans l'étude des idiomes indo-européens... la famille indo-européenne,' and often.

⁵ A. Pictet, *Lettres à M. A. W. Schlegel sur l'affinité des langues celtiques avec le Sanscrit*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 3me série, 1836, I, pp. 417 ff.; II, pp. 263 ff. and 440 ff.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 432: 'un simple coup d'œil fait voir leur parenté avec la famille indogermanique.'

⁷ Pictet must also have known Klaproth's work as they were both members of the Paris Asiatic Society.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 264: 'la famille des langues indo-européennes.' See also pp. 273, 432, 440, 443 and constantly.

from a sporadic occurrence in Pott which we have noted, used either no name at all or 'Indo-Germanic'.¹ In his letters to Schlegel and in his book on the relationship of the Celtic to the Sanskrit, Pictet mentions Bopp, Grimm, Pott and many English authors who had published either grammars or dictionaries of Celtic dialects. Yet curiously enough he omits to mention a well-known early nineteenth-century scholar, James Cowles Prichard, M.D., F.R.S., who printed a work similar in design to Pictet's five years before the letters to A. W. Schlegel². It is incredible to assume that Pictet, well-versed as he was in linguistic studies in England, should not have known, seen and used Prichard's work³. The English scholar employs only 'Indo-European',⁴ a term which we find in his writings already in 1826⁵. He did not, however, invent it. It had been used in England for some time, in fact, for ten years before Klaproth thought of his contraction 'Indo-Germanic.' In 1813⁶, Dr Thomas Young writes⁷: 'Another ancient and extensive class of language, united by a greater number of resemblances than can well be altogether accidental, may be denominated the Indo-European, comprehending the Indian, the West-Asiatic, and almost all the European languages.' On p. 256 Young divides the Indo-European into: 'Sanskrit, Median, Arabian',⁸

¹ Pott, *loc. cit.* Friedrich Schmitthenner, *Ursprachelehre*, 1826, p. 32: 'indisch-deutsch.' Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 1831: 'indo-germanisch.'

² J. C. Prichard, *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations proved by a comparison of their dialects with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic Languages*, Oxford, 1831.... The book is dedicated to Conybeare and Jacob Grimm.

³ This is all the more certain since it was well known for some years previous to Prichard's book that he intended publishing the results of his enquiries into these matters. The earliest reference to the design of Prichard is to be found in *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, 1813. Towards the end of this book he discusses the relationship of languages and adds the following note to page 534: 'The author of the review of Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar in the thirteenth volume of the *Edinburgh Review* (i.e. Alexander Hamilton) has given a comparative vocabulary of the Sanskrit, Persian, Latin and German languages, which completely evinces at the first view the truth of the position here affirmed as far as the above languages are concerned. But the proof would have been much more striking if he had added the Celtic and Slavonic dialects, and the Greek. I have made an attempt to supply the deficiency which I intend shortly to make public.'

⁴ Prichard, *op. cit.*, p. ix: 'Indo-European languages'; also pp. x, xi, xii and 14; p. 17 we have 'Indo-European tribes'; p. 19: 'The inquiry has frequently been made, whether the Celtic dialects belong to the class of languages thus allied, for which the term Indo-European is the most suitable designation.' Since Prichard is familiar with continental research, this last statement is probably a reference to Klaproth's use of 'Indo-Germanic' in *Asia Polyglotta*, and the beginning of the battle between 'Indo-Germanic' and 'Indo-European.'

⁵ J. C. Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, 1826, v, p. 491.

⁶ Not 1814, as stated in the *N.E.D.*

⁷ *Quarterly Review*, x, pp. 255 ff. A review of Adelung's *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde*.

⁸ It should be noted that Young entertained doubts about the position of Arabic in this group. On page 267 we read: '... though not intimately connected with the European languages, it (i.e., Arabic) is well known to have afforded some few words to the Greek and Latin, and it has also some terms in common with the Sanskrit though apparently fewer than either the Greek or the German.'

Greek, German, Celtic, Latin, Cantabrian¹, Slavonic². The class is not clearly defined in Adelung, nor is there a name given to it, and from the manner in which Young introduces the word it is tolerably certain that he coined the expression.

Dr T. D. Whitaker uses Young's term two years later³ and thereafter it becomes frequent.

'Indo-Germanic' makes its first appearance in England in 1830⁴ in the *Edinburgh Review*⁵. The reviewer⁶ says: 'Of these (i.e., theories), however, the most remarkable is that which has been denominated the Indo-Germanic, originally broached by Professor Adelung in the Mithridates, and now pretty generally received on the Continent, particularly by the scholars of Germany.' The reviewer has taken the term out of Klaproth, and a page further we have a translated quotation out of *Asia Polyglotta*: 'the wide dispersion of the Indo-Germanic race.' But just as Klaproth's term did not become common in Germany until it was taken up by Pott, so the *Edinburgh* reviewer's adoption was not widely known until employed by Dr Rosen in his account of Pott's work⁷.

Henceforth 'Indo-European' and 'Indo-Germanic' are both used in England though the latter is by no means as frequent as one might expect. Among early Victorian scholars Latham will have none of it:

'Indo-European' is the name of a class which embraces the majority of the languages of Europe, and is extended over Asia as far as India. Until the Celtic was shown by Dr Prichard to have the same affinities with the Latin, Greek, Slavonic, Lithuanic, Gothic, Sanskrit and Zend, as those tongues had with each other, the class in question was called Indo-Germanic; since, up to that time, the Germanic language had formed its western limit⁸.

This is not quite accurate, as we have seen. At no time before Latham would it have been correct to say that 'Indo-Germanic' was the usual

¹ He also expresses doubt in regard to this group: 'The Cantabrian or Biscayan has many words in common with the Latin, whether originally or by adoption, and was probably in some way connected with the Celtic dialects' (p. 281).

² Further references in Young's article are: pp. 270, 281: 'the Indo-European class'; p. 264: 'the Indo-European languages'; p. 273: 'the Celtic family is a very extensive and very interesting subdivision of the Indo-European class.'

³ *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1815, p. 97: 'Thus of the five classes which we denominated Monosyllabic, Indo-European, Tataric, African, American, the first two only are to be considered as constituted according to correct philological principles'; p. 98: 'Indo-European class'; 'Indo-European families.'

⁴ The earliest reference in the *N.E.D.* is for the year 1835.

⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, LI (July, 1830), pp. 529 ff. A review of Vans Kennedy, *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe*, 1828. This work mentions no terms for the families of languages.

⁶ The publishers are, unfortunately, unable to give the name of the reviewer.

⁷ *Quarterly Journal of Education*, April, 1835, pp. 332 ff. and *Penny Cyclopaedia*, XIII (1839), pp. 308 ff. The second is a posthumous article.

⁸ R. G. Latham, *The English Language*, 2nd ed., 1848, p. 52.

term. 'Indo-European,' however, did not continue to satisfy Lathom who developed his own ideas on language relationship which cannot be touched on here. Therefore, in 1855, we find¹: 'The current but by no means satisfactory name for the general class containing the alliance of tongues is Indo-European. It is used as rarely as possible in the present work.' A few years later his objection to 'Indo-European' has become so strong that he usually refers, when he must, to the 'so-called Indo-European'².

In the middle of the nineteenth century another rival arose to the English term: 'Aryan.' It was popularised in England by Max Müller who, primarily a Sanskrit scholar with strong notions on the original home of the Indo-European stock, was naturally predisposed towards 'Aryan.' In the various editions of the *Lectures on the Science of Language* the only term employed in the text is 'Aryan'; in the index a concession is made to English usage: 'Indo-European family of languages, see Aryan.' 'Indo-Germanic' does not occur. Papillon³ argues the matter at some length:

The term Aryan has the advantage over Indo-European of being short and (as a word of foreign origin) lending itself more easily to any technical definition that may be assigned to it: and as a mere ticket or label of classification, there is no doubt much to be said for its use. I should not therefore presume to discard it altogether: but I still think that the fact implied on the face of the term Indo-European (a term sanctioned by the high authority of Bopp) is a good reason for on the whole preferring this latter term. The existence too of another and more limited use of the word Aryan (as = Asiatic or Indo-Iranian) is somewhat against the acceptance as *the* technical term for the whole family of languages, however great the preponderance of authority for wider use. In deference, however, to this authority, it should be retained as a collateral term with Indo-European.

The 'authority' is, of course, Max Müller, who had probably taken exception to the use of 'Indo-European' in the first edition of Papillon's work (1866). Indo-Germanic is also mentioned and discussed but it is said to be a term 'employed by many German scholars' and no English usage of it is quoted⁴.

¹ R. G. Lathom, *The English Language*, 4th ed., 1855, i, p. 372.

² R. G. Lathom, *Elements of Comparative Philology*, 1862.

³ T. L. Papillon, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, 2nd ed., 1877, p. 10, note 2.

⁴ Papillon, *op. cit.*, p. 10: 'This term (i.e., Indo-European) seems to be that of widest meaning, and most obviously inclusive of all the languages in question. The name Indo-Germanic, employed by many German scholars, is hardly comprehensive enough of the European branch of the family; while the names Sanskritic, Japhetic, Mediterranean (suggested by Ewald), and Caucasian, are each open to the objection of countenancing misleading notions. There remains the term *Aryan* popularised in this country by Professor Max Müller's Lectures, and employed by many philologists as a designation of the Indo-European family; but by some in the more restricted sense of Indo-Iranian, i.e., to denote the Asiatic sub-division of the Indo-European family. The latter usage, however, is likely to create confusion with its much more frequent use in the wider signification of Indo-European.'

In America, a powerful apologist for 'Indo-European' arose in Whitney¹:

We will employ Indo-European as having on the whole the best claim; it was deliberately adopted by Bopp, the great expounder of the relations of the family, and is as widely used as any of the others. Most of Bopp's countrymen now prefer 'Indo-Germanic' for no other assignable reason than that it contains the foreign appellation of their own particular branch, as given by their conquerors and teachers, the Romans.

It would be pointless to continue quoting all the English philologists of the late nineteenth century. They all give preference to 'Indo-European,' occasionally to 'Aryan,' except A. L. Mayhew² and Prof. P. Giles³ in his earlier work, who both have 'Indo-Germanic.' Further indirect evidence for the comparative rarity of 'Indo-Germanic' in England is found in Sayce⁴: 'Aryan or Indo-European family of languages variously named by scholars; Indo-European perhaps the most favoured; Indo-Germanic, chosen by Bopp⁵, widely known among Germans.'

We have come to the end of our quest: and to the moral of our story. Since some modern text-books, widely used in England at the present day, have reverted to 'Indo-Germanic,' this term is again frequently—often exclusively—used in Universities. Its claim to priority has been shown to be false, its suitability has been sufficiently assailed by Bopp, Latham and Whitney; it has never really gained ground in England and there is no reason why it should do so now.

It has been urged that 'Indo-Germanic' links up well with Primitive Germanic and West Germanic, and that 'Indo-European' is too indefinite. All the more reason why 'Indo-Germanic' should be abolished and 'Indo-European' retained. The term 'Indo-Germanic' is apt to produce totally erroneous notions not only in the heads of students but also in the minds of lecturers who have not ventured outside the field of purely Germanic philological study.

Terminology has a way of engendering theory. Inability to distinguish clearly between 'deutsch' and 'germanisch' and between 'germanisch' and 'indogermanisch' has led to somewhat startling results in the minds of many German scholars, especially since the theory is

¹ W. D. Whitney, *The Life and Growth of Language*, 1875, p. 180.

² A. L. Mayhew, *Synopsis of Old English Phonology*, 1891, Preface: 'The "Ursprache" called in this work "Indo-Germanic."'

³ P. Giles, *A Short Manual of Comparative Philology*, 1895, p. 6: 'This family is known at present as the Indo-Germanic.'

⁴ A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, II, p. 321.

⁵ This is again the admitted difficulty of distinguishing between the names of Bopp and Pott.

gaining ground that the whole or a part of the original home of the Indo-Europeans was somewhere within the confines of what is now-a-days Germany.

The second element of 'Indo-European' favours none: it is vague. The reconstructed language is, unfortunately, likewise vague, and the people who must have spoken it vaguer still. Should the archeologists, as we all hope, be able eventually to prove to us the existence of the people who spoke Indo-European and should, as seems likely, their original home prove to be somewhere in Europe, the first element of the compound Indo-European should disappear also in spite of the venerable antiquity of Sanskrit, and a new term be suggested which takes its name from some outstanding peculiarity of this early civilisation.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

‘BĒOWULF’: THE NATIONALITY OF ECGÐĒOW.

It is generally assumed that EcgðĒow was a Gēat, but I am unable to discover on what grounds. If on the other hand it may be taken that he was a Swede and his son, Bēowulf, in consequence, half Gēat, half Swede, light is thrown on more than one passage in the poem.

In the feud between the Swedes and Gēats Heardred the Gēat king shelters the brothers Ēadgils and Ēanmund from the pursuit of their uncle Onela, king of the Swedes (2379 ff.) and when after Heardred's death Bēowulf succeeds him on the Gēat throne, he also for a time supports Ēadgils. But Ēanmund has been slain by a warrior named Weohstan (2612), and when Ēadgils regains his kingdom this warrior is naturally afraid to remain at the Swedish court. He in his turn flees to the Gēat court and is well received by Bēowulf; his son Wiglāf grows up there and is, therefore, able to help Bēowulf in his last fight against the dragon (2602). Bēowulf and Weohstan are certainly related, they are both Wægmondings (2813-14). Bēowulf's policy of supporting first Ēadgils against Onela and then Weohstan against Ēadgils would no doubt be due to some extent to a policy of encouraging factions in a neighbouring kingdom, but if Bēowulf were a Swede on his father's side it would give an additional motive, and Weohstan's reason for taking refuge with him becomes clear at once. Is not this more likely than the explanation often given that Weohstan was merely in the service of Onela for the moment? If so, why long after is he called a prince of the Scylfings (2603)? Further if EcgðĒow was no Gēat by birth, but only connected by marriage, the reluctance of the Gēats to keep him among them after the murder of Heaðo-lāf (461 ff.) is better to be understood. A son-in-law of their king would have less claim than a true Gēat.

EDITH WARDALE.

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A NOTE ON ‘BĒOWULF,’ l. 2034.

Some years ago Professor Ernst A. Kock pointed out that the preposition *mid* means ‘to’ in *Beowulf*, l. 902¹. He failed, however, to note that *mid* has the same meaning in *Beowulf*, l. 2034. The passage in which the word occurs reads as follows:

ponne he mid fæmnan, on flett, gæð,
dryhtbearn Dena, duguða biwenede.

¹ *Anglia*, XLV (1921), p. 117.

My interpretation of this passage grew out of that given by Kock¹, who looks upon *flett*, *dryhtbearn Dena* and *duguða biwenede* as variations which have the same essential meaning, viz. 'the Danish court.' To these three variations I add a fourth, *fæmnan*. I take *he* as referring to Ingeld. The prepositions *mid* and *on* I take to be equivalent in meaning and parallel in construction, precisely as they are in *Beowulf*, ll. 902 f. My translation of the passage is as follows:

when he goes to the maiden, to the hall,
to the noble children of the Danes, to the well-cared-for retainers.

On Kock's interpretation the action of the Ingeld episode takes place at Heorot. If my explanation of *mid* holds, we must further conclude that Ingeld goes to Heorot to be married. Since the lady is referred to as a *fæmne* 'virgo' we have reason to think that her marriage did not take place until after the action of the episode had begun. In other words, Ingeld went to his bride, and found her waiting for him at her father's, like the good and proper maiden that she was. My interpretation of *mid* thus satisfies the demands not only of grammar but also of propriety ancient and modern.

KEMP MALONE.

BALTIMORE.

NOTES ON 'CLEANNESS.'

In March, 1922, the late Professor W. P. Ker wrote me concerning some contributions to the interpretation of the M.E. *Cleanness* which I had sent to the *Modern Language Review* (Jan. 1922). As I have no reason to believe that any of this material has found its way into print I quote Ker's criticism *verbatim*:

'I have been reading with much interest your notes [*M.L.R.*] on *Cleanness*.

On l. 145 it seems to me *a priori* doubtful whether a word like *good* would go out of its way to pick up the O.N. masculine *-r*. Anyhow *vitr* is not in this connexion—the *-r* being part of the stem.

l. 375. I would read *wilgern* [wylgeŕ] = "raving," or the like. See quotation in Morris's glossary s.v., Note (p. 176 b): "And gert them lef thair wilgern werk."

l. 655 ? Read *toune* = *towen* = "You think [me] wanton whom you might [know to be] well behaved."

¹ *Anglia*, XLVI (1922), pp. 173 f.

1. 1687. For *thyze* read *thysel* or *thysel*, "bush." Take *lyre* as "face." The author makes all he can out of the motive "Faxe fyltered."

I note Morris's gloss wrong in 1701. Not "he recovered" but "God gave him."

It is to be hoped that there are many more of Ker's notes still recoverable.

P. G. THOMAS.

LONDON.

A NEW LYDGATE MANUSCRIPT.

In the city of Exeter's muniment room, there has lately been discovered a fragment of a Middle English poem (*Exeter Misc. Rolls*, No. 59), written on a piece of parchment, now used as a cover for another MS. It consists of fifteen stanzas in rhyme royal which are written over the four sides of the folded parchment, which thus folded measures $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Several of the stanzas (i.e. A, E, H, I, L, below) are incomplete.

I have identified the fragment as belonging to a poem on St Edmund written by John Lydgate. The British Museum MS., Harleian 2278, of the same poem, has been edited by Horstmann in his *Sammlung Altenglischen Legenden* in 1878 and most of it has also been published in F. Hervey's *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*, 1907. The Exeter fragment begins at Book I, l. 1032 (Horstmann's edition), and ends at Book II, l. 14. Apart from the Harleian, there is no parchment MS. extant which contains the whole poem: Ashmolean 46 omits the part that refers to Henry VI. Paper MSS. however exist and at least two fine MSS., mentioned in Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, 1871, appear to have been lost.

The Exeter fragment is in good condition and shows a close relationship to the text of Harl. 2278 (which Horstmann thinks was the original text of the poem written in honour of Henry VI's visit to Bury in 1433¹). Apart from orthographical, the textual differences² seem to be most reasonably explained by carelessness on the part of the scribe, probably of the Exeter fragment. This latter point is endorsed by the insertion in Exeter, N 6 of the word 'to,' which brings the phrase into

¹ Lydgate apparently revised the poem in his old age and a revised version is to be found in Ashmolean 46. This is addressed to Edward IV and differs in many points from Harl. and Exeter.

² I.e. B 1039, Ex. 'a ground of riht': Harl. 'on a grond of riht'; C 1040, Ex. 'that ever': Harl. 'whatever'; D 1053, Ex. 'knythly': Harl. 'knyhtly'; J 1091, Ex. 'what': Harl. 'whan'; Bk. II, O 13, Ex. 'the corage': Harl. 'ther corage'.

line with the Harleian reading 'to Mars¹,' and by the use of 'for' instead of 'fro' in Ex. K 1101, a use found in Harl. 2278, but not in Ashmolean 46. If the Exeter fragment is not a direct copy of Harl. 2278, it does contain substantially the same text and the incomplete portions of B and F are satisfactorily completed by reference to the Harleian readings 'manly' and 'Tencrece.'

It will be seen that the abbreviations are few and of a common type. I have omitted the light flourishes after the letter *d* and after one or two other consonants. The handwriting is like that current in the middle of the fifteenth century and the individual letters correspond, in general, with those of the same period.

Orthographically, the two texts differ considerably. Many of the differences are due to the omission or insertion of final *e*. Many such examples in fifteenth-century MSS. may be accounted for by the vagaries of the copyist². The use of double vowels to indicate quantity (cp. Ex. doon, cloos: Harl. doone, soone, etc.) and the interchange of *y* and *i* in both accented and unaccented syllables are also characteristic of fifteenth-century orthography.

Such linguistic analysis of the Exeter fragment does no more than date it in the second half of the fifteenth century and gives no indication of the locality in which it was written. One might however mention the following interesting items in the history of the city of Exeter, within whose precincts the MS. must now have been for some hundreds of years. In 1452, Henry VI paid a visit to Exeter³. He was received by Exeter's Bishop, Edmund by name, Edmund Lacy, and entertained by him in the Bishop's Palace. This was the Bishop of Exeter who only three years before had urged the citizens of Exeter to help with the renovation of the belfry of St Edmund's Church and granted 'forty days indulgence to those who contributed to the rebuilding of the belfry of St Edmund's on Exe Bridge without the West gate of the city⁴.' We know, in addition to this, that not only was the poem on St Edmund composed for Henry VI during his visit to Bury but also, on other occasions of civic importance Lydgate's verse was used, as, for example, during the visit of Margaret, wife of Henry VI to Paul's Gate in 1445. Unfortunately few details are given of Henry VI's visit to Exeter by Hooker, but one is tempted to suggest a pretty incident during his sojourn at Bishop Edmund Lacy's

¹ Cp. Ashmolean 46, 'of Mars.'

² Cp. Bergen, *Fall of Princes*, I, pp. xxviii ff., for Lydgate's treatment of the decasyllabic line in rhyme royal.

³ Hooker, *Commonplace Book*, under 1451.

⁴ *Register of the Diocese of Exeter, Edmund Lacy*. Transcribed by C. Gordon Browne.

Palace, when part of Lydgate's poem on St Edmund was read in praise of a bishop of the same name, noted throughout the country for his bounty and acting at that moment as host to his own king¹.

EXETER MISC. ROLLS, No. 59.

- A. Of magnanimite the herte of hercules
- B. Prudence in armys to make afeld and set
had with nestor m.nly auysynes
1035 knyhtli chired his foomen whan he met
with Tideus he hadde eke hardynesse
Eek at assaies passyng deleuernesse
and thouth he had bothe hardynesse and myht
he neuer took feeld but a ground of riht.
- C. 1040 That euer he wanne of ffredam and bonte
To parte it forth he was most liberal
in his giftes ther was no skarsete
ffor longe delaies he list noon maak attal
ffor of suche giftes that called ben roial
1045 men seyn with princes who that hath to done
A gift is doublid when it is youe sone
- D. This prince among of naturel gentillesse
wold for disport his story doth deuyse
hawk and hunte tauoiden ydelnesse
1050 vse honest gamen in many sundry wise
and like a knyht to haue excersise
with martial pleies in youth hauyng a guyde
Kn[uf]lythly to teche hym for pees to iuste and ride
- E. And... roial [?]stat
[3 lines missing]
Best demened that men koude owher see
ffor god bi grace maad hym so entier
1060 that he was able alle vertues to leer
- F. This worthi prince famous in alle vertew
Old of prudence of yeres yonge and grene
Chose and ordeined of oure lord ihu
Ten rece in goodnesse of entent most clene
1065 ffor in his courte as it was weel seene
As his maister in youthe dide him teche
Ther was none othe nor dishonest speche
- G. Ffirst in the morwe whanne he did arise
with his knyhtes he was anon conueied
1070 To his oratorie to hiren his seruyce
Al holy thing of hym was so obeied
Cloos in his herte eche vertu was I-keied
Thus toward heuene he was contemplatif
Toward the worlde a good knyht of his lif

¹ The discovery of this Exeter MS. was made by Miss Easterling who drew my attention to the existence of a M.E. poem in the city muniment room. To her I owe thanks; to the Town Clerk for permission to copy it, and to the British Museum MS. Room for the opportunity of collating it with Harl. MS. 2278.

- H. 1075 And of his houshald Steward was plente
 Glad suffisance was his tresorer
 And coutrouler was liberalite
 and true rekneer was called his coffrer
 And humble compassion was his Awmener
 1080 marchal of halle good cheer with gentillesse
 [Signs of last line of stanza—undecipherable owing to cut MS.]

- I. [First line of stanza missing]
 Sobernesse kept his Wache at eue
 Geyn poore folke shet was not his gate
 1085 his warderope open alle needy to releue
 Suche roial mercy dide his herte meue
 To cloth the naked and the hungry feed
 And sent his almesse to ffolke that laie bedrede

- J. Who canne or may kepe klos or hide
 1090 A cleer lanterne whan that it is light
 On a chandelabre what it doth abide
 Or of the sonne difface the bemys briht
 Or ho koude hyndre goddis owne knyght
 This holi Edmund this cristis owne man
 1095 To many a kyngdham but that his fame ranne

- K. Off his noblesse that was the report
 In Estyngland how ther was a kyng
 Of whom the renon by many a strange port
 was rad and sange his vertues rehersyng
 1100 his gouerñnce his knyghtly demenyng
 which cesid nat for tyme it was begon
 Til into Denmark the noble fame is ronne.

- L. Which was occasion of ful grete hatrede
 Of such as had at his noblesse enueie
 1105 Prowesse of knythode were euer it doth procede
 And hih report of famous cheualrie
 [Last 3 lines of stanza missing]

- M. 1110 Now cese a While I wil in this matere
 and in maner make a digression
 Like as myne auctor dooth me plainly lere
 forto reherse the first accasion
 How Danys kam in to this Region
 1115 Aftir reherse the title be writyng
 Of the martirdam of this worthi kyng
 Explicit liber primus Incipit secundus

- N. Somtyme in Denmark ther was a paynym kyng
 As I fynd Lothebrocus was his name
 Which him delited in haukyng and huntynge
 And to disporte hym in suche maner game
 5 And for thencre of his roial fame
 whan he to mars had doon his obseruance
 To serue Diane was set al his plesance

- O. This lothebrocus hadde sones tweyne
wondir despitous and of grete cruelte
10 Hyngwar and Vbba wich that dide hire peyne
To stuffe ther shippis with grete meyne
Lik as piratis to rubbe upon the se
And like men of the Corage wood
Reioised hem euere to sleen and sheede blode

DAISY E. MARTIN CLARKE.

EXETER.

JOHN FLORIO AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY.

Some slight inaccuracies crept into the transcript of a document concerning Florio printed on page 21 of the January number of this *Review*. It is reprinted below in order that the necessary corrections may be made for reference:

Nos Michael a Castronouo, Dominus de Mauuisiera, Baro yonville, et Congresaulti, Eques ordinis Regij, priuati consilij consiliarius, Quinquaginta equitum¹ armaturæ Capitaneus, Gubernator Arcis, et vrbs sancti Desiderij, et apud serenissimam Anglie Reginam pro Galliar(um) Rege Legatus. Tenore presentium uniuersis, atq; singulis indubitam fidem facimus quemadmodum nobilis magister Iohannes Florius per biennium quo in nostro scrutio, et familiaritate versatus est præsertim in nostre filiæ Katherinæ Mariæ institutione linguarum interpretatione, caeterisq; honorificis administrationibus ita prudenter, sincere, et fideliter se gesserit ut non modo nullam de se malæ satisfactionis² notam relinquat, sed et maximopere se michi, et omnibus domesticis meis laudandum, comendatumque³ præbeat: adeo ut in posterum quidquid in eius fauorem, et utilitatem pro virili, et dignitate prestandum occurrerit numquam me meosq; pretermisso pollicear. In cuius rei fidem præsentibus manu propria subscriptas, consuetoque munitas sigillo concaedi iussimus. Datum Londini 28 septembris 1585

M. Castelnau.

There are two copies of the document on successive folios, one in abbreviated form and in Secretary hand, the second, here given, in full and in Italian hand. The full reference, in the Record Office classification, is State Papers 78 (Foreign, France), 14, Numbers 84 and 85, on folios 186 and 187. Both are signed by the Ambassador. S.P. 78/12 is the source of the account given on page 23 of the affair of William Gryse.

FRANCES A. YATES.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

¹ No. 84 reads *grauis armaturæ*.

² No. 84 reads *satisfactionis*.

³ No. 84 reads *commendand(um)*.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TERM 'ESEMPLASTIC.'

De Quincey's discovery that several pages of the *Biographia Literaria* consisted of literal translations from the German of Schelling has led to the assumption that the word *esemplastic*, which Coleridge claimed to have invented, was modelled on Schelling's *Ineinsbildung*. The charge of plagiarism in this particular was first formulated by J. F. Ferrier, who completed the work of De Quincey, and whose indictment has long survived the controversy which it provoked. Even the *New English Dictionary* lends its authority to the conjecture that Coleridge's adjective was 'probably suggested to him by the German *ineinsbildung* forming into one.'

Ferrier, in the course of his article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March 1840, approached this part of his subject by quoting the opening sentences of Chapter x of the *Biographia*, the first of which is supposed to be spoken by an imaginary reader:

'*Esemplastic. The word is not in Johnson, nor have I met with it elsewhere.*' Neither have I. I constructed it myself from the Greek words, *εἰς ἐν πλάττειν*, to shape into one; because, having to convey a new sense, I thought that a new term would both aid the recollection of my meaning, and prevent its being confounded with the usual import of the word, imagination.

Ferrier's comment is in these scathing terms:

To this we, taking up the cause and character of the imaginary reader, reply—'We beg your pardon, sir; but you did nothing of the sort—you met with it in Schelling's *Darlegung*, p. 61. You there found the word *In-eins-bildung*—"a shaping into one"—which Schelling or some other German had literally formed from the Greek, *εἰς ἐν πλάττειν*, and you merely translated this word back into Greek, (a very easy and obvious thing to do,) and then you coined the Greek words into English, merely altering them from a noun into an adjective.' The word is likewise to be met with in Schelling's *Vorlesungen*, p. 313. Such, we will lay our life upon it, is the history of Coleridge's neology in the instance of the word 'esemplastic.'

It is assumed throughout this pronouncement that the equivalence of *Ineinsbildung* to *εἰς ἐν πλάττειν* is not only philologically exact, but so striking and obvious that the one compound naturally suggests the other. Now it happens that late Latin can supply a very fair equivalent in *coadunare*, which has made available to English, though it can hardly be said to have supplied, the verb to *coadunate*. The corresponding adjective, *coadunative*, is in the *New English Dictionary* defined but not illustrated, and of the adverb *coadunatively* only one example is given, that example being taken from Coleridge himself, in *Literary Remains*¹.

¹ 'No person is here spoken of, but reference is made to the philosophic principle that can only act immediately and interpenetratively, as two globules of quicksilver, and coadunatively' (*Literary Remains*, iv, p. 197). On the strength of this example the *New English Dictionary* gives as the only definition of *coadunative*, 'having the attribute of combining into one.' Is not the more natural and obvious meaning of the word, 'causing [the object of the action] to combine into one'? This is certainly the sense which Coleridge intended to convey in another passage in which the word occurs: 'For thought and imagination (and we may add passion) are, in their essence, the first connective, the latter coadunative.' (See *The Friend*, p. 303 in Bohn's edition.)

Let us suppose that Coleridge in 1817 had remembered this product of his own invention, and, reflecting that the word *coadunative* was still new to the reading public, and free of misleading associations, had decided to revive it. The word would then have appeared in the place now occupied by *esemplastic*, and to Coleridge's explanation of its origin and purpose Ferrier might have replied, as plausibly as in the familiar accusation:

We beg your pardon, sir; but you did nothing of the sort—you met with it in Schelling's *Darlegung*, p. 61. You there found the word *In-eins-bildung*—‘a shaping into one’—which reminded you of the Latin equivalent, *coadunare*, and you merely translated this word back into Latin, (a very easy and obvious thing to do,) and then you coined the Latin word into English, merely altering it from a noun into an adjective. The word is likewise to be met with in Schelling's *Vorlesungen*, p. 313.

An indictment in these terms could have been very effectively answered. Schelling's *Vorlesungen* was first published in 1803, and his *Darlegung* in 1806; and at a time prior to the earlier of these dates—on September 10, 1802—Coleridge had written to William Sotheby:

[To the Greeks] all natural objects were *dead*, mere hollow statues, but there was a Godkin or Goddessling *included* in each. In the Hebrew poetry you find nothing of this poor stuff... At best it is but fancy, or the aggregating faculty of the mind, not imagination or the modifying and coadunating faculty¹.

The word *coadunating*, distinguished as it is from *aggregating*², cannot mean merely *joining together*; it must be allowed to convey a meaning very nearly approaching that of *esemplastic*: ‘*forming or moulding into one in the manner of an artist.*’ It must be remembered that Coleridge's definition of *εἰς ἓν πλάττειν* was ‘*to shape into one.*’ In a letter to Sotheby written about two months earlier than the one already quoted (July 19, 1802) he had expressed picturesquely, though with unwonted flippancy, precisely the same idea. He observed that a good image of verse would be a crowd of wild ducks ‘*shaping* their rapid flight in forms always regular³,’ the italics being his own. Imagination, according to this conception, *shapes* the poem as the instinct of the ducks *shapes* their flight. Coleridge thus anticipates, in 1802, not only the idea which he afterwards conveyed by the word *esemplastic* but also his definition of a legitimate poem in Chapter xiv of the *Biographia*:

If the definition sought for be that of a *legitimate* poem, I answer, it must be one, the parts of which mutually support and explain each other; all in their proportion harmonizing with, and supporting the purpose and known influence of metrical arrangement.

I have spoken of *coadunare* as a fair equivalent of *εἰς ἓν πλάττειν* in the literal sense, but it must be admitted that it is not the perfect word

¹ *Letters*, p. 405.

² And, in *The Friend*, distinguished from *connective*, unless there is any essential difference between *coadunative* and *coadunating*. See the sentence quoted on page 329 (foot-note), above.

³ *Letters*, p. 378.

for Coleridge's purpose. In the concluding phrase quoted from the earlier letter to Sotheby—'imagination or the modifying and coadunating faculty'—the reader must feel that the word adapts itself very awkwardly to a metaphorical extension of meaning to which its Latin original, unlike the Greek *πλάττειν*, was wholly unaccustomed. The image of the wild ducks reveals the superiority of the later invention. The instinct controlling the movement of the ducks might be described fancifully as *esemplastic*; it could not be described, even fancifully, as *coadunative*.

P. L. CARVER.

BELFAST.

'L'ENFER DES CHICANEURS' OF LOUIS VREVIN: A PRELIMINARY
TO THE 'LETTRES PROVINCIALES.'

In her admirably organic *Racine*, Madame Saint-René Taillandier cites from the 'bad verses' that Port-Royal did not encourage in its pupil a strophe of the young Racine which links curiously the two phases of the early classic social pity:

Tous ces bâtiments admirables,
Ces palais partout si vantés
Et qui sont comme cimentés
Du sang des peuples misérables,
Enfin tous ces augustes lieux
Qui semblent faire autant de dieux
De leurs maîtres superbes,
Un jour, trébuchant avec eux
Ne seront sur les herbes
Que de grands sépulcres affreux.

The Danse Macabre from the wood carvings of Rouen was not yet forgotten, and the *Lettre d'un Avocat au Parlement à un de ses amis* of 1657¹, citing Gerson, plays into the hands of Pascal with something like a paternal note. Probably by Lemaistre de Sacy, it has a forerunner, that may have been also a hint or a germ for Pascal himself, congruous to the Rouen and Clermont magistrate background, in the long-ignored little pamphlet of Louis Vrevin, *L'Enfer des Chicaneurs*.

The two photographs of copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale I am

¹ The comments on the *Coutumes*, with their learning, piety and *emphase de la robe*, finally wrote their own parody in various dedications and résumés by sons of their fathers before the collections of Lamoignon and Colbert were finished. *Les Plaideurs* of Racine of course ridicules the whole *genre Palais*, but the pamphlet of Vrevin may have made its individual contribution to the reaction ennui of the recusant son of Port-Royal in the well known:

Messieurs, quand je regarde avec exactitude
L'inconstance du monde et sa vicissitude, etc.

Acte II, Sc. iii.

To be found in the Firmin-Didot edition of the *Lettres à un Provincial*, ed. Lefèvre, 1853, pp. 392 ff.

using are dated 1618 and 1622. The name appears as Vrevin at Paris, as it does in the *Coutumes* of Chaulny, but Vervin, the Francian form, in the enlarged edition of 1622, to match the town on the Picard-Flemish line that still bears the centralised spelling. Vrevin is the spelling again in the British Museum second Paris edition of 1622. This is curious, but matches the situation: 'cy devant Advocat au Parlement de Paris: Et de present Conseiller du Roy, & Lieutenant au Bailliage de Chaulny.' A Parisian career of promise was undoubtedly cut short with the closing of the States General of 1614, and with resumption of narrower legal interests, before the expansion into historical philosophical comments which the superior edition of the Chaulny code displays, this somewhat poignant brief cry of protest took form¹:

Considéran'ts les divers tourmens, dont sont gehennés les plaideurs, j'en feray autant de distinctions, qu'ils ont affaire à diversité de personnes: avant quoy faire, néantmoins je priray le Lecteur, & ceux de la qualité portée en ce discours de ne se point offenser de termes généraux contenus en iceluy, pource qu'ils ne blasment que les vicieux, & non les vertueux, le vice, & non les personnes. Nous commencerons doncques par les Sergens, desquels les Empereurs parlans en la loy penultiesme au code de Paen. usent de ces termes *ne diu vaenalis apparitorum perfidias* insurgat in publica commoda: C'est pourquoy l'on les compare aux mauvaises nourrices, lesquelles devorantes la viande de leurs enfans, oignent leur bouche de leur salive, afin qu'on pense qu'elles les aient repeu: aussi voyons nous plusieurs Sergens, qui tirans la quintessence des parties, qui les employent, n'avancent leurs affaires qu'en apparence, si que le travail qu'ils feignent y prendre, n'est que salive de leurs bouches, n'aboutissant qu'à leur perte, & ruyne: & au bout de la point d'expédition pour les pauvres parties, qu'elles ne peuvent tirer que par force, & contraintes parsemées d'argent, desireux de se faire autant caresser, que des personnes qui tiendroient un plus haut rang.

Mais laissons ces gens là, pour venir aux Procureurs (comme dit Symmachus en l'Epist. v du liu. 9 de ses Epistres) se soucient fort peu des parties absentes, de sorte qu'elles sont forcées de les venir bonneter, si elles veulent avoir expedition, encores bien souvent y perdent elles leur Latin, si elles ne prennent en main la conduite de leurs affaires, quoy qu'en la langue sainte, en laquelle toutes choses sont nommées selon leur Nature, le nom de Procureur qui est appelé *filius procurationis*, au 15 de Genese, semble tiré d'une racine qui signifie delaisser comme qui diroit, *filius derelictionis*, cui Dominus omnia sua relinquit & committit: De matiere que toute charge demeure à la pauvre partie, fors, & excepté celle de l'argent, dont elle est charitablement dechargée par le Procureur, qui bien souvent pour n'avoir cette charge trop à contre cœur, ne fait point grand scrupule de soutenir une mauvaise cause, à l'exemple de ce que nous lisons en la vie du Duc Galeas, en laquelle il est parlé d'un Procureur de Milan, qui defendoit toutes sortes de causes, etc.

I have no intention of citing verse and chapter from the *Lettres provinciales* against the Italianate refining and facing-both-ways of the Jesuit countenance, parallel to Vrevin and his *charge à fonds* on the system of which he was himself a part. From English proverbs of the

¹ It does not seem necessary to cite the variants in the two texts in this brief note. They run approximately, *Considérant la pluralité des tourmens*, etc. There is really no perceptible and genuine change in the style, nothing that marks the progress towards Pascal and Sir Thomas Browne, in the two editions that is later shown in the Chaulny code comments, a change no doubt effected to some degree by the *Histoire de son temps* of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, and by Charron and Du Vair.

age to Bunyan, however, and into the anxious effort of the *Augustinus* there is a singular turn at times to the properly ethical tone of the earlier Renaissance of the age of Gerson and his great Groningen disciple, Henry of Gorinchen, in the very early sixteenth century. Not infrequently a dash of its form made a trifle more living and homely, like the tower of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, and the chimney stacks of Le Petit Liré, the best classicism of Corneille's own day and its background in the 'written reason' of the Norman-Picard equity codes.

We vibrate notably between these worlds, 'one dead, the other crying to be born' (if the best of Matthew Arnold's criticism, that concentrated in occasional verse be permitted for a vexed, moot, and still open question as to classic dates and definitions in seventeenth-century France be permitted), in the reference to Socrates, who 'ne voulust point estre deffendu par un Sophiste; parce que comme le corps humain est contrainct de prendre nourriture de ses mauvaises humeurs quand il a faute de bonnes viandes, pour le substanter, de mesmes les Sophistes d'avoir recours aux moyens obliques, & sinistres inventions quand ils manquent de bonnes raisons pour deffendre leurs causes.' Half Republican the age does not fail to recall that 'La dignité consulaire à Rome, estoit (si comme disoit Valerius) à ses soldats une recompense de vertue, & non de sang, & alloit trouver le vertueux en quelque maison, & en quelque aage qu'il fut.'

Finally, 'en sortes que toutes ses considerations bien goustées sont capables de faire prendre resolution à un homme prudent, de perdre plustost la chose qu'on conteste, que de la conserver par des moyens si desavantageux¹.'

If Port-Royal had lacked texts in the *Augustinus*, it had much to its hand in this brief manual, both active and argumentative. But Vrevin's importance for the *Pensées* in his comment on the *Coutumes* of Chaulny is of a different and a profoundly significant literary and literal character, and the new age is fully born, as I cannot but feel, with both. A study of this influence is yet to appear.

MAUD ELIZABETH TEMPLE.

HARTFORD, CONN., U.S.A.

¹ In the spring, still of 1664, the whole magistracy of Avignon, headed by Louis Vrevin (gone into Provence with the general movement to sweeten the *loi écrite* of the Midi with the Northern equity), was in correspondence with Colbert on the subject of the wood and other merchandise shipped past the local custom station of the Pont St Nicolas. Cf. Paris Bib. Nat. Cat. des MSS. de la Collection, *Mélanges de Colbert* par Charles de la Roncière (Paul M. Bondonio, Tome 1, No. 1, pp. 343 ff., Paris, 1920). Thus the *Provincial Letters* appear the plainer as part of the general effort of the Northern *noblesse de la robe* against the whole sophistical tendency of Court formalism in the still ignorant, *frondeur*, or aggressively aristocratic, *noblesse de l'épée*.

REVIEWS

Beowulf and Epic Tradition. By WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. xiv + 349 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Lawrence defines the object of his book in his preface. 'This volume,' he says, 'makes its appeal to those who wish to gain a sound knowledge of *Beowulf* so far as it may be done without an understanding of Anglo-Saxon, and to those who are just beginning a reading of the poem in that language.' Now it is undoubtedly true that the book is popular in the best sense, in that it will interest those who have no knowledge of *Beowulf* save what they derive from translations; it will prove very useful in the hands of quite elementary students. But that is only one, and not the most important, of its functions; despite the excessive modesty of its preface, Professor Lawrence's book is pre-eminently a book for scholars.

It will be interesting to see whether any reviewers fall into the booby trap which the author by his humility has dug for them, and treat the book as mainly popular.

The book is not argumentative, and it may be the case, as Professor Lawrence says, that 'it is concerned with the fruits of research, rather than with the process by which those fruits were ripened and gathered.' But for twenty years Lawrence has been one of the most active workers in that process of research, and the fruits gathered in his book have been very much more largely of his own planting than he permits himself to make clear. In the last two-thirds of the book, especially, he is upon ground which he has made peculiarly his own.

Even when Professor Lawrence has no new facts to contribute, it is valuable to have his verdict upon the many controversial issues which beset the student of *Beowulf*. For it is not to be expected that a book on *Beowulf* can, in these days, produce very much that is new. There is one kind of novelty which is now particularly in favour—the idle trick of seeking notoriety by taking all the well-known data and deducing from them some new hypothesis many degrees less probable than any of the old ones. Novelties of this kind, it is needless to say, Lawrence does not put forward, though in one or two cases he refers with too much tolerant good nature to certain eccentric views which other scholars have advanced.

But one new discovery, of really great importance, is here published, which puts the finishing touch to work which Professor Lawrence has been carrying on for twenty years and more.

It was in 1909 that Lawrence published his *Disputed Questions in 'Beowulf' Criticism*, attacking the interpretation (till then generally accepted) which would make a 'nature myth' of Beowulf's fight with Grendel and Grendel's mother. Lawrence's view was that which Gum-

mere was simultaneously putting forward, that 'one is dealing with folklore, and not with mythology.' Then came, in the next year, Panzer's monumental work, arguing for an explanation which would make the story a version of the Bear's Son folk tale. Two years later still, Lawrence followed up his earlier work by an elaborate article on 'The Haunted Mere in *Beowulf*.' The resemblance between the story of Beowulf's fight with Grendel, and the story of Grettir's struggle with monsters at Sandhaugar, had been noted by Vigfusson long ago: Lawrence produced strong evidence that the story as told of Grettir could not be derived from *Beowulf*, but must be an independent version derived from the same original. The importance of this demonstration lies in the fact that, if both stories are versions of one original, we should, by a comparison of them together, be able to form some idea of what that original story was, which was used to make the plot of the epic of *Beowulf*. Such a comparison emphasises its folk tale character.

Lawrence's argument was, I think, a very strong one: and I believe that a good deal of additional evidence can be mustered to convince those who are not yet convinced. But the argument has been unduly neglected by scholars during the past sixteen years. They have gone on discussing the relation of the story as given in the epic of *Beowulf* to the Bear's Son folk tale and to various analogues, Celtic and other. They have not always realised that, if Lawrence's argument is sound, we have a means of getting behind our extant epic of *Beowulf*, and reconstructing the story in its original form. If we are going to discuss the relationship of *Beowulf* to this or that folk tale, it is obviously to this original form that we must turn, rather than to the sophisticated story, as we get it with all its epic and heroic trappings, in *Beowulf* itself.

And now, in spite of all that has been written about *Beowulf* and the origin of the Grendel story, it has been left to Lawrence to publish another analogue, only less important than the Grettir story. Hints of this had been given by Child, in his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Child had mentioned, in passing, that an episode in the *Saga of Samson the Fair* showed a likeness to the Grendel story. But that saga was only to be found in a rare eighteenth-century edition, and probably for that reason the clue was not followed up. More recently Finnur Jónsson has pointed out the likeness of the episode in the *Samsons Saga* to the Sandhaugar episode in the *Grettis Saga*. But no one before Professor Lawrence has pointed out the real bearing of this analogue upon the *Beowulf* story; he gives a summary of the saga and an extract from it, so that its importance can no longer be overlooked.

It now becomes indisputable that both Child, on the one hand, and Finnur Jónsson, on the other, were right when they perceived the likeness of the episode in *Samson the Fair* to the stories in *Beowulf* and in the *Grettis Saga* respectively. Yet the story in *Samson* can hardly be derived from *Beowulf*, for it has retained certain features which Lawrence has shown to be original, but which are already forgotten in *Beowulf*. But neither can the story in *Samson* be derived from the *Grettis Saga*, for it retains at least one important feature which is corrupted in the

Grettis Saga, though a comparison with *Beowulf* seems to show that the version given in *Samson* must be the original one. Now, if these three accounts of the adventures of Beowulf, Grettir and Samson are independent of each other, we are really in a position to reconstruct the outline of the original tale in a form older than we get it in the epic of *Beowulf*. And, as we do so, its folk tale character becomes more than ever obvious. It is not the Bear's Son folk tale: it does not seem to be the Celtic tale which certain recent scholars have claimed as the original of the Grendel story: but it has close analogies with both of these.

Lawrence's Preface is dated June, 1928. His book was written too late for him to use Dehmer's very valuable monograph, *Primitives Erzählungsgut in den Islendinga Sögur*, the Preface of which bears the date August 23, 1927. The two scholars have been working simultaneously upon the same subject, and each has made his own discoveries. They arrive at very different conclusions, and possibly neither would have altered his conclusions had he been able to read the book of his fellow-worker. But Dehmer would certainly have found the *Samson* parallel important for his study: and Lawrence might have strengthened his case from a study of Dehmer's book, different as many of its conclusions are. I am not certain that the outcome of both books will not be the recognition of a definite type of story, that of the hero who seeks out a gigantic foe in a cave under a waterfall; of this type it may well be that we have examples in *Beowulf*, in the Sandhaugar episode in the *Grettis Saga*, in the mill-foss episode in the *Samsons Saga*, and in the waterfall-cave episode in the *Gullthoris Saga*. We are not at the end of our investigations yet.

But one thing is clear. Lawrence has proved his case, opened in 1909, that the Grendel story in *Beowulf* is not mythology but folk-lore.

The great achievement of Lawrence's book consists in this tracing back of the main story of *Beowulf* to an original which can be dimly perceived through the various Scandinavian analogues. But the solid and sober judgment with which Lawrence threads his way through all the perplexed maze of *Beowulf* controversy makes every portion of the book valuable. This monograph, and Klaeber's edition, are two books of which America ought to be proud: they are two of the most important contributions ever made to Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

In conclusion the reviewer must be allowed one grumble, though it is not against Professor Lawrence, but against the Harvard University Press. In Lawrence's book, and in other books issued from that press, such as Rand's *Founders of the Middle Ages* (1928), the footnotes are, according to a modern custom, given, not at the foot of the page, but at the end of the volume. There may be advantages in this. But unfortunately the numbering of the footnotes begins afresh with every chapter—and the number of the chapter is not given at the top of every page. Nor is the number of the chapter given at the top of the page among the notes at the end—there is merely the heading 'Notes.' The reader who has sufficient curiosity to wish to look up a reference has

therefore to remember what chapter he is reading, or else to look back and find out. He has then to turn to the end of the volume and hunt through page after page till he finds the notes to this particular chapter. It is a laborious process.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

The Pastime of Pleasure. By STEPHEN HAWES. A literal reprint of the earliest complete copy (1517) with variant readings from the editions of 1509, 1554 and 1555. Together with Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Indexes. By WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD. (Early English Text Society. Original Series, No. 173.) London: H. Milford. 1928. cxvi + 259 pp. 15s.

At last a long-needed edition of the *Pastime*. The Introduction is somewhat cumbered with matter that might have been taken for granted, considering the kind of readers who will use the book; but it contains much well-organised information. If it is not everywhere illuminating, one who has spent many weary hours in unavailing effort to account for Stephen Hawes will not cavil. Dr Mead has not thought it his duty to re-examine the authority for the statements that pass current as the biography of Hawes. If he had done so, and had fairly appraised the credibility of Bale and his successors, there would have been less assurance in such assertions as these: 'We may safely infer that he was thus brought into contact with the best that English society had to afford in his day,' and 'As an Oxford man he of course knew Latin.' It is not enough to put in an occasional 'traditionally' or 'he is reputed.' The truth is we know nothing about the man except for the printing of his books, his title of groom of the chamber, and two payments entered in royal account books; and the inveterately conventional quality of his poems makes inferences from them particularly dangerous. It may be added that, barring Field's unimportant allusion, and the puzzling but also unimportant quotations in the Rawlinson manuscript, there is no scrap of convincing evidence that he ever had a reader until Thomas Warton re-discovered him in the eighteenth century.

The long chapter on sources greatly exaggerates the extent and the immediacy of Hawes's indebtedness to the *Courte of Sapience* and especially to the *Margarita Philosophica*, while the two sources definitely mentioned by the poet, the *Mirroure of the Worlde* and the *Recuyll of the Historyes of Troye*, are referred to only in the notes and so doubtfully as to make one wonder whether the editor has read them. The treatment of the difficult subject of prosody is painstaking, but gets us no further. The central problem, not peculiar to Hawes, remains unsolved: how came it about that the learned, as distinct from the popular, poets of the period had such strangely perverted ears for the melody of verse? Some extravagance in the evaluation of literary traits we may attribute to the editor's proper loyalty. Perhaps this will justify even the discovery of 'fresh and charming' verses that 'breathe the air of the sweet

English landscape in the spring.' I should have expected clearer recognition of the pervasive influence of the rhetoricians. The twenty-nine consecutive lines, for example, that begin with 'Wo worthe' may possibly, as here stated, show the poet's habitual economy; it is more important to see in them an illustration of the mechanical employment of a traditional 'colour.'

The annotations are reasonably compact and useful. At a few points reconsideration is needed. The poet is not likely to have omitted birds from the sequence of creative acts (2715), and the change of *foules* to *soules* is unnecessary. *Your above* (4612) is not an 'evident misprint'; the *N.E.D.* gives abundant examples of this locution. If *artyke* in *artyke pole* (522 and 3826), means 'pertaining to the arts,' as given in the glossary, Hawes achieved here something like a paronomasia that is nearer to humour than anything else in the poem.

Undoubtedly the most important part of the book is the text. Here for the first time the poem is offered complete and carefully printed. And here is also a most serious weakness. The editor has chosen to print the text of the second edition, not because there is the slightest indication of revision by the author, but because he has a photostat copy of this text. It is a sufficient reason and did not need to be supported by disparaging as 'fragmentary' the surviving copy of the first edition which, in fact, preserves 4834 of the 5745 lines of the poem. For all merely literary purposes the text here printed may be accepted as adequate. It would have been adequate for all purposes, if the editor had given the variants that would have enabled a student to reconstruct the text of the first edition, obviously one stage nearer to the author's manuscript and for linguistic study indispensable. The paragraph (p. vi) in which Dr Mead explains his practice is disturbing. He had access to all the editions, but he purports to give only a 'selection' of variant readings, and he makes no discrimination between those of the first edition and those of the worthless later reprints. A brief comparison of his text with my rotographs of the first edition disclosed thirty-seven unrecorded variants in the first one hundred and thirty lines preserved in the unique Ham House copy. None of these affects the sense; many are negligible for any purpose. But there they are, and they weaken confidence in an edition that should have been definitive.

ALBERT K. POTTER.

PROVIDENCE, U.S.A.

The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay. From the Original Edition of JOHN CAWOOD. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by BEATRICE WHITE. (Early English Text Society. Original Series, No. 175.) London: H. Milford. 1928. lxxv — 272 pp. 25s.

This edition of Barclay's *Eclogues* supplies a real want, and there should be a great demand for the book. It is the first handy reprint of all five *Eclogues* (as collected by Cawood in 1570, and appended to his edition of the *Ship of Fools*) and more accurate than the Spenser Society

reprint in 1885 of Cawood's work: some careful checking with the original has proved what pains Miss White has taken to ensure correctness. It is the first critical edition, and the first to give us the Latin sources—an important innovation, especially as the Latin sources are not very readily available.

The Introduction on the Life of Barclay and the special section on the *Eclogues* are full of interesting information. Miss White has made good use of Fairholt's Introduction to the Percy Society reprint (1842) of the Fifth and best-known Eclogue (*The disputation of Citizens and men of the Countrey*) but there is no mere repetition: she has gone further, gleaned more, and illustrated better than the older editor.

The structure of the book necessitates some comment. The Notes, textual, bibliographical, and biographical, and assuming also the functions of collations and glossary, are a little ungainly. The variant readings would have been more convenient as footnotes to the Text; or, if this involved practical difficulties owing to the Latin parallels on certain pages, they would have been equally handy as marginalia. Cross-references would have prevented some overlapping from the Introduction, as, for instance, in the case of the Notes on John Allen (cf. pp. i, 221), Morton and Alcock (cf. pp. xx-xxiii, 227-8), and Sir Edward Howard (cf. pp. xxiv-xxv, 256). Most students prefer a separate Glossary and Bibliography. The omission of an Index is always a drawback.

But such inconveniences are slight compared with the scholarship and enterprise of the book. The edition is a very pleasant one, and a valuable contribution to sixteenth-century research.

ELSIE V. HITCHCOCK.

LONDON.

The Complete Works of John Webster. Edited by F. L. LUCAS. 4 vols. London: Chatto and Windus. 1927. xvi + 288, 372, 339, 274 pp. 72s.

This is a noble edition of a very great dramatist and poet. Our thanks are due to Mr Lucas and to Messrs Chatto and Windus for removing a standing reproach to English letters. Webster has been fortunate in his editor, and Mr Lucas has had his work seconded by excellent typography and book-production at a moderate cost.

It is refreshing to have a serious and learned editor approach a great Elizabethan dramatist in the spirit of Mr Lucas, who subordinates erudition to the great purpose which it should serve, the enjoyment of literature. As a first step in this direction, he questions the judgment of the expert critics of modern plays, who apply the technical criteria of a specific ideal, which did not govern the Elizabethan stage entertainment, to the Elizabethan drama as literature. The first proper question concerning a work of art is, 'What did the artist set out to achieve?' And the proper reply, in the case of an Elizabethan dramatist, would take into account many things out of the ken of the technical critic, and omit many which to him would seem essential. The fundamental fact

is that the Elizabethan drama involves not only dramatist, stage and actors, but audience too, and was in a measure a joint manifestation. The audience, as well as the stage, was part of the dramatic medium. This, I think, is a justification to be insisted on equally with Mr Lucas's vindication of Webster's plays on the ground of their poetic quality. And he rightly urges the dramatic quality of the Elizabethan 'great moments.' After all, the business of the drama is to produce the illusion of reality in its audience at the time of acting, and the Elizabethans did it after their fashion, more successfully, we have reason to believe, than the skilled technicians of to-day. Our business, as readers, is to seek to be part of the requisite medium of their art, for our own sakes.

Mr Lucas, in his excellent General Introduction, analyses with vision and understanding, and rightly acclaims, the greater dramatic logic and consistency of Webster's finest plays, whereby the lesser logic is overruled and forgotten. One may regret, perhaps, that Mr Lucas gives way to the criteria he is combating in a passing sentence, 'How many Elizabethan plays are good, as plays?' The implied answer is 'Very few.' He might have stuck to his guns. But perhaps, for I cannot imagine Mr Lucas deserting his guns. I have attached him to the wrong battery, after all. Yet he is capable of setting the practice of Webster above the precept of Aristotle (I, p. 95).

Mr Lucas, for all his general sanity of view and opposition to extremes of criticism or idolatry, is nevertheless in some slight danger of going too far with a recent tendency to limit the excellences of the Elizabethans to their poetic excellence. That they are poets, is true. That they are 'above all else, poets,' may be debated. One may urge that they give a more vivid picture of the real life of their time and place than Ibsen or Mr Shaw. And Mr Lucas seems to lean towards the view that their characterisation and their intellectual quality are comparatively unimportant. One can hardly be anything but uneasy at the mild statement that Mr Shaw's 'Shakespeare has no ideas worth twopence,' 'is an exaggeration' (I, p. 28). And I am unable to see any point in the sentence: 'To us the desperate sadness of the doomed Macbeth is older than Solomon,' used in depreciation and in parallel with Prospero, 'a complacent and unpleasant old man' (I, p. 28). Indeed, Shakespeare comes in for some rough handling. And I for one cannot agree to find *Love's Labour's Lost* unreadable and worse than Webster's worst (I, p. 44), or that Elizabethan humour is 'sad stuff mainly' (IV, p. 154), which is only a half-truth. But Mr Lucas gives us a true and full appreciation of Webster's poetry, free from the one-sided view, for which Charles Lamb in a measure set the fashion, of looking upon Webster as 'a glorified Fat Boy in *Pickwick*,' to use Mr Lucas's amusing phrase. In some admirable pages he interprets Webster's gloom as the shadow of conscious disillusionment which fell upon the Renaissance and which marked the transition from Tudor to Stuart England. But I am not sure that the unconscious disillusionment, or absence of sincere illusions in Webster, is not more striking, as it certainly is in later dramatists. This is a more real accusation than the denunciations of formal morality, which Mr Lucas

deals with faithfully. Webster, indeed, has at last found an interpreter whose literary sense and judgment it is difficult to praise too highly when he is dealing with his chosen poet.

Mr Lucas has gathered together what is known about the life of Webster, which is very little. It is tempting to identify the dramatist, as he does, with the John Webster who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1598. One could, of course, add innumerable contemporary John Websters to the list given by Mr Lucas. I have to add one whom I believe to be the dramatist. For I believe the entry in the Register of St James', Clerkenwell, of the burial of John Webster on March 3, 1638, fixes the date of his death (despite Heywood's well-known reference to him in *The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* in 1634), as Mr Lucas's identification fixes the approximate date of his birth at c. 1580. I have also been able to give very full details concerning the lost play, known from Herbert's entry as *A late Murther of the Sonne upon the Mother*, licensed in 1624. It was composed by Dekker, Rowley, Ford and Webster, not by Ford and Webster alone, and was entitled *Keep the Widow Waking*, or *The Late Murder in Whitechapel. The Repentance of Nathanael Tindall* is a ballad, as Mr Lucas suspects, and a copy is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (see *Keep the Widow Waking*, in *The Library*, June and September, 1927, concerning all these questions). This lost play was written for the Red Bull, and for Prince Charles's Men. Mr Lucas, in the section on *Webster's Life*, does not even mention, except once, the companies for which Webster was writing. But the question has important biographical significance, and merits discussion.

It is impossible not to be disappointed by the choice of plays to be included, or excluded, in what is specifically stated to be *The Complete Works of John Webster*. Mr Lucas has included *Anything for a Quiet Life*, generally attributed to Middleton, and *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, a play from the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio. The latter is definitely stated by Herbert to be by Fletcher, on the information doubtless of the company, and the external evidence is reasonably clear. The former was printed in 1662 by Kirkman as by Middleton. One must have serious grounds for rejecting external evidence, and I doubt very much whether such grounds are adduced. The evidence of style and parallel passages has been strained to the utmost by a series of analysts—and strained to varying conclusions. When the phrase 'fall o' the leaf' is taken as indicative of Webster (iii, pp. 67, 149) it becomes ludicrous. For the phrase was ordinary colloquial English for 'autumn,' and I have met it scores of times in print and manuscript, even in depositions in courts of law. Moreover, the general run of these analyses implies two or three collaborators working together in a round-table conference at a single scene, and we are asked, for example, to trace the hands of Webster, Ford, and Massinger in Act iv, sc. i of *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (iii, p. 150). In the end, having established Webster's hand in these plays, on stylistic evidence, Mr Lucas draws conclusions concerning Webster's style from these plays (iii, pp. 69-70, 153-4).

On the other hand, there are certain plays in which, by common

consent and knowledge, which Mr Lucas does not question, Webster was an important collaborator with Dekker. Yet *Sir Thomas Wyat*, *Westward Ho!* and *Northward Ho!* are omitted from this 'complete' edition of Webster's *Works*. Yet again Mr Lucas includes certain Characters from among Overbury's *Characters*, as being by Webster. He confidently writes of these 'plays he wrote in his apprenticeship under Dekker' (I, p. xii), as if there were evidence of any such relationship between the collaborators. Mr Lucas once more accepts the conclusions of Mr Dugdale Sykes or Mr Pierce. According to Mr Sykes, Webster was allowed to write one scene by himself in *Westward Ho!* and bits of five other scenes, while Dekker did the rest. According to Mr Lucas's approving summary of the votes of five analysts, Webster did bits of five scenes in *Westward Ho!* out of fourteen, and bits of four or possibly five scenes out of twelve in *Northward Ho!*, while Dekker wrote the rest in each play. Yet Mr Lucas suggests that Webster would imitate Dekker's style, and sees clearly how this could upset all stylistic arguments. I hardly think he is seriously interested himself in these problems. At any rate, his normally strong sense of realities seems to desert him when he turns to these textual questions. Surely Webster would be merely a nuisance, if this is all he did—Dekker would have done the whole play more quickly and better by himself, and would not have had to share the fee for writing it. It is high time that the general question of methods of collaboration were competently and thoroughly examined. Not one of the analysts has tackled the question, and all proceed on vast assumptions which could apply only to the method of manufacture of a modern Revue. But even if Webster were Dekker's apprentice, it is not a good reason for excluding these plays, especially if we really could delimit Webster's share. For they would be essential to a proper understanding of Webster's development as a dramatist. The reason Mr Lucas gives is that they belong of right to Dekker, and that one must not go on duplicating editions. When we remember that these plays have not been printed since 1873, in Pearson's reprint, which is, strangely enough, not mentioned in the Bibliography, we may well regret the more that Mr Lucas did not give us an authoritative edition of them, a task for which he is so eminently well qualified. But perhaps the publishers have a Dekker up their sleeve, as we would fain hope. *The Thracian Wonder*, however, is rightly excluded.

Mr Lucas, in the form in which he presents his text, has halted between two ideals, I feel, and I wonder whether one can compromise on these matters satisfactorily. He desires above all to present a readable text. But there is nothing less readable and less attractive than a text in which, as in *The White Devil*, there is a run-on from speech to speech, with speakers' names in capitals breaking up lines of verse which it is intended to preserve unbroken. The only real merit of doing this would lie in the exact reproduction of an original text. Mr Lucas, in fact, only caters for the general reader to some small extent in punctuation and spelling, and in certain editorial emendations tending to elucidate the original. I frankly do not like the somewhat conscience-stricken brackets, carets

and asterisks which mark the editor's interference with his text. Textual Notes would have sufficed for the scholar, and the general reader will not pay much attention to them, except to find them a little distracting. I cannot quite see why Mr Lucas should read *off[f]* for *of*, but *[there]* (Textual Introduction) for *their*. It is true that in the Preface he promises *the[re]*.

In *The White Devil* Mr Lucas's actual readings do not seem consistent with any definite plan. *speches* is altered to *speeches* (v. 3. 81), but *apeare* stands (v. 3. 87), and *frindes* (v. 3. 95). *ere* is altered to *[e'er]*, but *nere* stands (iv. 2. 86, v. 3. 85), and *ne're* (i. 2. 326). *will't* is altered to *wilt*. As for *pre[ce]dent* for *president* and *[e'er]* for *ere*, these can only be described as mere sophistications.

I do not follow, in the same play (iii. 3. 86) how, as suggested in the Textual Note, *rogue* could possibly be misprinted as *grine*, especially if it was at once repeated as *rouge* in the same breath, not even by Mr Lucas's hypothetical temporarily mad printer (iii, p. 338). *rouge* and *roage*, by the way, are quite common MS. spellings of *rogue*. Surely the reading of Q. 1, *Pretious grine rouge*. (note the full stop at the end) indicates a genuine reading, with clear reference to lines 81-3 immediately preceding, concerning the laughing Antonelli and Gasparo who are being watched in sinister mood by Lodovico and Flamineo. Lodovico's previous speech, ending with 'onely to shew his teeth,' shows that *Pretious. grine, rouge. Weel neuer part* (for all your spying), was a possible reading, and I should read it *Precious! Grin, rouge*. As for the *gue* of Q. 2, Mr Lucas is surely right in seeing it, not as Sampson's *gueux*, but as the debris of a muddled press-correction.

The text appears to be very accurate, as far as I have compared it with the original. I note that occasionally we are left with no explanation of a change, and no indication of its nature or of the readings of the original text, as in i. 2. 261 *[here]*, whether in Textual Notes or Commentary. Some remarks might have been offered upon the 'MS. hand' in Garrick's copy of the First Quarto of *The White Devil*, frequently referred to and used by Mr Lucas. Whoever was responsible for the Second Quarto of 1631 ought to have had, at any rate, such credit as was due for correcting slips in Latinity of Q. 1. But for Mr Lucas B is merely 'the stupidest' of editors and 'sheep-like,' and all his variations are 'misprints or conjectural emendations.' Yet I find that B corrects both *peccatorem* (iv. 3. 63) and *levum* (v. 3. 145). Mr Lucas says nothing about B in either case, though he credits C and D with the correction in the second.

But these remarks are offered as an undertone to a dominant and whole-hearted admiration and appreciation of an excellent text accompanied by Textual Notes and a full Commentary. Whoso omits to read Mr Lucas's Commentary does so to his own loss both in erudition and in entertainment. There is a certain shrewd and charming malice, in the gayest of tempers as a rule; which adds great zest to his notes. And he has a very wide reading at his command. My own inadequate reading had not acquainted me, for example, with the strange fits of

piety induced by a potent medicine in Casanova (I, p. 202). His *obiter dicta*, however, are at times a little intemperate, as on the new *Cambridge Shakespeare* (III, p. 238), and, above all, on Heywood (III, p. 136). These are somewhat churlish chidings.

Finally, Mr Lucas has tackled the question of the actual mode of presentation of the plays on the Elizabethan stage, and offers suggestions in the Commentary for each scene. This is one more proof of the essential originality of his outlook in most directions. This edition of Webster has emerged out of a very full knowledge and vivid realisation of Jacobean England and London.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

John Ford's Dramatic Works. Edited from the original quartos by H. DE VOCHT. (*Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama.* New Series, Vol. I.) Louvain: Librairie Universitaire. 1927. vii + 408 pp.

This is the first volume of a continuation of Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des Älteren Englischen Dramas*—a series abruptly broken in August, 1914. The difficulties of resumption, under the new general editorship of Professor De Vocht, are glanced at in the Preface.

Five of Ford's plays are reprinted: *The Broken Heart* from a copy in the Royal Library of The Hague (with a title-page reproduced from a B.M. copy); *'Tis Pitty* and *The Ladies Triall* from British Museum copies; *Perkin Warbeck* (except the last two leaves, which are from a B.M. copy) and *The Fancies* from copies loaned by Professor Bang. To judge from an indefinite statement in the Preface, these copies have been compared with others in the British Museum, the Bodleian and Cambridge University Libraries, in order to identify types (e.g. *e* and *c*, *l* and *I*, long *s* and *f*, : and ;) which are frequently indistinct, for the printing of the original quartos is described as 'very bad.' Inking and paper would seem to have caused much of the confusion. No account is taken of these 'mechanical discrepancies'; but a list of text variants, and textual notes for all Ford's plays (including, probably, the two published in Bang's *Materialien* in 1908) are promised in a third volume which will include reprints of *The Sun's-Darling*, *Honor Triumphant*, *Fames Memoriall*, *A Line of Life*, and a critical study of Ford by Mr Bertram Lloyd.

There is only one bibliographical problem in connexion with the five plays—the last leaf (called K 5) of *Perkin Warbeck*. Prof. De Vocht observes that 'the very numerous variants... imply that either the text was partly set up anew, or got so disturbed whilst it was printing off, that it almost seems to belong to a different edition.' There can be little doubt that K 5 exists in two states because of an entire resetting. (I have used the Bodleian copies: Mal. 158(4) and Mal. 238(5).) Textual variants are very few, but differences in line-adjustment and in type used give

ample proof. Prof. De Vocht has not kept to one state in his reprint. Thus, l. 2770, p. 241 reads:

Dawb.....president:
Mal. 158(4) *Daw*.....president:
Mal. 238(5) *Dawb*.....president:

No doubt the variants will be noted in the lists in the proposed third volume.

This critical note is not too meticulous, for the reprints themselves are very exact reproductions in modern type of the original quartos; not only page for page and line for line, but spacing for spacing and type for type, even where the spacing breaks a word or links words obviously meant to be kept apart, and where type-differentiation causes *I* to be printed where *l* is obviously intended. I have compared one sheet of each play with Bodleian copies and have only noticed two misprints (p. 340, l. 185, 'fortune' for 'forture'; p. 344, l. 321, 'Avri' for 'Auri'), both of which may be quarto variants. One or two other minute points may be mentioned. Hyphens like raised full-points (pp. 15, 16, ll. 303, 359, 360) and raised commas (p. 257) would perhaps have been noticed by editors of Malone Society Reprints. Spacing seems to have caused some very minor divergences; e.g. read 'keepeesilence' (p. 343, l. 302), 'Liveso' (p. 257, l. 299), 'knowne 'ith' (p. 171, l. 227). 'Moreglorious' (p. 89, l. 119) and 'better 'tis' (p. 87, l. 64) are more doubtful.

These very exact reprints will be of great value to scholars and students who are cut off from original quartos or photographic reproductions; and Mr Bertram Lloyd must be finding the textual ground cleared for his critical edition of Ford's works.

R. E. BRETTE.

OXFORD.

Believe as You List. By PHILIP MASSINGER, 1631. Edited by CHARLES J. SISSON. (Malone Society.) xxxiv + 99 pp. 1928 for 1927.

The textual study of our earlier drama already owes much to the *literatim* renderings of play-manuscripts in type, of which the Malone Society has now produced a long series through the labours or under the inspiration of Dr Greg. Here, if anywhere, we can penetrate the mysteries of a dramatic workshop. We can trace the collaboration of author, book-keeper and censor in the adaptation of a text to the practical conditions of the stage. We can measure the differences between plays as they existed in the tiring-house and plays as they came from the press, after the normalizing habit of the compositor had done its best or its worst for them. One of the most interesting of the series is Massinger's *Believe as You List*, to which Dr Greg's methods have been applied with minute care and reliable skill by Professor Sisson. Historic accident enables us to determine the exact conditions under which the text was prepared. When the play was first written, it met with the

disapproval of the censor. It dealt with the deposition of Sebastian of Portugal by Philip of Spain, and the political relations between England and Spain in 1631 made such a theme untimely. Massinger therefore set about a revised version, in which the action was transferred to classical Rome, and Sebastian was replaced by Antiochus of Lower Asia. This is the version represented by the manuscript. It is in Massinger's own hand. As I suspect to have been normally the case when substantial alteration of a play was required, he did not work by *marginalia* and inserted slips, but made a new copy. Part of this consisted of transcription and part of fresh writing. He was occasionally careless, failed to individualize some of his minor speakers, and here and there left the name of Sebastian standing. The manuscript was then gone through by a second hand, or rather, as Professor Sisson has been successful in showing, by a second man, who used now an English and now an Italian hand. He was evidently a book-keeper, who appears in some other play-manuscripts, one of which, that of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, he seems to sign 'Jhon.' Conceivably he might be John Rhodes, who was at one time wardrobe-keeper to the King's men. But such scanty chronological data as exist for Rhodes make it doubtful whether he can still have been with the company in 1631. Possibly the book-keeper worked on *Believe as You List* at two stages. He corrected Massinger's oversights and in particular completed the cutting out of Sebastian. This was in preparation for a further submission to the censorship of Sir Henry Herbert. Herbert, however, having said his say on the earlier version, had now little left to do, except endorse his allowance at the end of the play. One passage, indeed, he 'reformed,' but unfortunately a mutilation makes the nature of the change obscure. But the book-keeper had another function in the adaptation of the manuscript to the purposes of a prompt-copy. He cut out at least one superfluous speaker. He shifted stage-directions so as to mark the exact points at which speakers were to enter the stage. Some of them, placed by the author in the right margin, he rewrote in the left, where they would more easily catch his eye. He appended the names of supernumeraries detailed to take minor parts. He gave more exact specifications of properties required. And he noted the points in advance at which warnings were to be sent to particular actors or property-hands to be ready for coming episodes. Such manipulation throws much light upon the characteristics of stage-directions, as we find them in plays printed from theatre copies. It is notable that Massinger divided the play into scenes as well as acts. The book-keeper, in revising the directions, generally eliminates the scene-indications, and when he writes 'long' against those for acts, it is clear, as Professor Sisson shows, that he is thinking of 'act' as a term for 'act-interval.'

Professor Sisson's standard of accuracy is high. It is, however, in the folio and not the quarto text of *Much Ado* that the singer 'Iacke Wilson' is found. And it is not quite correct to say that outside this manuscript nothing is known of Harry Wilson. He is in the list of musicians and other servants of the King's men, to whom Herbert gave a protection from

arrest in 1624 (J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records*, 74). Here, too, is a Nicholas Underhill, who may, as an alternative for Nicholas Burt, be the 'Nick' of the manuscript. The line-number 2450 is misprinted 2480.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

EYNSEHAM, OXFORDSHIRE.

The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage. By LESLIE HOTSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1928. London: H. Milford. ix + 424 pp. \$5.

The American Universities which provided Professor Hotson with leisure and means for the steady pursuit of research in the Public Record Office since 1922, as well as Professor Hotson himself, deserve our gratitude for a very notable book, the anticipated successor to the author's brilliant work on Marlowe.

Those of us who have been working in recent years upon Chancery records were aware of the rich material awaiting the harvest. And Mr Hotson has presented us with a very considerable instalment of that harvest, in the fields stretching in years from 1642 to 1660 and from 1660 to 1704. For the first part of his book he has derived his information mainly from a thoroughgoing examination in the British Museum of the Thomason Tracts and of contemporary journals, from which he has been able to enlarge our knowledge of the state of the theatre and the bear-gardens during the Interregnum, and to illustrate their continued and persistent activity in London between 1642 and 1655.

The rest of his book is based mainly on a series of suits in Chancery, which he has discovered, bearing upon the theatres, the companies, and individual actors or business men interested in the theatre. With the help of this information he has contributed a vast amount of material towards a new history of the playhouses and of the companies of actors under the Restoration. Incidentally, he has chapters of great interest dealing with Davenant's 'Opera,' and with the activities of George Jolly, an English actor-manager, as the head of a travelling company on the Continent during the Interregnum, and as a dauntless rival to Killigrew and Davenant after the Restoration. Mr Hotson has been able to add a great deal to the excellent pioneer work of Mr W. J. Lawrence on the subject of Jolly and the Nursery theatres. It is typical of Mr Hotson that he gives generous credit to Mr Lawrence here as well as to the occasional assistance of his friends and colleagues elsewhere, especially Professor Rollins.

Mr Hotson presents his somewhat refractory material in a pleasantly readable form, no small achievement; he has a keen eye for the vivid, and lightens his reader's path with his sense of human interest.

It is possibly with this intent that he has relegated the notes to the end of their respective chapters, so as not to distract the reader or to break up his pages. But I must say that I dislike this arrangement heartily, especially as the references to Record Office documents are

mostly relegated still further back to an Appendix. On page 31 a Chancery suit is mentioned. For note 136 we turn to the end of the chapter. There we are referred to Document number 5. Turning to the Appendix, we learn what this suit was. It is irritating to have to read the book, as most of its fit readers will be obliged to do, with a finger at the end of the chapter and another near the end of the book, and I imagine that the real gain of Mr Hotson's arrangement has lain in typographical convenience, at the expense of the reader in actual effect. A number of documents transcribed *in extenso* in the text, as in the chapter on the Duke's company, might perhaps have joined other transcripts left to an Appendix.

Mr Hotson's references to new Chancery suits number one hundred and nineteen, and this is a fair index to the quantity and value of his industry and of his discoveries. It may seem ungrateful and ungracious to demand more of him. But in many instances the information given in Bills and Answers in Chancery suits could be very greatly supplemented and corrected by further proceedings in the Court. Mr Hotson, it is true, occasionally, if rarely, makes use of depositions, decrees and orders, affidavits, etc., but it is not clear on what principle he has used or neglected to use them. While it is probable that he has trusted to indices to various classes of documents, all of which are untrustworthy, he has nevertheless not exhausted these indications even so far as Bills and Answers are concerned.

Similarly, with respect to documents other than those of Chancery, Mr Hotson's work is far from being exhaustive. Occasional use has been made of State Papers, Close and Patent Rolls, records of the Lord Chamberlain's office, Privy Council, the Middlesex Sessions, and the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen (which Mr Hotson calls 'Mayor's Court Repertories,' p. 196). But the use made of such sources is only fragmentary, and mainly at second hand, with unsatisfactory results at times. We very greatly wish that Mr Hotson, when referring us, for instance, to *Notes and Queries* on p. 66, had given also the original source, namely a Patent Roll. Mr Wallace, of course, made it impossible to check his transcript of the 1619 Court of Requests suit, *Woodford v. Holland*, by omitting to state the number of the bundle. But I should hesitate to accept, as Mr Hotson does, an unchecked reading (p. 85), or to state categorically, on the other hand (p. 84), that his 'reading "seventh" is an error.' Mr Hotson certainly (and rightly) corrects the 'Queens Players' of Dr Greg's prentice hand to 'Licens: Players' in Edward Browne's memorandum book (p. 179). But he might have given page or folio numbers here as in other documents. Occasionally insufficient authority is given for statements made. I imagine there has been some confusion in Mr Hotson's notes of cases bearing upon Burt, the scene-house, scenery and costumes of Drury Lane (p. 255 and note 32), for C 6. 221/48 does not furnish authority here. Mr Hotson speaks (pp. 66 ff.) of Duncombe's Clerkenwell bear-garden as a new discovery, which 'has not ever been noticed.' But an account of it, and of a pamphlet and ballad of 1641 bearing upon it, will be found in W. J. Pinks' *History*

of *Clerkenwell* (1865). Indeed, it is referred to as 'a celebrated Bear Garden' in Storer and Cromwell's *Parish of Clerkenwell* (p. 260), in 1828. And his remarks upon the English actors who performed during the Interregnum before Charles II in Paris may be corrected by information contained in Miss Boswell's article on Cartwright in the *Modern Language Review* for April, 1929, derived from a Chancery suit which has escaped Mr Hotson's vigilant notice.

Mr Hotson, as far as I have checked his transcripts, has been on the whole accurate and careful. He appears to alter 'sermise' consistently to 'surmise' in Holland's Answer to Woodford's Bill (pp. 336 ff.), reads 'servaunte' for 'servauntes' (p. 336), and inserts parentheses, if my own transcript is correct. I called attention to this important document in *The Library*, September, 1927. He is not consistent in his proposed modernisation of spelling in the text (e.g. pp. 184-5, 202, 220). And it is surely an excess of squeamishness to refine *Mercurius Melancholicus* (p. 39) and to transcribe *turd* as *t...d* (with one dot too many, by the way). But in general this part of his work is beyond criticism, and may be depended upon.

The title of Mr Hotson's book is perhaps too far-reaching for its actual contents and purpose. It is not a complete and systematic account of the stage in all its aspects from 1642 to 1704. Indeed, Mr Hotson himself makes it clear in his preface that its main purpose is 'the presentation of new material.' He could not, for example, resist the temptation to include a section bearing on the history of the Red Bull at a previous period irrelevant to his subject (pp. 82-6). Perhaps *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage Studies* would have better represented the scope of his work. But when the corresponding sequel to Sir Edmund Chambers's work on the Elizabethan stage comes, whoever undertakes it will find that the ground has been cleared by Mr Hotson in two large groups of sources, and that his book has set a high and a vigorous standard of achievement in the study of the stage. It is a happy feature of the life of the great commonwealth of learning that distinguished American scholars come to work among us, and bring forth fruit of such permanent value.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

The Poems of Nathaniel Wanley. Edited by L. C. MARTIN. (*Tudor and Stuart Library.*) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 108 pp. 7s. 6d.

Professor L. C. Martin has not only produced the best editions of the poems of Crashaw and of Vaughan, but has also discovered a writer of the same age and school whose work as a poet was entirely unknown until 1925, when the present editor contributed to the eleventh volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* an interesting study of Wanley with the texts of a number of characteristic poems. It is true that Mr H. J. Massingham had printed one fine lyric called 'The Invitation' in his *Treasury of Seventeenth Century English Verse*

in the *Golden Treasury* series, but he was unaware of Wanley's authorship, and printed the poem as an anonymous work, having taken it from an early nineteenth-century collection edited by R. Cattermole. By the aid of that good friend to students of English poetry, the first-line index to the manuscript poems in the British Museum, the present editor of Wanley's *Poems* tracked down *The Invitation* to two MSS. in the Harleian Collection in both of which the lyric was found among a group of other poems, obviously by the same author, called *Scintillulae Sacrae*. One of these MSS. contained an Elegy on a John Angell who died in 1655, and showed an intimate knowledge of the topography of Leicester. It had been ascribed by Joseph Hunter in his *Chorus Vatum* to a certain Thomas Pestell, a Leicestershire clergyman, and the *Dictionary of National Biography* had added the suggestion that the *Scintillulae Sacrae* were partly by Pestell and partly by his son. The identity of the author of the poems was finally established by Mr Robin Flower, who discovered a third MS. (Add. 22,472) with the inscription 'sum ex libris Nath. Wanley December 1 1667' in the same hand as not only that in which this MS. is written but also as that which is found in part of one of the other copies of the poems. Overwhelming testimony in favour of Wanley's authorship of the poems followed when a letter-book in the same hand inscribed 'Nathaniel Wanley his booke' came to light, and when a striking parallel between a passage in one of the poems and a passage in a published work by Wanley called *The Wonders of the Little World* (1678) was discovered. It has been as the author of *The Wonders of the Little World* that Wanley has hitherto been chiefly known to the few who have heard his name. Among other curious tales it contains the version of the story of *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* which fired the imagination of Browning. Wanley's other published works include a broadside containing a dialogue in verse with Robert Wild, and a translation from Lipsius.

The poems now published by Professor Martin are the collection of lyrics from Add. MS. 22,472 called *Scintillulae Sacrae*, and the narrative poems and elegies from Harleian MS. 6646, which comprise the whole of Wanley's known verse, except the dialogue with Wild which Professor Martin has not reprinted. As a poet Wanley now takes his place among the 'metaphysicals,' a place below Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan and Traherne, and comparable perhaps to that of Bishop King. His nearest affinity, as Professor Martin points out, is Vaughan, but he never rises to the dazzling splendours of Vaughan's great moments. On the other hand, he maintains a far more steady level of excellence than his great master. Unlike Vaughan and Traherne, Wanley always knows when to stop. His lyrics are all short, as all 'metaphysical' poems ought to be. A few well-chosen conceits are attractive, but strings of them are wearisome. Some of Wanley's are really impressive, as, for instance, the following from *Salt*:

What thou yet calst and thinkst a span
 Unto a mountain streight doth rise
 Whose head is lodgd above the skies

Touches the greate Creators throne
 And there it cryes in such a tone
 As makes the Poles to reele and scarres
 Out of their Spheares the frightened starres.

Sometimes his conceits are 'wittily' amusing, as when he speaks of sin as 'the Falling sicknesse,' and describes Christ's sermons as 'all text.' He is genuinely religious, and expresses the poetry of Christian sentiment with great charm, but it seems unlikely that he had any real mystical experience like his greater brethren among the 'metaphysicals,' and his subject matter, one suspects, is more often suggested by the works of Vaughan than by any events in his own spiritual life. He is a very ingenious and interesting metrist; indeed it is surprising that Professor Martin has not drawn attention to this aspect of his work in his Introduction. He obtains some original and charming effects by slightly altering the rhyme schemes of very common and simple stanzas. For instance, in one poem he takes the fairly common 8484 quatrain, which usually has alternate rhymes, and makes it something entirely fresh by giving it the rhyme scheme of the stanza of *In Memoriam*:

The swift foot minutes post away
 For Time has wings
 That flag not for the breath of Kings,
 Nor brooke the least delay.

But his triumph in this way is to be seen in the lovely lyric called *Humaine Cares*, which should now find a place in every anthology of seventeenth-century English verse. In this poem he uses the common 868688 sextain, but abandons its usual rhyme scheme of alternate rhymes followed by a couplet in favour of three successive rhyming couplets, and so creates a stanza of great beauty which, as far as the present writer knows, occurs nowhere else in English poetry:

These pretty little birds see how
 They skip from bough to bough
 Tuning their sweet melod'ous notes
 Through warbling slender throates
 Nor caring where they next shall feed
 Upon what little worm or seed.

It is noticeable that nearly all Wanley's stanzas are very short, and that he never adventures into the long elaborate rhyming strophes which were so often a snare for Vaughan and Traherne.

The two narrative poems are of surprising excellence. Wanley is perhaps the only 'metaphysical' poet who can tell a story well. *The Witch of Endor* is one of the most powerful short narrative poems of its age and country, and those who come to this poem and *Lazarus* after having waded through the second-rate 'heroic' poems of the seventeenth century will agree with Professor Martin's remark in his earlier essay on Wanley: 'For more like these it were surely no bad bargain to give a *Gondibert* or *Dauides* in exchange!'

Professor Martin sees in the narrative poems an approach to the manner of Dryden and the Augustans, but to the present writer *The Witch of Endor* seems to show a power of calling up dramatic scenes

before the reader's eyes in a manner which is not at all akin to the generalised descriptions of Augustan narrative poetry, and which is also unparalleled among the 'metaphysicals.' In such a passage as that which describes the meeting between Saul and the Witch there is surely something rather of that power of at once giving a vivid impression of the externals of a scene and also of suggesting its inwardness that characterises the work of such writers as Coleridge or Walter de la Mare:

Forthwith a Beldame heares his hasty call
And from a weather ruin'd part o' th wall
Shee thrusts her hoary head, her furrowed front
With chapps and wrinkles deeply engraven on't
Her eye browes juttet o're her hollow eyes
Bestow a blast on almost all she spyes
Her long discolvured teeth at distance stand
A blazing taper filld her trembling hand
And who art thou said shee in an ill houre
Whom wandring steps have led unto this bowre
For croaking Froggs, and shreeking Owles do tell
Tis late at night and after Curfeu bell
I am said hee a lost forsaken man.

It is hoped that enough has been said to show that Wanley is a poet who was well worth reviving. Professor Martin's editing displays that fine and meticulous scholarship which characterises all his work. The only fault that the present reviewer can find is that the commentary is rather meagre. The Shakespearian parallel to the fourth line of *Eternitye* might surely have been noticed, and the very bold and unusual use of the verb 'scarres' in the passage from *Salt* quoted above is also worthy of a note. Finally the word 'phenicopter' in the fourth stanza of *The Newyeares gift*, although it may be recognised by some classical scholars and be not unfamiliar to students of Sir Thomas Browne, might well puzzle even a well-educated lover of poetry, and should certainly be explained.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose. By SAMUEL BUTLER. Edited by RENÉ LAMAR. Cambridge University Press. 1928. xxi + 504 pp. 15s.

In the Prefatory Note to his edition of *Characters and Passages from Note-Books* the late Mr A. R. Waller announced his intention of issuing a third volume 'in which will be printed the remaining poems known to be Butler's, together with several hitherto unprinted passages, and in which an attempt will be made to separate the wheat from the chaff in the matter of many poems attributed to him.' Now, after an interval of more than twenty years, that project has been successfully carried out by Professor Lamar, who has loyally adhered to the lines laid down by Mr Waller. In the work of separating wheat and chaff there is plenty of room for difference of opinion, but Professor Lamar is pretty certainly justified in asserting 'that no valuable composition has been

omitted.' He rightly maintains a sceptical attitude towards the so-called *Posthumous Works*, from which he has accepted nothing 'that does not present positive evidence of, or trustworthy witnesses to, its genuineness.' It is to be wished that he had indicated more clearly the relation of his text to the manuscripts. By reshuffling some of the material he has made it difficult to determine clearly what is new in his volume, and future students of Butler would have benefited had the folio reference accompanied every excerpt.

In the first section of the book, consisting, to use the editor's classification, of Formal Satires, Pindaric Odes, Ballads, Mock Encomiums, Translations and Miscellaneous Pieces, Professor Lamar has made only two insignificant additions to the received text—the fragments entitled *An Epistle to a Friend* and *To Thomas*. In the section called Poetical Thesaurus, a name suggested by Thyer, the pious editor of the *Genuine Remains*, he has included all the 'sketches and thoughts in verse conveying sense by themselves,' while 'the tentative lines and fragments left in the rough, together with the variants of, and allusions to, *Hudibras* are collected in the Appendix. Much of the Thesaurus is printed here for the first time, and the whole of the Appendix is new with the exception of thirteen fragments that were included in the 1822 edition of the *Genuine Remains*. To the prose division the editor has made two additions. He has accepted as genuine the *Mola Asinaria* on the authority of Anthony à Wood, and *Mercurius Menippeus* on grounds of internal evidence.

The passages reprinted in the Thesaurus and in the Appendix are full of critical interest. They reveal Butler's habit of jotting down his thoughts in verse for later manipulation either in prose or in verse. The three volumes of Butler's works would reveal to the patient investigator an astonishing number of parallel passages, and even the most casual reader must be constantly aware of bewildering echoes. Sometimes the thought appears first in prose, as in the note in *Characters*, etc. (ed. Waller, p. 356): 'There are some things Naturally performd by Birds and Beasts that may seeme rather to proceed from Divine Revelation then anything that is don by Man: For wee finde by experience, That Birds can keep an Accompt of the Time they sit [untill their] yonge ones are hatchd without the knowledg of Numbers.' This reappears in the Poetical Thesaurus (Lamar, p. 193):

Without the Tale of Numbers, Birds are wont
To keep of Time, an exquisite Account
Can cast up all their Recconings, How long
They are to sit, before they hatch their yong.

Sometimes we find Butler clothing the same idea in different verse forms. Here we get striking proof of Butler's dependence on his favourite metre. In decasyllabics his pungency and wit are smothered in otiose epithets, for, as Thyer observed, 'the Poet has done little more than fill up the Verse with an additional foot.' How much better is

What but Powder of its own
Can give a Luster to a Stone?

(Lamar, p. 408)

than

What Art have Jewellers t' Improve a Stone
Unless with Dust and Powder of its own?

(Lamar, p. 181)!

One of the best of his satires, *The Elephant in the Moon*, Butler took the trouble to re-write in decasyllabics with the original rhyme-endings, and again the inferiority is marked. As if to illustrate their theme, the lines:

He found a *Mouse* was gotten in
The hollow Tube, and shut between
The two Glass-windows in Restraint
Was swell'd into an *Elephant*;
And prov'd the virtuous Occasion.
Of all this learned Dissertation,

are swollen into this elephantine form:

He found a small *Field-Mouse* was gotten in
The hollow *Telescope*, and shut between
The two Glass-Windows, closely in restraint,
Was magnify'd into an *Elephant*;
And prov'd the happy *virtuous* Occasion
Of all this deep and learned Dissertation.

Yet, while Butler's genius seems to move most easily in Hudibrastic verse, and while to an almost unprecedented extent he is virtually a poet of one metrical form, he has left proof that in parody he could essay other metres with triumphant skill. His Pindaric ode, *To the Happy Memory of the most Renown'd Du-Val*, and his *Repartees between Cat and Puss at a Caterwalling in the Modern Heroic Way* are two of the happiest satires of their century.

'Misprints in the *Genuine Remains* and other editions,' Professor Lamar explains, 'have been corrected. Except when obviously eccentric, Butler's spelling and "pointing" have been retained. But, when the lack of punctuation would have unnecessarily puzzled the Reader, it has been silently supplied.' Reference even to the few lines already quoted will indicate the difficulty of understanding the principle on which the editor has punctuated. And it was surely an error of judgment to interfere with Butler's spelling on the ground of its supposed eccentricity. In his satire *Upon Critics who judge of Modern Plays precisely by the Rules of the Antients*, Butler, according to Professor Lamar, refers to 'the French Filon Corniele,' but it would appear from Professor Spingarn's transcript of the poem and his special note upon this passage (*Crit. Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, II, p. 352) that Butler really wrote 'Filew Corneele.'

When Thyer's *Genuine Remains* appeared in 1759, the book received a long and laudatory notice by Goldsmith in *The Critical Review* (July and September, 1759). Goldsmith's admiration for Butler was boundless. He considered that the poet knew how to 'join the humour of Lucian to the philosophy of Plato, and unite the virtue of Socrates with the wit of Aristophanes. . . he displays an equal knowledge of men and books.' And it appears from the review that Goldsmith, who is not usually credited with the painstaking quality of genius, had taken the trouble

to correspond with Thyer before writing his articles. One remark by Goldsmith has certainly not lost its force to-day. 'We are tempted to wish, however, that Mr Thyer's studies had led him a little more than they seem to have done, into those piddling walks of pamphlet and polemical reading, from which alone can be drawn the illustrations of many dark passages of his admirable author.' The plan of the series no doubt prevented Professor Lamar from attempting to illuminate these dark passages. But a fully annotated Butler is a real desideratum, and a fourth volume consisting of notes and glossary would suitably round off this very useful edition.

J. H. LOBBAN.

LONDON.

The Letterbook of Sir George Etherege. Edited by SYBIL ROSENFELD. London: H. Milford. 1928. 441 pp. 18s.

All students of history and of letters will welcome this handsome volume. It seems strange indeed that the *Letterbook* has had to wait publication so long, for no collection of its kind in the Restoration period surpasses it in interest, if not in historical importance. The literary student will regard it, as the editor clearly does, as the text of a diplomatic comedy in which a master of Restoration comedy plays a not very happy part. The comic spirit of which Meredith spoke must have smiled with quite special mischievousness when she saw one of her own particular devotees transferred from the London he loved to that scene of German squabbling, petty intrigue, and monumental ineffectiveness which the Diet at Ratisbon represented in the later seventeenth century. That the splendid rake who wrote *Sir Fopling Flutter* should, 'for belly's sake,' be fated to spend his latter years in sitting out that prolonged and dismal farce is one of the minor ironies of literary history. The pure historian will not regard it in that way. The *Letterbook* may throw some new light on the duplicities of the diplomatic game as played out at the Diet of Ratisbon between His Christian Majesty of France and the Emperor, or rather between the motley crowd of envoys and commissioners and secretaries on both sides, in the good old days of the balance of power. We rather think, however, that Macaulay (who first used the letters), and the others, including Sir Edmund Gosse, have creamed off the most interesting historical matter of the correspondence, and that its chief attraction now is the inimitable picture it gives of manners and personalities as depicted by an exasperated and bewildered wit and debauchee.

Unfortunately Sir George did not avail himself for long of the open invitation of the courtier-statesmen who sent him out as envoy to the Diet, to be himself in his correspondence. Secretary of State Middleton had written him as early as December, 1685: 'I hope in a little time we may hear something of your diversions as well as your business, which would be much pleasanter, and perhaps as instructive.' When professionalism settles on even a wit like Etherege, he becomes a dull dog,

as his painstaking attempts to unravel the mystery of Imperial politics in those official letters show. He cannot alter his way of living, it is true. He cannot throw aside the cynical libertinism which the English court had encouraged in him. Hence the tangle of scandalous rumour in which his name is invested at Ratisbon—rumour which is wafted to England by his own secretary, who is in the pay of the Imperial Commissioner Windischgrätz! Here is matter for an historical fiction of the serio-comical kind. There is no tragedy discoverable in the letters. No voice of lamentation comes up from the desecrated life of the states and peoples who were the pawns in the high game of diplomacy. The novelist would have to add that for himself!

I find Miss Rosenfeld's Introduction to the *Letterbook* a model for such introductions. The difficult historical matter is placed before the reader in an intelligible way, and quite the right tone, in my view, is observed towards Sir George himself. His libertinage is permitted to speak for itself, with the most charitable allowance for the age he lived in. I sometimes think our own age, which takes its own liberties, is peculiarly fitted for the charitable understanding of the men of the Restoration. Read Etherege's letter to Buckingham (not given here for the first time) when the latter, worn out with debauchery, retired to Yorkshire,—'Is it possible, I say, that your Grace should leave the Play at the beginning of the Fourth Act, when all the spectators are in pain to know what will become of the Hero... that the Duke of Buckingham who never vouchsafed his embraces to any ordinary beauty, would ever condescend to sigh and languish for the Heiress apparent of a thatched cottage, in a straw hat.' They wore their vices with a grace, and this Miss Rosenfeld has tactfully recognised and allowed for. What a change from Macaulay!

G. KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

The Poetry of Collins. By H. W. GARROD. (Warton Lecture on English Poetry. *British Academy Proceedings*, XIV.) London: H. Milford. 1928. 20 pp. 1s.

Collins. By the same. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 123 pp. 5s.

There have been many essays upon Collins, and many editions of him; otherwise, so far as I know, he has never yet had a whole book written about him. A good one like Mr Garrod's was wanted. It is fitting that a Professor of Poetry should discourse on the friend of Thomas Warton. This small volume, as he says, is 'built round' the British Academy lecture: most of the lecture is carefully tessellated into it. The method is minute and critical, the good old line-by-line method which is Johnson's and which is now too little used. The *Ode to Simplicity* (pp. 59-65) is analysed at length, like most of its companions. The gold dust is patiently washed out of one poem after another. Collins is often hard to construe; his grammar has again and again to be thrown to the lions, the textual judges: his scholarship, his Greek allusions, are vulnerable, and we had

better know it. Mr Garrod's expertness in the classical field qualifies him for such comment, and also sharpens and concentrates his power of admiring what ought to be admired. New light is thrown in passing on many points in poetical history. The common tastes of the Warton clan, and their ties with Collins, come out very clearly. It is suggested with some force (p. 35) that Gray studied the *Ode to Evening*. The pedigree of the family scene in the *Elegy* and in the *Highland Ode* (p. 36) is traced back, through the *Seasons*, to Lucretius; and, we exclaim, how thoroughly Lucretius wipes out all these English poets with his *tacita pectus dulcedine tangent*! The *Song* ('Lo here, beneath this hallow'd shade'), printed by Chalmers as Thomas Warton's, was assigned to Collins some years ago by Mr Iolo Williams; and Mr Garrod is much inclined to agree (p. 115). Certainly the imagery and music are strongly suggestive of Collins,—or else of an imitator; but in 1746, when the lines were first printed, he was hardly well enough known to have imitators.

Some of Mr Garrod's conclusions seem rigorous. He spends time in duly *deflating* Swinburne's praises of Collins; and this has often to be done when we read Swinburne. Yet, when we have done it, we usually find true criticism beneath all the superlatives; and Swinburne did bring out the great virtue of Collins, his lyrical intensity and felicity; qualities inconstant, often baffled, chilled by the temper of the time, but undeniable, undatable, and never far off. Mr Garrod, of course, sees all this, and states it well; he sees a score of excellences to which Johnson was blind; and yet, in his revulsion from excess, he swings back towards Johnson. Sometimes he seems to be almost afraid of liking his poet too much, in spite of an obvious and confessed 'tenderness'; but perhaps it is his heart that is right. Most of us would agree that Collins did not make more than two 'master-poems,' *Evening* and *How sleep the brave*; and also, that the *Passions*, though unsustained, comes next in point of execution. I would plead, also, that the *Ode on the Death of Mr Thomson*, though on another level, is, in its own decorative way, well harmonised in style. Its truth of feeling keeps it right with the 'fundamental rightness' the presence of which Mr Garrod, after marking all the sources of annoyance, truly surmises. The remark, twice made, to the effect that Collins 'wants, as a whole, sentiment and mystery,' is obviously qualified by that just one (p. 116) on the *Highland Ode*, that it has the 'quality of *marvel*.' (I do not, by the way, see anything amiss in the 'thymy shore' of the *Ode to Simplicity*.)

The account of 'the revival of interest in Collins or rather the awakening of interest in him—which began four years after his death' (pp. 38 ff.) could, no doubt, have been expanded. Several writers have pointed out that there are still earlier signs of interest; for instance, on the part of J. Gilbert Cooper. Material has been gathered in Mr W. C. Bronson's edition (1898); in Mr A. D. McKillop's paper, 'The Romanticism of Collins' (*Studies in Philology*, Jan. 1923); and more recently by Mr H. O. White and others. Mr Garrod is well aware of these enquiries, and refers to some of them. But the moral is that a new complete memoir, accompanying a new edition, of the poet is now wanted, including a study of

the changes in his reputation and of his literary connexions; and that Mr Garrod, if I may say so, is the man to do it. Such a work would in no way supersede the present volume.

OLIVER ELTON.

OXFORD.

The Old French Romance of Amadas et Ydoine. An Historical Study. By JOHN REVELL REINHARD. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1927. 218 pp. \$3.50.

This work is a comparative and historical study designed to accompany the author's edition of *Amadas et Ydoine* published in the *Classiques français du moyen-âge* in 1926. The Old French romance still contains much that is of interest to the student of mediaeval life, and its popularity at the time of its production is attested by the many allusions to its central theme in English, Dutch and French literature of that epoch. In fact the hero and heroine soon came to be classed among the lists of famous lovers which include such well-known names as Lancelot, or Tristan and Iseult. After giving us some idea of the external history of the poem, Dr Reinhard passes to a summary of its contents and a review of the 'motifs' which he attempts to classify and to trace to their respective sources. Most of the themes are common to the romances of the period—the squire of low degree, the haughty lady, the test of worth may be met with in many another 'roman d'aventure,' although Dr Reinhard thinks that the analogies between *Amadas et Ydoine* and *Guy de Warwick* point to a rather more than fortuitous concurrence. 'Le merveilleux' in its different manifestations could hardly be absent from any regulation romance of that period, but the author of *Amadas* seems to have drawn direct from his classical sources rather than from contemporary literature. Dr Reinhard points out that the description of 'nouveau' (fama) seems to be based directly on the Latin passage (*Aen.* iv, 173–88) rather than on the parallel passage describing 'fame' in the *Énéas* (1541 f.). For the 'trois sorcières' he cannot find any analogous passage in O.F. literature, and in this case too he alludes, though rather more vaguely, to classical sources. We feel sure that the model for the 'sorcières' in *Amadas et Ydoine* (as for certain other practisers of 'nigromancie' in the Middle Ages) is to be found in the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, where the proceedings of the Thessalian witch are described at great length, and amongst her magical powers are precisely the two on which Dr Reinhard lays stress—viz., *resusciter la morte gent* and *faire les cœurs courir à rebours* (cf. *Pharsalia*, ed. Housman, vi, ll. 473, 507 f.). Another reference to the same work may be found, we think, in the inclusion of Julie (if the author's correction of Ulie into Julie be accepted) amongst the faithful spouses. Dr Reinhard confesses to being entirely in the dark as regards this allusion, but doubtless the author had in mind Julia, the first wife of Pompey, whose devotion to her husband, even after her death, is celebrated in the Latin epic (cf. *Pharsalia*, III. 1 f.).

The chapter on mediæval conventions does not contain anything very new. The torments of love and the descriptions of feminine beauty are commonplaces in the literature of the period, and the writer himself admits that, in most of the 'motifs,' the *Amadas* poet has availed himself of themes current in folk-lore and mythology from the time of Euripides to the present day. In the use made by the poet of the 'love-madness' and the 'fairy abductor' episodes, however, he detects an element which 'is more indubitably Celtic than it is anything else.' Dr Reinhard cannot resist the Celtic lure, and he concludes that 'if Celtic origin be allowed for even one motif, then it is but reasonable to assume that the poet drew from Celtic sources also those elements which are found elsewhere in addition to being found in Celtic.' We do not find this argument very convincing.

As regards the personality of the poet, Dr Reinhard accepts Gaston Paris's view that he was an Anglo-Norman clerk possessed of a certain modicum of education. His references to unfaithful wives make us wonder whether he was as well versed in vernacular literature as he was in classical. It is difficult to see why, even in jest, he should include Aude, Blancheflore and Iseult amongst the faithless ladies. His views on love, on women, on life in general are entirely those of his time and his 'milieu,' though expressed with more cogency than by some of his contemporaries. Dr Reinhard points out that the age of the Arthurian and courtly romance had already declined and given place to 'a growing predilection for more homely stuff.' The poet's insistence on natural love and on pure love leads him to suspect some special purpose in the poem and to conclude that the claim to be an *Anti-tristan*, which Wendelin Förster had assigned to Cligès, might with even greater justice be applied to *Amadas et Ydoine*. Dr Reinhard's book, which is written in racy style and furnished with an 'Appendix of illustrative material,' gives an excellent idea of the 'genre' to which *Amadas et Ydoine* belongs, and the Bibliography should prove useful to all students of that period.

J. CROSLAND.

LONDON.

Aus Frankreichs Frührenaissance. Kritische Skizzen. Von PH. AUG. BECKER. Munich: Max Kellner's Verlag. 1927. 208 pp. 12 M.

Professor Becker has devoted himself for a great many years to the study of French literature in the first half of the sixteenth century, and his books on Jean Lemaire de Belges, Bonaventure Des Periers, and Clément Marot—to name the principal ones—have been recognised as important contributions to our knowledge. In the present volume he has collected eight articles, written at different times during the past twenty years, all dealing with the period which he has made his own. As he says in his preface, they have been written not only at different times, but on different plans. Three of them are reviews of books by American authors, and their principal object is, he tells us, to fill up the

gaps in the knowledge of many students that have been left as the result of war and inflation. He is thinking, no doubt, more especially of German students, who must have suffered even more than those of other countries from the almost prohibitory high prices of foreign books, and from the difficulty of obtaining access to them. It is to these that the articles on Miss Ruutz-Rees's *Charles de Sainte-Marthe*, Miss Harvitt's *Eustorg de Beaulieu*, and Mr Hawkins's *Charles Fontaine* are primarily addressed. They would be more useful to students of other countries if they were in the form of reviews rather than independent studies, that is to say, if they enabled the reader to judge more easily what addition Professor Becker has made to the full and careful researches of the American writers. I note that he has made a slight correction in the date of Sainte-Marthe's appointment to the Professorship of Theology at Poitiers (p. 122), and that he has pointed out that the unknown *belliqueur* whom Fontaine accompanied to Venice was the Maréchal Annebaut, who commanded the unsuccessful naval expedition against England in 1545. A feature of these and the similar articles on Denisot and Peletier is that they are mainly biographical; Professor Becker is more interested in the lives of the writers whom he discusses than in their writings. Not that he is unaware of their literary merits and defects. He rightly judges that Sainte-Marthe and Fontaine and Eustorg de Beaulieu are of no importance as poets, and he declares, here fully agreeing with Miss Ruutz-Rees, that Sainte-Marthe's funeral oration on Margaret of Navarre is not only his *chef-d'œuvre*, but also one of the most successful oratorical productions of the century. I could wish, however, that he had given some attention to the part taken by Fontaine and Sainte-Marthe in the question of Platonic or spiritual love. Fontaine is particularly interesting on this side, because he did not belong to the circle of the Queen of Navarre, and, probably for that reason, is free from Neo-Platonic influences.

Peletier is more important than the other four. In his many-sidedness, his passion for learning, and his restlessness he is a typical son of the Renaissance. Professor Becker rightly rejects the statement of Tabourot and La Croix Du Maine that he was the author of the *Joyeux Devis*, and he pertinently asks, 'When, in the midst of his serious and busy life, could he have had time for a work so alien to his nature?' Though he refers to M. Laumonier's article in the *Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France* (xii, pp. 256 ff.; see also *La Vie de P. de Ronsard de Claude Binet*, pp. 225-6), he does not discuss his opinion that Peletier was a member of that more intimate circle formed by Ronsard which became known as the *Pléiade*.

Professor Becker's first paper is very different in character from the others. It deals with Christophe de Longueil, better known as Longolius, who was distinguished as a scholar and a Ciceronian, but who did not condescend to write in the vernacular, and it is by way of an appendix to the study of his life and letters which Professor Becker published in 1924. He reprints from a rare, if not unique, edition in the National Library of Vienna (1533) a long Latin letter which Longueil wrote to his friend, Pierre Brisson, giving an account of some stirring adventures

by land and water which he experienced during a journey from Valence to Switzerland in 1513. Professor Becker appends a German translation to the Latin original, and enters a *caveat* that possibly Longueil's narrative is purely a fable. If it is, Longueil's power of inventing circumstantial details, which have nothing improbable about them, is very remarkable. Passing over the careful, thorough, and well-documented article on the history of verse-epistles in French literature, we come to a long account of another scholar, Étienne Dolet, who went to Padua in 1525, three years after Longueil's death there, and made warm friends with his protégé and disciple, Simon Villanovanus. Here, again, it would have been more satisfactory to those who know Christie's great book, if Professor Becker had added to the warm general acknowledgment of his preface specific references to the points on which he differs from him. He has corrected him in the matter of certain dates. Langeac's embassy to Venice, on which Dolet accompanied him, is fixed by documentary evidence, and Dolet's sojourn at Toulouse by his correspondence. This leaves a gap in his life from June, 1529, to July, 1533, which our knowledge does not enable us to bridge over. If, during this period, he wandered from one place to another, it would not be surprising, for Professor Becker's book helps us to realise that 'wandering scholars' were as much a feature of the Renaissance as of the Middle Ages. I have referred elsewhere to Charles de Sainte-Marthe as an instance of this, but the two men now before us who wandered most and farthest were Peletier and Longueil. Peletier's busy and varied career embraced Paris, Poitiers, MontPELLIER, Lyons, Annecy and Le Mans, and he visited Basle, Milan, Rome, Venice, Urbino and Naples. But he is surpassed by Longueil, who in his letter to Brisson declares that with the object of knowing men and cities he had visited the whole of France, Germany, Hungary, Moesia, Illyria, Italy, Spain, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and England. Thus the biographical details on which Professor Becker has spent so much care are not devoid of interest. There are only a very few misprints to notice. 'Havard' should of course be Harvard; the author of *Toulouse in the Renaissance* is Dawson, not 'Wadson'; and M. Laumonier has only one *n* in his name.

A. TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

AUGUSTE VIATTE. *Les Sources occultes du Romantisme. Illuminisme—Théosophie, 1770–1820. Tome I. Le Prérromantisme. Tome II. La Génération de l'Empire. (Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée, XLVI, XLVII.)* Paris: H. Champion. 1928. 331 and 332 pp. 60 fr.

M. Viatte's subject in the two substantial volumes before us is the part played by 'Illuminism' or theosophism (as distinct from theosophy à la Besant) in French literature between 1770 and 1820. Of late years scholars have been turning their attention to the religious connexions of Romanticism. Recent polemics concerning the nature of 'pure'

poetry have been tending in this direction. While the psychologist has been seeking to explain the spiritual symbolism latent or evident in much Romantic literature in terms of his own science, historians and biographers have dwelt on the mystic leanings of certain of the poets. Such studies show that Romanticism is no longer considered as a merely literary antithesis; and their ultimate effect may well be to discredit the term Romanticism altogether. The originality and usefulness of M. Viatte's work are that it constitutes a continuous history, whereas previous enquiries have been fragmentary; and that it is written from within the subject, by which we mean that M. Viatte knows at least as much about 'fancy religions' as he does of literature. That is an advantage that his predecessors have not always had. We will not say that he has the '*impartialité scientifique*' to which he lays claim in his preface. A present-day spiritualist would not welcome him as a brother. Nor would a hard-bitten rationalist. The orthodoxy of M. Viatte appears to be that of the tolerant Catholic, for he has none of the Protestant's impatience of the uncharted eccentricities of the soul. Only the familiarity of the author with his subject makes him unfamiliar, a trifle remote and austere, to the reader. Otherwise it may at once be said that the matter and manner of the book are sound and pleasing.

According to M. Viatte, then, 'Illuminism' of one kind or another has always existed. We can well believe it. Established religions provide for average belief in average times; even, the older and more prudent among them, for that entirely religious phenomenon, the unbeliever. But, just as no philosophy can cope with new philosophers, so no established religion provides for the born theologer, for those who 'like to make their own.' As governments engender minorities, orthodoxy begets schism. When the one is up, the other is down. And, further, the play of general circumstance, M. Viatte assures us, has a lot to do with the relation of the one to the other. When authority of all and any kind is imperilled, then the Cagliostros and Mesmers take their stand in the market place and 'illumine' the darkness of the people. So in the latter part of the eighteenth century and indeed throughout the century. It is here, therefore, that M. Viatte chooses to begin his enquiry.

We cannot follow him chapter by chapter. But we may say that, in his first volume, he is chiefly concerned with the various 'schools' of religious mysticism in eighteenth-century Europe, their originators (in particular Martines de Pasqually and Swedenborg), the centres, such as Avignon and Copenhagen, where the faithful foregathered; and with the expounding of their somewhat mysterious differences of doctrine. After which, in a long chapter, '*L'Illuminisme des Salons et des Carrefours*,' he shows the popular misinterpretations of mystic doctrine and its running to seed in the hands of unscrupulous or ignorant necromancers. The social popularity of the 'fancy religions,' in those days as in ours, would appear to have been greater than their immediate effect on literature. To find any trace of the latter, M. Viatte is obliged to disregard Voltaire and Rousseau, and to give weight to the words of those prodigal and inconspicuous sons of literature, Restif de la Bretonne

and 'Cazotte. One point of definitely literary importance emerges, however, to wit, that the great 'vulgarisateur' of mystical doctrine in the late eighteenth century in Europe was the phrenologist Lavater. The point is important because it shows at once the weakness and the strength of the position. In a sense Lavater's influence was immense; his correspondence was more voluminous than, and his correspondents as distinguished as, those of Voltaire. In another and more real sense he had no influence at all. We have to set Rousseau and Voltaire against Lavater to assess the unreality and thinness of the mystical influence on the body of French pre-Romantic literature. It was not in France as in Germany, where the malady was endemic.

A somewhat similar conclusion can scarcely be avoided after a perusal of the second volume, which deals with the period of the First Empire, and in which we see such dissimilar spirits as Joseph de Maistre and Mme de Staël seeking to cap their personal achievements in rationalism with a borrowed halo of mysticism. We find ourselves asking uneasily whether, in view of such encounters, the symbols under which the encounter takes place have any meaning at all, since they obliterate personalities and assimilate opposites. If Joseph de Maistre and Mme de Staël were both in some degree and at one time or another 'mystics,' what is a mystic and what is mysticism? The psychologist would say that it is the surrender of personality or the desire to quit the cumbersome business, more cumbersome in the case of genius, of being oneself. When many people are at one time affected by this desire, without being conscious and professing mystics, the historian is ready with his mass epithet 'mal du siècle.' So that we reach the somewhat surprising, but not un instructive conclusion that these names, so varied and suggestive, 'mal du siècle,' Romanticism, mysticism, Illuminism, yea, even Theosophy inclusively understood, are names only, and that the thing is one thing viewed from different angles. We can sympathise with the Teutonic school which, with a particular eye to the honours of Romanticism, declares that the thing, this aspiration towards 'das Reich der Lüfte,' is 'rein deutsch': and we can understand no less its rejection by patriotic rationalists of the Maurras school. Behind all this there is a cleavage, fertile and mysterious: but is it geographical or historical, in time or in space? Is it that which distinguishes one race from another or merely one man from another, or one man at one time from himself at another time? Is it simply the always unresolved equation of what we call intelligence or consciousness and instinct or emotion: and are these antinomies real or merely formal?

For the present, we can only indicate the limited conclusion offered somewhat too apologetically by M. Viatte. We can understand his uneasiness in presenting it, for it is simply that the 'Illuminism' of which he writes is not definable in terms of itself nor distinguishable from Romanticism in general. It is religious romanticism. Somewhat ruefully M. Viatte quotes M. l'abbé Bremond: 'Romantisme égale mysticisme, et mysticisme égale catholicisme'; and although he rejects as 'unscientific' the abbé's 'prejudice' in favour of catholicism ('Dé-

gageons nous enfin,' he says optimistically, 'des préjugés qui ne nous représentent comme *religieuse* que la foi dans laquelle nous vivons'), yet he does accept the first part of the proposition. All his copious documentary evidence tends to show that the title, *Les Sources occultes du Romantisme*, is misleading. 'Illuminism' is not a 'source' of Romanticism. It is Romanticism under another name.

The book is beautifully printed, the text is almost flawless. But there are too many, far too many notes; and far too many sentences whose humble content is dramatised by superfluous question-marks.

D. G. LARG.

LONDON.

Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz. Von K. JABERG und J. JUD. Bd. I, Familie—Menschlicher Körper. Zofingen (Schweiz): Ringier & Co. 1928. 198 maps. 220.55 Sw. Frs.

Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument. Von K. JABERG und J. JUD. Halle: Niemeyer. 1928. 243 pp. 16 M.

The geographical method of philological enquiry is now firmly established in the Romance domain as one of the richest and surest sources of linguistic enlightenment. Scholars of the most varied type and representing the most divergent schools bend to its chastening discipline and exploit its possibilities. The etymologist who neglects it is either a mere theorist or a humbug. It exercises a most fruitful guidance over such works of pure scholarship as Menendez Pidal's *Orígenes del Español* and finds abundant grace even in such unlikely places as the *Breviario di Neolinguistica*. There will therefore be unanimous rejoicing over the appearance of this the first volume of Jaberg and Jud's long awaited atlas (already known to scholars as the *AIS*), which brings appreciably nearer the day when the whole of the Romance area of Western Europe will be adequately surveyed. Reverently and inevitably, the new atlas, the last born of the offspring of the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (the *ALF*), is dedicated to Jules Gilliéron 'dem unvergesslichen Meister der sprachgeographischen Forschung.' Pupils and friends, both of them, of that great pioneer, Jaberg and Jud, while remaining faithful to the teachings of their master, have continually sought in their numerous and varied philological writings to give his methods wider application, both historically and geographically. Gilliéron, though he occasionally lamented the lack of reliable data concerning the other Romance fields, more often deliberately closed his eyes to anything outside the Gallo-Romance dialects. Moreover, his belief in the science of linguistic geography was so unreserved that he was content to work backwards from the map of existing speech, and sort out the varied geological strata underlying it, only occasionally calling in the help of Littré, Godefroy, Meyer-Lübke and the *Dictionnaire Général*, and then, as often as not, merely to flout them. And it was well that he did so. His mistrust of the written document and his reliance on the geographical fact perforce

developed in him a knowledge of certain aspects of the inner workings of language, not only of dialect, but of standard French and of speech in general, which has never been equalled, and which is there for us to share if we have the wit and patience to pursue with him his laborious delving and sifting and his masterly assaying. Like Schuchardt, another great enlivener of modern philology to whom our two authors owe much, Gilliéron had something of the self-taught man about him. His scheme of values was anything but academic. Just as to Schuchardt the *Mischsprache* of the Creole was as full of interest as the French of Versailles, so to Gilliéron, as he grappled with the problem of word-life, a secondary or tertiary *mouche-ep* for 'the bee' was of as much or of more importance than a primary *apis* or *apicula*. Jaberg and Jud have shown themselves to be more sensitive to academic values. Their works are thus of easier access to the uninitiated than many of the later pamphlets and articles of Gilliéron. I know, for example, no better 'first steps' in linguistic geography than Jaberg's *Sprachgeographie* (Aarau, 1908), or no article better calculated to enlighten scholars on the wider possibilities of linguistic geography than Jud's *Probleme der altromanischen Wortgeographie* in the *Zeitschrift* (1917).

With the greater respect for the historical document which characterises their work, and their concern for the more strictly academic problems of Romance philology, there was a danger that the two authors, in constructing the questionnaire for the Italian Atlas, would be tempted to give it a doctrinal bias. This they have not done. Their aim has been, not to elicit archaic or rare dialect words, but to register in the 405 points explored, under as nearly as possible identical conditions, the every-day vocabulary of the ordinary man, as far as the limits of a 2000-word questionnaire and the necessary artificiality of any deliberate linguistic enquiry would allow. Only so could the Atlas serve as a reliable instrument for that synchronistic study which is the very essence of the geographical method. The basis of their questionnaire is therefore that of the *ALF*, extended and modified to suit Italian needs, after many years of practical testing in the field, and with the added flexibility of a special adaptation when local conditions, so different in Northern and Southern Italy, demanded it.

Though following to this extent the pattern set them by the *ALF*, the authors have in other respects definitely improved upon their illustrious model, not only from the material point of view¹, but also in technique and arrangement. They have registered, as Griera did for the Catalan Atlas, the speech of a certain number of towns, especially in North Italy, using for the purpose a questionnaire reduced by the elimination of specifically rural terms. This was wise in a country where the towns are still much less affected by standard speech than they are in France. They have also, in twenty-nine different localities, more or

¹ The maps are a delight to the eye and pleasing to handle. The paper is good and the printing excellent. I note only two minor flaws: the orange-coloured numerals are a little too yellow to be read with comfort by artificial light, and the characters for *i* and palatalised *i* are at times a bit too much alike.

less evenly distributed over the whole territory, made use of a questionnaire of some 4000 words (twice the size of the normal one) in order to determine on a larger scale the vocabulary of the most important well-defined dialect groups. The material from this augmented questionnaire is partly inserted in the margin of relevant maps, partly reserved for later publication. Lastly, and this is the most interesting innovation, they fly, as Jaberg says, the twin flag of 'Wörter und Sachen.' The atlas is an object as well as a word atlas. The words were collected in associated groups and are to be published in categories. Thus, this first volume contains the words relating to the family and to parts and functions of the human body. The next, which is well under way, is to contain the terminology of handicraft, the numerals and the calendar, land nomenclature, weather terms, metals and minerals. Six others are to follow and give us flora and fauna, clothes and customs, etc., and the various and multitudinous activities and implements of the household and of rural life; and finally the whole will be illustrated by a comprehensive volume of photographs, depicting utensils, tools, costume, houses and topography, and arranged in groups corresponding to the distribution of subjects throughout the atlas itself. This arrangement of the material and the linking up of word and thing by illustration, a method particularly applicable to Italy which is still fairly free from the standardised products of modern industry, clearly marks a great step forward. Not only will the *AIS*, with its rich store of ethnographical material, appeal to a wider public of scholars than its predecessors, but, by bringing the linguist into a closer relation with the concrete facts of human experience, will still further clip the wings of abstract philological speculation.

The only point in which the *AIS* might be considered to be at a disadvantage when compared with the French and Catalan atlases is that it incorporates the work of three observers instead of one. The bulk of the exploring was done by that devoted and skilful worker, P. Scheuermeier, who gave up over six years to the task and is responsible for the 305 localities investigated in the northern and central areas. Southern Italy and Sicily (eighty points) were surveyed by that distinguished scholar G. Rohlfs, and Sardinia (twenty points) by M. L. Wagner, whose competence in this field is unrivalled. But the disadvantage is more apparent than real. It is true that three observers must of necessity differ greatly in temperament, adaptability and receptivity, and to some extent even in outlook. It is true also that the notations of Scheuermeier, trained, by the way, in the now world-famous Swiss school of dialectology, appear to show a greater sensitiveness to the subtleties of sound than those of his two fellow-workers. But it may be that in the sunnier south the contours of speech are indeed sharper than in the north, and in any case the flaw, if flaw there be, is more than compensated by the experience and special qualifications of Rohlfs and Wagner in their respective fields, which have, moreover, in themselves, complete geographical unity or continuity.

A work of the magnitude of the *AIS* fills the reviewer's heart with

admiration and dismay: admiration at the vastness of the undertaking and the energy and self-sacrifice displayed by all participants in bringing it to fruition, dismay at having to describe it within the limits of a short article and after a necessarily rapid perusal. Fortunately the introductory volume is there to lighten his task. Here the reader will find, not only comprehensive details concerning the general economy of the atlas, the methods of transcription, choice and distribution of localities, the identity and personality of the 'subjects' interrogated together with the full questionnaire, but also a discussion in general terms of principles and practice in collecting, assessing, and interpreting the raw material which a linguistic atlas provides, a piece of authoritative theory which confers upon this indispensable accompaniment to the atlas an intrinsic and independent value.

No attempt can be made at this stage to do anything approaching justice to the specific contents of the first volume of maps. Nearly every one calls for its own special monograph. They are not only loaded with information but bristling with problems, some of them quite unsuspected, for a linguistic atlas is a great demolisher of accepted views and theories and, setting as it does the complexity of reality in sharp opposition to the simplicity of academic formulas, makes the rebuilding of the edifice a very lengthy, if also a most entrancing task. One must be content for the nonce to indicate, in summary fashion, a few of the more obvious points of interest and some of the problems which a first and brief acquaintance reveals.

Although the main concern of the work is with lexicography, there is abundant material for phonological study even in this single volume. The extreme diversity in word and sound that characterises the Italian vernaculars, already so strikingly outlined by Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, is everywhere revealed. Maps like 'un occhio' (101), 'le orecchie' (103), 'il fiato' (167), etc., are excellent sound-charts, while the cleavage between colloquial and standard pronunciation stands out sharply in maps like 'baciare' (67), 'il cuore' (137), and those containing *uomo* and *uomini* (47, 181, 182). The rarity of the diphthongised forms in the last three maps, and the irregularity of their distribution where they are retained or adopted, call for comment. Not only is this an illustration of the slender autochthonous background behind many of the forms of literary Italian—morphological as well as phonological (cp. *sono* in map 146, 'sono rotte,' *dolgono* in map 133)—but it gives an air of unreality to the formulas of the so-called historical grammars. These and other maps, like 'il padre' (5), 'sua madre' (8), 'la madrina' (36), where one locality (640), with *padre*, *matre* and *kommare* (< *commatrem*), and another (612), with *patre*, *mate* and *kommare*, show three different renderings of the same consonant group, give ample proof, if proof still be needed, of the truth of that famous dictum: 'chaque mot a son histoire,' and show, as Jaberg has pointed out with reference to the representatives of *campum* in modern Provencal, that without preliminary investigation it is impossible to accept any word, even one which, *prima facie*, would appear to be essentially autochthonous and an

indispensable and enduring element of local vocabulary, as either indigenous or a norm of indigenous phonology.

As regards vocabulary, the individuality and importance of the peripheral areas, Rhaetia and Sardinia, and to a lesser extent Sicily, stand out in clear relief. The archaic character of the Alpine and Sardinian vocabulary was of course well known, but is given fuller force and meaning when presented cartographically, as, for example, in the maps 'cieco' (188) or 'la milza' (141) where *orbus* and *splen* are seen surviving on either side of broad areas of apparently later stratification. Maps of this type are not only of Italian but of general Romance interest. What, for example, are the relations between Sardinian *corruttu* in map 79 ('portare il lutto') and O.F. *corrouit*; between Sard. *ruppiare*, *gruspiare*, etc., map 171 ('sputare'), and Fr. *roupie*, which we are told is Arabic? How is it that on the map 'brutto' (183) Sardinia shows *brutto* in conjunction with Italy, *feo* in common with Spain, and, at the same time, forms reminiscent of French and Provençal *laid*? What is the stratigraphical relationship between the forms *maritare*, *sponsare* and the peripheral *conjugare*, all vigorously represented on map 69 ('...non vi sposate?')? What is the history of the struggle between *pilos* and *capillos* portrayed in map 95 ('i capelli')? Is *pilos* the usurper, as has been suggested, or *capillos*, as the present distribution appears clearly to indicate (cp. the Rûmn., Span., Prov. and O.F. forms)?

Sometimes there is or has been open conflict between two Latin rivals: *caecus* and *orbus* ('cieco,' 188), *macer* and *siccus* ('magro,' 185), *pantex* and *venter* ('il ventre,' 128), *mittere* and *ponere* ('Gli pose'..., 150), *palma* and *planta* ('la palma della mano,' 152), *respirare* and **flatare* ('respirare,' 166), *dextra* and *directa* ('la mano destra,' 148), *barba* and *mento* ('il mento,' 115); sometimes the fight is with a foreigner, an invader: *gremium* and *skos* ('il grembo,' 129), *splen* and *milzi* ('la milza,' 141), *dorsum* and *skina* ('la schiena,' 131), *gabata* and *wanka* ('la guancia,' 113), or, possibly, a pre-Latin relic: *calcaneum* and *gar-* derivatives ('il calcagno,' 165). In every case, whether the reasons for the defeat of the vanquished or retrograde form are fairly clear (e.g., semantic overload in the case of *pilos*, *siccus*, *barba* and *dorsum* (?)), or not immediately discernible, the tracing of the vicissitudes of the conflict and the determining of the stratification underlying the surface phenomena will prove a most illuminating task.

We shall discover to what extent the vernaculars of Italy are victims of phonological attrition as compared with those of France; how they deal with the clash of homonyms; the prevalence of hybrid forms (e.g., *plena* crossing with *prægnans* in the 'gravida' map, 74); the methods of word therapeutics (e.g., *rava*, *ayaya*, etc., for *ava* in the 'nonna' map, 17) and their powers of recuperation generally. We shall have a clearer estimate of the vigour and individuality of the various dialects, their powers of resistance and methods of reaction against the encroachments of standard speech, and the direction and extent of these encroachments. We shall receive new light on the penetration, the zones and centres of diffusion of non-Italian forms throughout the vernaculars of the penin-

sula, whether they be of Greek, German, Spanish or French origin. Above all, we shall receive clearer insight into the constitution of literary Italian itself. As Jud has pointed out in his article in the *Gauchat Festschrift*, the application of the geographical method to the study of literary Italian shows that a number of its forms are definitely non-Tuscan. This is brought out with remarkable force in the present volume by such maps as 'le nozze' (71), 'il dente molare' (109), 'la mascella' (116), 'il ventre' (128), 'mi dolgono' (133), 'la mano destra,' 'la mano sinistra' (148, 149), 'le lentiggini' (198), 'la madrina' (36). It may well be that we shall have to revert to the Dantean conception of the *vulgare illustre* as a composite and conventional *koine*; but this again is a matter for prolonged and careful investigation, for which the atlas will provide the only safe basis, as well as the indispensable material.

The ethnographical value of the present volume, particularly of maps like 'la culla' (61), 'la pezza' (60), 'portare il lutto' (79), 'il corredo' (70), and many others, needs no elaboration, and is beyond the competence of the present writer. A final word, however, must be said about the great psychological and human interest of many of the maps in this first collection, especially of those that are grouped under the impressive and all-embracing rubric 'Amore, Nascita, Matrimonio e Morte.' For words are not merely convenient counters for the communication of ideas, but also the vehicles of human feeling and emotion. Thus, a complete psychology of love might be deduced from the study of that wonderful mosaic of sentiment, the map 'lui l' ama molto' (65), with its juxtaposition of *estimare*, **volere bene*, *habere carum*, *habere gaudentem*, *placere* and *amare*. As was to be expected, maps relating to the parts and functions and disabilities of the human body have a peculiar and varied interest of their own. The well-known lack of delimitation and consequent instability of certain terms are well revealed in the words for 'ciglia,' 'sopraciglia' and 'palpebra' (102), in 'la guancia' (113), where 'jawbone,' 'mask,' 'face,' 'temple' and even 'moustache' can all be found, in 'la nuca' (119), and in 'le tempie' (100) which is specially interesting with its *mentes* and *memorias*, side by side with forms reminiscent of German 'Schläfe' such as *somnum* and *dormitorium*, and the descendants of ὕπνος which appear in the two Greek localities represented by points 748 and 792. The causes which give diversity to these physiological maps are numerous. At times it is merely some phonological flaw in the primitive word which prompts replacement, like the weakness of the intervocalic *v* in *uvula*, witness, in the map 'l' ugola' (111), *l' ūla* in Piedmont and *a ūla* only in one locality in Sicily; at times diversity is due to more spontaneous creation and may be imitative ('tartagliare,' 194), jocular ('il moccio,' 169), imaginative, or folkloristic ('il fico d' Adamo,' 120, 'la noce del piede,' 164). Elsewhere, substitution may be the outcome of modesty or shame, as when *allattare* gives way to *dare da mangiare*, *nutrire* or *rincurare*, and even the psychological distinction between grossness or obscenity on the one hand and mere impropriety on the other is shown to have linguistic significance by the uniformity of maps like 'pisciare' and 'cacare' (178, 179) as opposed to

the extreme diversity of 'ruttare' and 'vomitare' (173, 174), or of 'seno' and 'capezzolo' (126, 127).

The above rapid survey will serve perhaps to convey some idea of the wealth of material which the *AIS* contains and the multitudinous interests to which it appeals. Whether the rival atlas which is in process of construction by Italian scholars, on a still greater scale, materialises or not, the atlas of Jaberg and Jud will stand securely as a memorable achievement in the annals of Romance philology.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

Germanische Heldensage. Von HERMANN SCHNEIDER. Erster Band. (*Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, x. Band, 1. Teil.) Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1928. x + 442 pp. 15 M.

Professor Schneider's book is the first comprehensive history of Germanic saga. The first volume deals with all those Germanic sagas which have found expression in German poetry, whether the saga originated on German soil or not, and the second volume will deal with the others.

Schneider first examines the various theories which have been advanced with regard to the origin and spread of heroic saga. He points out the danger of forming theories based on analogy only. Wrong conclusions have been drawn by over-estimating the apparent close relationship between Germanic sagas and those of other peoples. Thus a too important part has been ascribed to mythology by those who argued from the analogy of Greek. But other theories have been advanced which are entirely without grounds. Thus heroic saga has been described as 'eine unmittelbare Äusserung der Volksseele,' and it has been said that this 'Äusserungsform ist die Volksdichtung, die buchstäblich dem ganzen Volk angehört, nicht nur als Besitz, sondern als Schöpfung.' All this is rightly dismissed as 'vage Schwärmerei.' In place of such vague guess-work Schneider builds on the solid foundation of evidence. He shows that there is no evidence that heroic poetry in early times ever became 'Volkslieder.' On the contrary it remained 'Kunstpoesie.' In the earliest period it was 'heroische Adelspoesie, durch Helden vor Helden gesungen und von Helden handelnd' (p. 11).

Too much stress has been laid on the historical basis of heroic saga. History is merely one factor among several. The poet is a creative artist, but where the poet departs from historical fact we must not regard his departure in every case as deliberate. The poet relied, at any rate in early times, on oral tradition, and not on written records. Thus Attila is depicted not as the scourge of God, but as a kindly ruler, because this view of him had become traditional.

But the point on which Schneider insists is that the poet is a creative artist: 'Das Individuum schafft das Heldenlied und damit die Heldensage' (p. 10). Thus, for example, the *Hildebrandslied* is the creation of a poet; before the poem was composed no Hildebrand existed. The poet who created Hildebrand created at the same time the saga. Here it is

useless to search for an historical Hildebrand. The *Hildebrandslied* illustrates the spread of saga also. It was composed in Upper Germany (Schneider assumes that this view is now generally accepted) and was written down in a form to make it acceptable in Low German lands, whence it travelled further north. *Hildebrand's Death Song*, which Asmund Kappabani incorporates in his *Fornaldarsaga*, tells us how Hildebrand killed his own son, and Schneider argues that the words *enn svási sonr* must be based on the *suásat chint* of the *Hildebrandslied* (p. 320). Evidence is adduced, from Old English, for example, to prove that singers changed their masters and wandered far afield.

On the basis of such general principles and of solid evidence all the German heroic poems are analysed in detail, and an attempt is made to separate the various layers of which they are composed, and to show the relation of these layers to one another. Synthesis follows analysis, and the steps in the development of the stories are worked out.

A noteworthy feature of the book is the masterly arrangement of a very large number of facts. This orderliness and the simplicity and perfect lucidity of the style make Schneider's work a pleasure to read.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

LONDON.

Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway. By MAGNUS OLSEN. Oslo: H. Ashehoug; London: Williams and Norgate. 1928. xv + 349 pp. 8s. 6d.

This English version of Professor Olsen's *Ættegård og Helligdom* is a welcome addition to the series of volumes published under the auspices of the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture at Oslo. An improvement upon the original work is the addition of a small-scale map of Norway, facing p. 1. The author, here appealing to a wider circle of readers, has also added a short preface, in which he emphasises the value and importance of comparative place-name studies. His plea for international co-operation among students of place-names is a timely one. Movements for the systematic treatment of place-names have of recent years attracted more and more attention in various European countries. It is fitting that the scheme of work adopted in Norway with such splendid results should be advocated by Professor Olsen as an international one also. It may be mentioned in passing that the scheme is virtually that which is at present in use in England for the Survey of English Place-Names.

Professor Olsen's book is the outcome of a series of lectures, which here form a number of connected chapters, dividing the work more or less into three sections. The first consists of a chapter introductory to the rest; in addition to giving a brief outline of the subsequent matter it contains the author's credo where place-name studies are concerned. His definition (p. 3) of the term 'place-name' is a happy one; by it he understands 'a word or word-complex that, within a certain community,

whether great or small, instantly—through an association by contiguity—evokes the idea of one particular place.'

Chapters II-VIII contain a detailed exposition of the manner in which place-names, rightly studied, can throw a flood of light on the social history of a country. Emphasis is laid on the importance of the farmstead in the old Norwegian social and economic system, and with it on the significance of the various strata of elements that went to make up the names of the farms. Beginning with the newest name-formations and working backwards, the author shows that the oldest terms in use were *vin* 'natural grass-land,' *heimr* 'dwelling-place,' *land* and *setr* 'habitation, dwelling place,' more or less in this chronological order. These terms belong to the prehistoric period and were already practically out of fashion during the early part of the Viking Age. In the case of *heimr* one may perhaps mention that its not infrequent use in England in the Northern Danelaw, where it occasionally replaces the equivalent Old English *hām*, would suggest that it was a living place-name element to a date somewhat later than Professor Olsen is inclined to fix for it. Of the other chief suffixes found in Norway, *staðir* 'dwelling-place, farm' does not appear to be older than the Viking Age. It is the first comparatively common element met with in Iceland; it is also well represented among Scandinavian names in England. To the Christian period belongs *ruð* 'reclaimed land or clearing'; a number of names in *-ruð* are not earlier than the medieval period. An interesting part of this section of the work is devoted to the distribution of certain name-types, e.g., *bólstaðir* (pp. 65 ff.); here again, the evidence obtainable from Iceland and from the Scandinavian settlements in the British Isles is of great interest.

From a general consideration of the parish-names Professor Olsen passes, in his last two chapters, to a more detailed treatment of names reflecting the history of paganism and Christianity in Norway. He is concerned in particular with three name elements: *hof* 'heathen temple,' *høgr* 'sanctuary' and *haugr* 'burial mound,' to which he adds also *vangr* 'meadow' and *skjalf* 'shelving, slope.' He shows that *høgr* represents the more primitive type of sanctuary in Norway and Iceland, corresponding in fact to the Old English *hearg*; whereas *hof* represents a memorial of public worship, *høgr* implies a pagan sanctuary of a more private nature; he also accounts in this manner for the association of women with *høgar*, where Frey, the god of fecundity, was worshipped. The significance of *hof* is emphasised by the fact that the word is often used for the name of a farm in an uncompound form; Professor Olsen notes eighty-five examples of names of this kind; *vangr* too has associations with public worship; he has thirty uncompound examples to prove its common occurrence in every part of Norway. Another point which he brings out is that names in *hof* and *vangr* were attached to religious centres in heathen times, which at a later date became ecclesiastical parishes, thus indicating a continuity of worship unbroken by the transition from paganism to Christianity. The *haugr* as a burial mound of a prominent ancestor, whether historical or mythical, was

chosen as the place at which public worship was performed for the whole cantonal division; this use of the burial mound as a religious centre for the political divisions among the Scandinavian peoples seems to find its counterpart in those English counties where the Scandinavian settlements were dense and lasting. In any case, the frequent use of the term *haugr* as a suffix in names of hundreds and wapentakes in the Danelaw is not without significance in this connexion.

This short notice does not in any way do adequate justice to the many interesting problems which Professor Olsen has raised and for a number of which he finds a satisfactory solution. It is to be hoped that, now the work is accessible to all English readers, it will have a stimulating effect in inducing a number of students to take more than a passing interest in the study of place-names and all that diligent research on them can bring to light.

Professor Olsen has been fortunate in his translator. The translation is throughout so competent and readable that it may seem ungracious to call attention to any slips. It is regrettable that a few inconsistencies and a number of minor errors of an obvious kind (e.g. p. 32, l. 24; p. 36, l. 2; p. 39, l. 20; p. 44, l. 5; p. 55, l. 14; p. 75, l. 22; p. 155, l. 19, etc.) should suggest that some of the proof-sheets have not been read with as much care as might be expected in the case of a volume in such an international series.

O. K. SCHRAM.

LIVERPOOL.

SHORT NOTICES

The Problems of Hamlet, by G. F. Bradby (London: H. Milford. 1928. 60 pp. 1s. 6d.), though a small book, contains a good deal that is worth the consideration of anyone interested in the dramatic problems of *Hamlet*. The author belongs to the historical school of criticism, that is to say, like Professors Stoll and Schücking and like Mr J. M. Robertson, he seeks to explain Hamlet's character in terms of textual evolution; or rather he finds two Hamlets in the play, the young student of Wittenberg and the man of thirty, each with his own character conceived by Shakespeare at different periods. Mr Bradby makes no reference to his predecessors in this line of criticism, and perhaps the scope of his little book forbade him doing so. In any case, his is quite an independent study, and those who find Mr Robertson or Professor Stoll unconvincing will be unwise to ignore Mr Bradby on that account. And whatever one may think about his final conclusions, it is impossible not to admire the skilful analysis that leads us to them, analysis which draws attention to several discrepancies and other matters of interest hitherto, I believe, unnoticed in print. For example, he points to a passage in the grave-yard scene which has always seemed to me quite impossible to reconcile with the usual notions of Hamlet's character and of his attitude towards Ophelia. I mean the extraordinary exclamation that escapes him when he first realises that the body upon the bier is that of Polonius's daughter.

“‘What, the fair Ophelia!’” writes Mr Bradby, ‘may express emotion, but sounds much more like surprise.’ I not only agree, but would go further. Such words, adequate perhaps to an unexpected encounter with the funeral of one’s washer-woman’s daughter, cannot have been uttered by a man with any feeling whatever for the dead woman—the epithet ‘fair’ is conclusive on that point.

There can, of course, be no reasonable doubt that the text of *Hamlet* is the product of at least one and probably more than one rehandling of the original by Shakespeare, and that this has left traces in the play. But when Mr Bradby declares that these traces are serious artistic defects, I should join issue with him, and in particular I should entirely disagree that the character of Hamlet, despite the discrepancy in age, is anything but an artistic unity. Mr Bradby at the outset of his essay draws a distinction between two kinds of difficulty: (i) those inherent in the story which Shakespeare received, and (ii) those arising from the consideration of the characters themselves. I cannot help feeling that if he had started by sorting out his problems into (i) those arising for persons reading *Hamlet* like a novel or a chronicle of actual fact, and (ii) those which puzzle spectators of the drama in the theatre, his attempted solutions would have proved more profitable. Nevertheless, he has given us a thoughtful and provocative little book, and I for one am grateful to him for it.

J. D. W.

In the lectures on *The Sources of English Literature* (Cambridge: University Press. 1928. 131 pp. 6s.) given by Mr Arundell Esdaile while he was the Sandars Reader in Bibliography at the University of Cambridge, Mr Esdaile has brought together a body of knowledge that should be the property of every student of English literature. From his wide knowledge of printed books he has presented an outline of the sources of the bibliography of English literature that supplies the inexperienced student with a guide that he has long needed, and gives the more learned investigator an ordered discussion of the progress of English bibliography. The lists of local bibliography, of the bibliographies of literary forms, and of the early compilations, are invaluable, as is his discussion of the great libraries of English literature, public and private. He modestly says that his book is for the profane and not the initiate in bibliography, but even the most competent scholar will find it useful to have so much information in a small volume.

It is pleasing to hear an English scholar who does not bewail the coming of English books to America and who frankly says that by the change in place a book often becomes more accessible and gets better care than in its former home. On every page the sound learning and good sense of Mr Esdaile are apparent; his easy method of handling stock facts should be a lesson to all writers on bibliography.

J. C. R.

Professor de Selincourt has inaugurated his tenure of the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford with an admirable discourse *On Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. 26 pp. 2s.), which contains a retrospect of wide scope in small compass, and a reasoned declaration of faith. He makes it his business to assert the true functions of poetry continuing through a long history of conflicting critical opinion and of misunderstandings, and he reconciles them, not with mere skill, but with conviction too. 'Vision, not interpretation, that is poetry,' is his reply alike to the apostles of 'enchantment' and to those of 'criticism of life.' Realising the nature and the implications of the process of poetic creation, he arrests our attention by bidding us mark how 'the character of Hamlet was not clearly defined, even for Shakespeare, before the play was complete.' Indeed, the essay provokes thought throughout. But we are left wondering why Vaughan's 'stars shut up shop' (p. 20) is wrong while Milton's worms in their 'green shops' is right. Is it not merely a matter of brusqueness and wrong emphasis? Professor de Selincourt's pages are studded with delightful citations, of which this is a sample. Altogether, it is the finest kind of literary criticism, such as delights and breeds wisdom in equal measure.

C. J. S.

The thesis of *Longfellow and Spain* by Dr Iris Lilian Whitman (New York: Instituto de las Españas. 1927. vii + 249 pp. \$2.60) is a fully 'documented'—in some cases from unpublished material—study of the American poet's various contacts with Spain, no doubt the most significant of the many foreign influences on his life. The thesis is in the main a collection of material; but occasionally the author has something to say of the possible indebtedness of poems (e.g., *Miles Standish*) not Spanish in theme to Spanish sources. It seems, however, a little unnecessary to go to Spain for 'Life is but an empty dream.' Even although the thesis is not very long, an index would have been useful.

J. G. R.

Attention was called by Bédier in his edition of *Le Roman de Tristan* (Société des anciens Textes français. Paris: 1902 and 1905) to certain analogies between the romance of *Girart de Roussillon* and that of *Tristan*, and the hermit Ogrin in the latter was cited as possibly derived from the original 'chanson' of *Girart*. It is this suggestion of Bédier's that Mr E. S. Murrell has developed and expanded in his interesting study *Girart de Roussillon and the Tristan Poems* (Chesterfield: Bales and Wilde. 1926. 207 pp.). The most important of the parallel episodes cited by Mr Murrell to show the resemblance, 'both in spirit and in material' of the two romances, is the account of the forest life of the lovers, which has generally been considered as specially characteristic of the *Tristan* story and has been ranked among the most striking proofs of its Celtic origin (cf. Schöpperle and other critics). Mr Murrell combats this theory. By means of a careful comparison of the extant Provençal poem of *Girart* and the Latin *Vita*, he has reconstructed the original poem on *Girart* (as to the existence of which critics are agreed), and

finds that the episodes which the *Girart* legend has in common with the *Tristan* legend existed already in the primitive version of *Girart* and were not added by the author of the *Vita*. After a review of the opinions held by the more recent critics as to the archetype of the *Tristan* legend and a consideration of its probable date and locality, he concludes that the original epic of *Girart* was anterior in date to the earliest French romance on the *Tristan* legend and was in effect one of its sources. On the other hand, Mr Murrell thinks that the extant version of *Girart de Roussillon*, though it is anterior to any extant version of *Tristan*, is posterior to the original *Tristan* poem and owes much to it both as regards its spirit and the course of its love drama. Further, in its unity and cohesion it furnishes yet another proof of the existence of an archetype in the form of a 'single and entire romance of the love of Tristan and Iseut.' The view that this original version of the legend was the work of a French poet is strengthened by the fact that the conception of the forest life as it occurs in the *Tristan* story existed in a French poem (the original *Girart* legend) by the beginning of the twelfth century and was the product of a French mind; Mr Murrell can find no cogent argument for crediting the Celts with the central, fundamental spirit of the romance. The analogy between the two romances is certainly striking. Both were evidently widely known and their respective heroes had become proverbial at an early date—*Girart* as the typical revolted baron and *Tristan* as the passionate lover. But the question as to the exact amount of the Celtic element in the *Tristan* legend is an extremely vexed one and, until we know more of the really early Celtic literature, is and must remain very difficult to determine.

Mr Murrell's book is furnished with a comprehensive critical bibliography of *Girart de Roussillon* which should prove useful to students of the romance either in its earlier or later forms.

J. C.

The two hundred epic poets of Spain's Golden Age have, for the most part, been decently interred in the histories of Spanish literature, and few scholars have felt inclined to disturb their dust. None rises to the first rank, to an equality with the Portuguese Camões. Ercilla attains to the second by virtue of some hard knocks, military precision and appreciation of masculine virtues, supported fortuitously by the national sentiment of Chilians; and recently we heard of Juan de Castellanos as a partial biographer of Drake. Mr John Van Horne now descends to the third level, when he resurrects the *Bernardo* of Bernardo de Balbuena (*El Bernardo of Bernardo de Balbuena*, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press. 1927. \$1.50). 'quizá la mejor imitación del Ariosto en cualquier lugar y tiempo.' Balbuena possesses great poetical gifts, especially in the line of rhetorical description; he inherits from the mediæval jongleurs a moving theme, susceptible of a high patriotic finish. This he mars by precipitancy, inability to delineate characters or to tell a tale, and want of humour; so that, in the absence of the deft artistry and wit whereby Ariosto commends his *Orlando* even to a sceptical reader, Balbuena's *Bernardo* is, despite incidental merits of a high order, pon-

derous, rather grotesque, and chaotic. Mr Van Horne analyses the plot and determines the author's indebtedness to Ariosto, Boiardo, Lucan, Vergil, Ovid, Pulci and the *Romancero*; he reprints the most significant judgments of the work, among which those by Quintana and Ticknor seem to fulfil all possible requirements, and adds some 'objective' appreciations of his own. This pious office having been performed, the forty thousand lines of *El Bernardo* will doubtless be reinterred, highly respected, but unread. Literature offers little hope of survival to artificial epics which fall short of perfection.

W. J. E.

The library of the Spanish Department in the University of California is remarkably rich and well equipped, and the issue of a special catalogue, *Spain and Spanish America in the University of California Libraries: I. General Library* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1928. 846 pp.), will be welcomed by many. The books bequeathed by the historian Bancroft are to be listed in a separate volume; and the present plan of publication excludes Portugal and Brazil, which, to those who gratefully remember Morse Stephens, will be a cause of regret. Of the fifteen thousand entries in this volume, one third are due to the generosity of Mr Juan C. Cebrián, and are duly marked with an asterisk. These, however, are not necessarily the most interesting or costly of the University's Spanish treasures, and one would like to know what other donors there may have been; from what beginnings, with what resources and under what wise policy, the University itself has acted. It would be useful, too, if Professor Schevill or Professor Morley could be induced to give a professional appraisal of the library, and to amplify the all too laconic preface of Mr Leupp the Librarian. Of the contents of the catalogue, which is admirably got up and printed, I note only that the entry 'Morley, Sylvanus Griswold' is calculated to deceive the unwary into confusing two different scholars, the Metrist and the Mayan archæologist.

W. J. E.

From America we have received two volumes, *Types of World Tragedy* and *Types of Philosophic Drama* (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1928. ix + 667 pp. and vii + 524 pp. Each \$1.65), which form part of a *World Drama Series*, edited by Professor Robert Metcalf Smith of Lehigh University. The types of World Tragedy are: *Oedipus the King*, *Medea*, *Phèdre*, *Othello*, *The Cenci*, Ibsen's *Ghosts*, Hauptmann's *Weavers* and Gorki's *The Lower Depths*; of Philosophic Drama: *Job*, *Prometheus Bound*, *Everyman*, *Dr Faustus*, *Samson Agonistes*, *Manfred*, *Prometheus Unbound*, and Andrieev's *The Life of Man*. The series should be useful as a foundation for courses of lectures of the kind we associate on this side of the Atlantic with Summer Schools and University Extension. An obvious criticism of such selections is that it is difficult to meet all tastes, and everyone has his own views as to what they should contain; but it is surely undesirable to include, as here, the work of living writers, whose ultimate value as contributors to 'world literature' is still on the knees of the gods.

J. G. R.

We have received the first numbers of two new periodicals. From Sweden comes *Studia Neophilologica, a Journal of Germanic and Romanic Philology*, edited by Professor R. E. Zachrisson and published by A. B. Lundequist, Uppsala. The price of single numbers is two Swedish kronor, and the annual subscription, postage included, is six kronor. Articles and reviews are printed in English, French and German. From America comes *American Literature, a Journal of Literary History, Criticism and Bibliography*. It is edited by a board of Editors under the chairmanship of Professor Jay B. Hubbell of Duke University and published by the Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina. The yearly subscription is four dollars, single numbers cost one dollar.

Mr Edgar I. Fripp writes to us with reference to our review of his *Shakespeare's Stratford* (*Modern Language Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 104): 'In your review of my little book, with the above title, you complain that my "marked leaning towards a puritan point of view leads" me "to foist similar views upon Stratford" and upon my "heroes." And you add that "certainly none of the Lucys was as popular in Stratford as" I "suggest."

'As this is a grave charge, may I ask you to substantiate it?

'The term "puritan" is an elastic one, embracing a great variety of Protestant mentality from Tyndale to Bunyan. Under which variety you include me, I do not know, and would like to be informed. I think no one acquainted with me would call me "sectarian."

'My endeavour has been to see the poet's native place in the light not of Cromwellian fanaticism nor Restorationist debauchery and gossip, but of shaken Mediaevalism and the Reformation; and I am somewhat vividly conscious of a beautiful old feudal town in the heart of England, in the vicinity of Tyndale's labours and Latimer's preaching and visitation, not to mention Hooper's activities, begirt by the Marian fires and torn in two by religious strife. From Elizabeth's accession to her death the corporation was anti-Romish, and the leading spirits of the borough were either strongly Protestant or strongly Catholic. The men and women whom I have brought to life (from thousands of contemporary records), well known to Shakespeare, were nearly always of one faction or the other, ultra-Protestant or staunchly Romanist; and not until the beheading of the Queen of Scots, the defeat of the Armada, and the deaths, one after the other, of the old Edwardian reformers—Ambrose Dudley, Walsingham, Huntingdon, Knollys—was there room for a third party. Nor, indeed, can I find more than a few traces of the "prelatical" Protestant in Stratford until after Shakespeare's death.

'Ambrose Dudley, as Earl of Warwick and lord of the manor of Stratford, with the nomination of both vicar and schoolmaster, had great local influence. He was leader of the Presbyterians in the midlands, and under the shadow of Warwick Castle Cartwright preached and "Martin Marprelate" lampooned the Bishops. Stratford vicars were more than his nominees—Richard Barton, for example, one of the most respected and rewarded, a "preacher of the Word of God" from that

puritan (dare I use the word?) stronghold, Coventry, being pronounced by a follower of Cartwright in 1586 as "fit for the ministry," "learned, zealous and godly"—"a happy age if our Church were freight with many such!"

'Of the Lucys, I am astonished to hear that they were not popular in Stratford. Sir Thomas, the first, who died in 1600 (may I call him a "puritan"? he loved chasing a Jesuit infinitely more than a stag and allowed his deer-park, if he ever had one, to be disempaled), was not only the most trusted magistrate in the neighbourhood (old Fulke Greville not excepted) but the most frequent and welcome of visitors to Stratford. He was consulted by the Corporation and entertained by them scores of times (as appears in the volumes I have published, and still more in the volume now in the press, of the *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation*, 1553-1620), and Shakespeare must have been singularly devoid of that discretion and self-possession with which (save by Restorationist gossips) he is universally credited, to have made an enemy of a gentleman so cultured, so public-spirited, and so honoured by neighbours and by the Privy Council.'

[Mr Fripp's views of the prevailing religious tone of Stratford are very clearly stated in his book. 'Stratford...a puritan stronghold' occurs on p. 31, Badger's 'puritan environment' on p. 37, 'Stratford puritanism' on p. 48. I do not know what evidence there is for Mr Fripp's certainty that John Shakespeare was an 'obstinate Protestant' in his recusancy (pp. 16 and 17). And I doubt whether one can fairly hold Susanna responsible for her own epitaph and draw conclusions from it concerning the colour of her religion (pp. 58 and 77). I do know that some of William Shakespeare's group of friends were Catholic or opponents of the Puritan governors of the town. The riots of 1619 were partly due to the installation of a strict professor and no less to trouble about a Maypole pulled down by the orders of the Puritan bailiff, Wilmore.

Stratford is a town that doth make a great shew
But yet it is governed but by a few.
O Jesus Christ of heaven,
I think they are but seven,
Puritans without doubt.

So begins a contemporary Stratford lampoon, which I have discovered, supported by a Nashe, a Reynolds, a Wyatt, a Lane, a Rogers, a Court, a Hathaway, and some Smiths, among others.

I agree entirely concerning the importance of Sir Thomas Lucy. But the impression I take from several law-suits is that both the first two Sir Thomas Lucys were not 'popular,' nor beloved of their tenantry.

No grave charge was intended, though the need for compression has left traces in phrases which Mr Fripp might reasonably take exception to. In a short notice a reviewer can hardly do more than state a variance of opinion, along with such sincere appreciation as in this instance justly accompanies it.—C. J. S.]

NEW PUBLICATIONS

March—May, 1929

GENERAL.

- BASCH, W., *Études d'esthétique dramatique*. I. 2e éd. Paris, J. Vrin. 12 fr.
 BETT, H., *Studies in Literature*. London, Epworth Press. 5s.
 DRAKE, W. A., *Contemporary European Writers*. London, G. Harrap. 10s. 6d.
 GOLTHER, W., *Tristan und Isolde in der französischen und deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Berlin, W. de Gruyter. 4 M.
 KLEIN, K. K., *Rumänisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen*. 2 Studien. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 7 M.
 SELINCOURT, E. DE, *On Poetry. An Inaugural Lecture*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2s.
 SPOERRI, TH., *Präludium zur Poesie: eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerks*. Berlin, Furche-Verlag. 10 M.
 WILKINS, E. G., *The Delphic Maxims in Literature*. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. 15s.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

- MELANDER, J., *Étude sur l'ancienne abréviation des pronoms personnels régimes dans les langues romanes (Arbeten, xxxiv)*. Uppsala, Almqvist och Wiksell. 6 kr.
 RAYNOUARD, M., *Lexique romane ou Dictionnaire de la langue des Troubadours (Neudruck)*. 4. Lief. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 30 M.

Italian.

- COLLENUCCIO, P., *Compendio de le istorie del Regno di Napoli*. A cura di A. Saviotti. (Scrittori d'Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 30.
 CROCE, B., *La letteratura della nuova Italia. Saggi critici*. I. 3a ed. Bari, Laterza. L. 30.
 CROCE, B., *Storia della età barocca in Italia*. Bari, Laterza. L. 35.
 DELLA MASSEA, A., *Ercole Luigi Morselli: la vita e gli scritti*. Foligno, Campitelli. L. 5.
 FERRARIS, R., *Das Naturgefühl bei G. Verga*. Strasbourg, Heitz. 4 M.
 FERRETTI, G., *Leopardi. Studi biografici*. Aquila, Vecchioni. L. 12.
 GANDOLFO, A., E. A. Butti. Palermo, Priulla. L. 7.
 LEONE EBREO, *Dialoghi d'amore*. A cura di S. Caramella. (Scrittori d'Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 40.
 MARTINI, F., *Giuseppe Giusti: studi e ricordi*. Milan, Treves. L. 16.
 MERLINO, C. P., *The French Studies of Mario Equicola (1470-1525)* (Univ. of California Publications in Mod. Philology, xiv, 1). Berkeley, Cal., Univ. of California Press. 30 c.
 MONTI, V., *Epistolario. Raccolto e ordinato da A. Bertoldi*. III. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 50.
 PRATI, G., *Poesie varie*, a cura di O. Malagodi. I. 2da ed. (Scrittori d'Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 25.
 TOMMASEO, N., *Colloqui col Manzoni*. Pubbl. da T. Lodi. Florence, Sansoni. L. 20.

Spanish.

- FINK, O., Studien über die Mundarten der Sierra de Gata (Hamburger Studien zu Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen, i). Hamburg, Friedrichsen und de Gruyter. 10 M.
- MOLDENHAUER, G., Die Legende von Barlaam und Josaphat auf der iberischen Halbinsel. Untersuchungen und Texte. (Romanistische Arbeiten, xiii.) Halle, Niemeyer. 36 M.
- PEERS, E. ALLISON, Ramon Lull. A Biography. London, Soc. for Prom. Christian Knowledge. 18s.
- PEIRCE, H. J., Aspectos de la Personalidad del Rey Español en la literatura hispano-arábiga (Smith College Studies in Mod. Languages, x, 2). Northampton, Mass., Smith College. 75 c.
- PFANDL, L., Geschichte der spanischen Nationalliteratur in ihrer Blütezeit. Freiburg, Herder. 27 M.
- ZAPATA Y TORRES, M., Breves notas sobre el 'Libro de los cient capitulos' como base de las 'Flores de filosofía' (Smith College Studies in Mod. Languages, x, 2). Northampton, Mass., Smith College. 75 c.

French.*(a) General (incl. Linguistic).*

- BAUN, G., Der Einfluss des südfranzösischen Minnesangs und Ritterwesens auf die nordfranzösische Sprache bis zum 13. Jahrhundert (Romanische Forschungen, xliii, 1). Erlangen, Junge. 7 M.
- NYROP, K., Études de grammaire française. XXIX-XXXIII. (Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-Fil. Meddelelser, xvi, 2.) Copenhagen, Høst. 2 kr. 25.
- SPOERRI, TH., Französische Metrik. Munich, M. Hueber. 5 M. 20.

(b) Old French.

- THUASNE, L., Le Roman de la Rose (Coll. Les grands événements littéraires). Amiens, E. Malfère. 9 fr.

(c) Modern French.

- BALDENSBERGER, F., Alfred de Vigny (Coll. Essais critiques). Paris, Nouv. Rev. critique. 12 fr.
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- CRÉMIEUX, B., Du côté de Marcel Proust. Paris, Lemargot. 35 fr.
- DORCHAIN, A., Anthologie de Ronsard et de son école. Paris, Delagrave. 12 fr.
- DURRY, M. J., Chateaubriand et Hyde de Neuville: correspondance inédite. Paris, Le Divan. 20 fr.
- ESTÈVE, E., Byron et le romantisme français. Paris, Boivin. 60 fr.
- ESTÈVE, E., Émile Verhaeren (1855-1916). Paris, Boivin. 12 fr.
- FAGNIEZ, G., La femme et la société française dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Paris, J. Gamber. 30 fr.
- FRANÇOIS, A., Les origines lyriques de la phrase moderne. Paris, Les Presses universitaires. 15 fr.
- GILLET, L., Sainte-Beuve et A. de Vigny. Lettres inédites. Paris, Kra. 13 fr.
- GREEN, F. C., Eighteenth-century France. Six Essays. London, Dent. 7s. 6d.
- HARTLAND, R. W., Walter Scott et le Roman 'frénétique' (Bibliothèque de la Revue de litt. comparée, lii). Paris, H. Champion. 40 fr.
- HENNING, I. A., L'Allemagne de Mme de Staël et la polémique romantique (Bibliothèque de la Revue de litt. comparée, lviii). Paris, H. Champion.

- HERMANT, A., *Remarques de Monsieur Lancelot pour la défense de la langue française*. Paris, Flammarion. 12 fr.
- JOSEPHSON, M., *Zola and his Time*. London, V. Gollancz. 25s.
- KAYER, H., *Das Problem der gesellschaftlichen Entwurzelung in der französischen Literatur*. Stuttgart, Offali-Verlag. 6 M.
- KÜCHLER, W., *Molière*. Leipzig, Teubner. 12 M.
- LAMY, P., *Le Théâtre d'Alexandre Dumas fils*. Paris, Les Presses universitaires. 30 fr.
- LARG, D. G., *Madame de Staël. La seconde vie, 1800-7*. (Bibliothèque de la Revue de lit. comparée, lvii.) Paris, H. Champion. 40 fr.
- LARGUIER, L., *Lamartine* (Coll. Les Romantiques). Paris, Hachette. 10 fr.
- LELARGE, A., *P. L. Courier parisien*. Paris, Les Presses universitaires. 10 fr.
- LE SIDANER, L., *M. Maeterlinck, son œuvre* (Coll. Les Célébrités d'aujourd'hui). Paris, Nouv. revue critique. 8 fr.
- LYONNET, H., *Le Cid de Corneille* (Coll. Les grands événements littéraires). Amiens, E. Malfère. 9 fr.
- MONTORGUEIL, G., *H. Murger, romancier de la Bohème*. Paris, Grasset. 12 fr.
- NODIER, CH., *Le Bibliomane*. Publié par E. Munkagaard. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.
- PANGE, COMTESSE J. DE, *Mad. de Staël et la découverte de l'Allemagne* (Coll. Les grands événements littéraires). Amiens, E. Malfère. 9 fr.
- PLATTARD, J., *La vie de Fr. Rabelais*. Paris, G. Van Oest. 200 fr.
- RAUHUT, F., *Das französische Prosagedicht* (Hamburger Studien zu Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen, ii). Hamburg, Friedrichsen und De Gruyter. 9 M.
- RETZ, CARDINAL DE, *Mémoires*. I. Publiés par A. Maurois. (Coll. Classiques français.) Paris, Castellan. 60 fr.
- ROUFF, M., *La vie de Chateaubriand* (Coll. Vies des hommes illustres). Paris, Nouv. Rev. française. 12 fr.
- ROYCE, W. H., *Balzac: a Bibliography*. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. 25s.
- SAINTE-BEUVE, CH., *La littérature française (1840)*. X. Paris, La Renaissance du livre. 9 fr.
- TILLEY, A., *The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV, or French Literature, 1687-1715*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 15s.
- TRAZ, R. DE, *Alfred de Vigny* (Coll. Les Romantiques). Paris, Hachette. 10 fr.
- VAUVENARGUES, L. C. DE, *Œuvres. Notes de P. Varillon*. I. (Coll. Les Classiques français.) Paris, A la cité des Livres. 60 fr.
- WRIGHT, E., *The Meaning of Rousseau*. London, H. Milford. 8s. 6d.

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Scandinavian.

- BLICHER, S. S., *Samlede Skrifter*. XXII. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 5 kr. 50.
- BÖÖK, F., G. CASTRÉN, R. STEFFEN, O. SYLVAN, *Svenska litteraturens historia*. Ny omarb. uppl. I. Stockholm, Norstedt. 18 kr.
- BRØNDUM-NIELSEN, J., *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove med Kirkelovene*. Udg. af Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. I, 6. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 5 kr.
- BULL, F., og F. PAASCHE, *Norsk Litteraturhistorie*. II. Fra Reformationens Tid til 1814. Oslo, Aschehoug. 16 kr.

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- KYRRE, H., Knud Lyne Rahbek, Kamma Rahbek og Livet paa Bakkehuset. 2. Udg. Copenhagen, Hagerup. 8 kr. 50.
- LAALE, P., Dansk Ordsprog. Udg. af A. E. Sibbern ved A. Hansen og Chr. Behrend. Copenhagen, Reitzel. 12 kr.
- LINDQUIST, I., Norröna lovkväden från 800 och 900-talen. i. Förslag till restituerad text jämte översättning. (Nordisk filologi, ii.) Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup. 3 kr.
- Morkinskinna, udg. for Samfund til Udgivelse af gammalnordisk Litteratur ved F. Jónsson. 1. Hæfte. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 4 kr.
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- PETRI, O., Vorlesungen an der Universität Upsala, übersetzt von A. Schweitzer. 3. Aufl. Munich, C. H. Beck. 8 M. 50.
- SZABO, CH., En marge de Strindberg. Paris, Les Géméaux. 10 fr.

English.

(a) General (incl. Linguistic).

- Britannica. Max Förster zum 60sten Geburtstag. Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz. 20 M.
- FOWLER, H. W., The Concise Oxford Dictionary. New ed. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.
- Studies in English. VIII. (University of Texas Bulletin, 2826.) Austin, Univ. of Texas.
- WARD, I. C., The Phonetics of English. Cambridge, W. Heffer. 5s.
- The Year's Work in English Studies. VIII (1927). Ed. by F. S. Boas and C. H. Herford. London, H. Milford. 10s. 6d.

(b) Old and Middle English.

- Beowulf nebst den kleineren Denkmälern der Heldensage. Herausg. von F. Holt-hausen. II. (Alt- und mittellenglische Texte, iii, 2.) 5. Aufl. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 4 M. 20.
- BRUNNER, K., und R. HITTMAYER, Mittelenglisches Lesebuch für Anfänger (Germanische Bibliothek, I, iii, 9). Heidelberg, C. Winter. 3 M. 20.
- CHAUCER, G., The Canterbury Tales, ed. by J. M. Manly. New York, Holt; London, G. Harrap. 10s. 6d.
- COMPER, F. M. M., The Life of Richard Rolle, together with an Edition of his English Lyrics. London, J. M. Dent. 10s. 6d.
- Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, The. Ed. by F. P. Magoun. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. \$3.50.

(c) Modern English.

- ALEXANDER, SIR WILLIAM, The Poetical Works of, ed. by L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton. II. Manchester, Univ. Press. 25s.

- ALLEN, P., Shakespeare and Chapman as Topical Dramatists. London, C. Palmer. 7s. 6d.
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- BALL, F. E., Swift's Verse and Essay. London, J. Murray. 15s.
- BÄR, H., G. Crabbe als Epiker (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, x). Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz. 7 M. 50.
- BASKERVILLE, C. R., The Elizabethan Jig and related Song Drama. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. 22s. 6d.
- Batchelars Banquet, The, an Elizabethan Translation of 'Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage,' ed. by F. P. Wilson. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.
- BATESON, F. W., English Comic Drama, 1706-50. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.
- BRETON, NICHOLAS, Melancholike Humours, ed. by G. G. B. Harrison. London, Scholartis Press. 7s. 6d.
- BROOKE, SAMUEL, Melanthe, ed. by J. S. G. Bolton (Yale Studies in English, lxxix). New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 10s. 6d.
- BUNYAN, J., The Life and Death of Mr Badman (World's Classics, 338). London, H. Milford. 2s.
- BUNYAN, J., The Pilgrim's Progress, ed. by J. B. Wharey. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 21s.
- CARRÉ, J. M., La vie de R. L. Stevenson (Vie des hommes illustres, xxviii). Paris, Gallimard. 9 fr.
- CHANDLER, Z. E., An Analysis of the Stylistic Technique of Addison, Johnson, Hazlitt and Pater (Univ. of Iowa Studies, iv, 3). Iowa City, Univ. of Iowa. \$1.
- CHAPMAN, J. A., Papers on Shelley, Wordsworth and others. London, H. Milford. 6s.
- CLARKE, J. C., Elizabeth B. Browning. A Portrait. London, Hutchinson. 12s. 6d.
- CURTIS, L. P., The Politicks of Laurence Sterne. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 10s.
- DOBSON, ALBAN, Austin Dobson: Some Notes on. With Chapters by Sir E. Gosse and G. Saintsbury. London, H. Milford. 12s. 6d.
- DONNE, J., Complete Poetry and Selected Prose, ed. by J. Hayward. London, Nonesuch Press. 8s. 6d.
- DRAPER, J. W., The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism. New York, Univ. of New York Press. \$6.50.
- DYER, I. W., Thomas Carlyle: a Bibliography of the Writings and Ana of. London, Spurr and Swift. 52s. 6d.
- ECKHARDT, E., Das englische Drama der Spätrenaissance (Geschichte der englischen Literatur im Grundriss). Berlin, W. de Gruyter. 10 M.
- ERLANDE, A., La Vie de John Keats (Vies des hommes illustres). Paris, Gallimard. 12 fr.
- ETHEREGE, SIR GEORGE, The Letter Book of, ed. by S. Rosenfeld. London, H. Milford. 18s.
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- FOWLER, J. H., The Novels of Thomas Hardy (English Association Pamphlets, lxxi). London, English Association.
- FURNESS, C. J., Walt Whitman's Workshop. A Collection of Unpublished MSS. London, H. Milford. 30s.

- GRAY, TH., *An Elegy written in a Country Churchyard. The Text of the First Quarto with the Variants of the MS. and of the Editions 1751-71.* Ed. by F. G. Stokes. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 21s.
- HATCHER, H. H., *The Versification of Robert Browning.* Columbus, Ohio State Univ. Press.
- IRVING, W. H., *John Gay's London, illustrated from the Poetry of the Time.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 27s.
- JEFFREY, V. M., *John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance (Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée, liii).* Paris, H. Champion. 30 fr.
- KNIGHT, G. W., *Myth and Miracle, an Essay on the Mystic Symbolism of Shakespeare.* London, E. J. Burrow. 2s.
- LEHMAN, B. H., *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero, its Sources, Developmental History and Influence on Carlyle's Work.* Durham, Univ. of Durham Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. 11s. 6d.
- MACNEILL, F. P., *The Literature of the Highlanders.* Ed. by J. M. Campbell. 7s. 6d.
- MALONE, A. E., *The Irish Drama.* London, Constable. 15s.
- MANLY, J. M., and E. RICKERT, *Contemporary British Literature. Outlines for Study. Indexes and Bibliographies.* Revised ed. London, G. G. Harrap. 7s. 6d.
- MORLEY, E. J., *Crabb Robinson in Germany. 1801-5. Extracts from his Correspondence.* London, H. Milford. 10s. 6d.
- MORRIS, D. B., R. L. Stevenson and the Scottish Highlanders. Stirling, E. Mackay. 5s.
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- MOTTER, T. H. VAIL, *The School Drama in England.* London, Longmans, Green. 15s.
- OREND-SCHMIDT, V., *John Keats' Schönheitsideal und Weltanschauung.* Marburg, N.Y., Elwert. 4 M.
- PARKS, G. B., *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyager (American Geographical Society. Special Publ., x).*
- POTTLE, F. A., *The Literary Career of James Boswell.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. 42s.
- RALEGH, SIR WALTER, *The Discoverie of the Large and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana,* ed. by V. T. Harlow. London, Argonaut Press. 36s.
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MIDDLE ENGLISH 'ORD AND ENDE'

THIS phrase, which throughout its history is confined to poetry, is familiar to readers of Chaucer in the altered form *word and ende*. It occurs in many places and under slightly varying forms, and has been frequently commented upon. Here an attempt will be made to collect and collate a fuller evidence than has hitherto been available and to trace the history of this and some allied expressions. The word *ord* means primarily 'point,' and then 'first point, beginning'; it has cognates in Low and High German, and in the Scandinavian languages (in which the *odda-* stem, with normal assimilation of the consonants, has given us our *odd*). The sense 'beginning' was developed in Middle Dutch and Low German, and the older periods of High German, besides Old English, and in those languages phraseological uses with *ende* occur, examples of which will be produced later on.

Old English *ord* and *ende*, meaning what they do, naturally appear in conjunction, and there is nothing remarkable in such sentences as:

Gebid ðu mid ðære andsware oð ðu wite ðæt ðin spræc hæbbe ægðer ge ord ge ende.
(Ælfred, *Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, p. 385)

Se leahter is ord and ende ælces yfeles. (Ælfric, *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, II, p. 220)

& Godess Word wass a sōp Godd wiþputenn ord & ende. (*Ormulum*, I, 18,692)

Nor could such an example as the following excite any special interest were it not for the subsequent history of the phrase and the existence in Old and Middle English of synonymous expressions of other types.

Ða eode Daniel, þa dæg lyhte,
swefen reccan sinum frean,
sægde him wislice wereda gesceafte,
þætte sona ongeat swiðmod cyning
ord & ende þæs þe hine ywed wæs. (Daniel, I, 162)

('adeo ut statim magnanimus rex principium et finem intellegeret ejus quod ei ostensum erat,' HICKES.)

A parallel form containing the etymologically unrelated *ōr*, 'beginning,' is used in the same way:

Nu ic þe sylfum secgan wille
oor & ende, swa ic þæs æðelinges
word & wisdom on wera gemote
purh his sylfes muð symle gehyrde. (Andreas, I, 649)

As will be seen later, when the main Middle English material is exhibited, this type, in which the phrase is the straightforward object of a verb, is rather sparsely represented in the later literature.

There are two other idiomatic formulae in Old English. The more frequent of these in our texts is *eall æfter orde*, which is used adverbially with the sense 'from beginning to end, in full' (literally, 'all or completely from the beginning'). The examples are:

Was se witedom
purh fyrrwitan beforan sungen,
eall æfter orde, swa hit eft gelamp
ðinga gehwylces. (Elene, l. 1154)

Ofer min gemet mycel is to secganne,
langsum leornung, þæt he in life adreag,
eall æfter orde. (Andreas, l. 1483)

Micel is to secgan,
eall æfter orde, þæt he on elne adreag. (Guthlac, l. 503)

There are no traces of survival of this formula beyond the Old English period, but the occurrence of *al* in two of the early M.E. passages about to be cited is perhaps significant.

Of a second type there is only one extant instance:

He þe mæg soð gecyðan,
onwreon wyrda geryno, swa ðu hine wordum frignest,
æriht *from ord* <*e*> *oð ende* forð. (Elene, l. 590)

The meaning of the last line is 'straight on from beginning to end.' This type¹ also seems to have had no direct successor in Middle English (mainly no doubt in consequence of the early disappearance of the preposition *oð*). But there are two remarkable M.E. phrases, both of them rare, which seem at first sight to be connected. They are found in the following passages:

- (1) *Ord fram þan ende* al he him talde.
(Lazamon, l. 15,770, omitted from the later version)
For þat soðe stod a þan writen
hu hit is iwurðen *ord from þan ænden*
of Arðure þan kinge. (Ibid., l. 22,983)
- (2) For al, *ende of orde*,
Telle ich con, word after worde. (Owl and Nightingale, l. 1785)

The first of these has the appearance of nonsense ('beginning from the end'), the second is good enough sense but odd syntax. What is the origin of these strange forms, the authenticity of which there seems to be no reason to doubt? The second might be accounted for by the existence of an O.E. **oð ende of orde* (with *of* = *from*), from which the *oð* was dropped. The explanation of the first is more difficult to conjecture. If, however, one could start from an O.E. **of orde oð ende*,

¹ A similar O.E. formula with *or* occurs once, but in a purely objective construction.

lc þe, ead mæg (*sic*), yfla gehwylces
or gecyðe *oð ende* forð. (Juliana, l. 353)

it would be possible to arrive at *ord from* (*pan*) *ende*, through **ord(e) of* (*pan*) *ende*, in which *from* was then mechanically substituted for *of*, the original meaning and construction having become entirely obscured. It must be admitted that this is desperate guesswork, but such a process might well have been assisted by the confusion of *oð* and *of*, of which instances are known in transitional O.E. (as a conjunction, 'until'):

Byn(d) hine syðpan twyfeald uppe þan heafode *of* se clap drige beo(n).
 (Saxon *Leechdoms*, III, 90, and often elsewhere, according to Cockayne)
 and þer abide *of* all his zeferen were zegadered.
 (*Old English Homilies*, 1st Ser., p. 231)

But a more satisfactory explanation might be obtained if we could assume that *ord* and *ende* were convertible in O.E. or M.E., as they were in Middle Dutch, Middle Low German, and Middle High German. For the first Verwijs and Verdam give *van ende torde* (= *te orde*) as the ordinary form, with *van orde torde* and *van orde tende* as less frequent variants. *Torde* in M. Du. and *orde* in M.L.G. give useful rhymes to *wo(or)de*, as also to *horde*, 'heard'; so *ord* and *word* in M.E. (see below). A couple of examples will suffice:

Dairom moetic *van eende toorden*
 Scriven elkermallics woorden.
 (*Hooglied*, c. 14, vs. 14, quoted by Verwijs and Verdam)
 Do se der brêf hörden
Van ende to orden. (*Zeno*, 294, quoted by Schiller and Lübben)

In M.H.G. the usage is more striking still; Lexer gives the first two meanings of *ort* as 'anfang' and 'ende.' Here we have not only the two-member expressions like *van dem ende bis an dat ort*, *van dem ende zo den orden*, *von anbeginne ze orte*, but also expressions with *ort* as the only noun in which it means 'the last limit, the end,' e.g., *an*, *uf*, *in*, *unz* or *unz an ein ort*, or *unz an den ort* = 'to the end, completely, wholly and entirely.' The order *end und ort* survived into Modern High German; Hans Sachs is quoted for it in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

There would still, however, remain the problem of the aphasis of an introductory preposition. But for this also there seems to be a parallel on the Continent. Schiller and Lübben quote from *Hannov. Mscr.*, I, 84, p. 332: 'ok sede om (*dem Josua*) got [van] orde tu ende alle dy wort dy hy Moyses sede.' Here [van] is presumably an editorial insertion and the phrase is actually *orde tu ende*.

We will now proceed to illustrate the formula which was largely used as a metrical tag in Middle English romance. The standard form is *ord and ende* (rarely *ending*); but there are some instances of *ende and ord*, most of them due to the requirements of rhyme. The corruption of

ord to *word* had become so well established by the latter part of the fourteenth century that (if the consensus of manuscripts means anything) it was the only form known to Chaucer, with whom the history of this idiom comes to an end. It is used with 'verba dicendi et percipiendi' and in either of two constructions, (i) as an object of such a verb, (ii) adverbially, or in a kind of loose apposition with the object, which is often a noun clause; the former is much the less frequent usage. The following examples illustrate the variety of construction:

Ord and ende he hap him told
Hu blauncheflur was parinne isold.

(*Floris and Blancheflur* (Camb. MS.), l. 47)

I schal him telle *word & ende*
Pat tow dost me litel worpschipe.
(*Guy of Warwick* (MS. A), l. 632; Caius version: euery worde to the ende)

Ac to þe maiden ichil wende,
& tel hir boþe *ord & ende*.
(*Ibid.*, l. 1030; Caius version: And telle hir worde *and ende*)

To him þou þi sond sende,
Alle þi wille *word & ende*. (Ibid., l. 3752)

Pat me ne telde *ord and ende*
What dai awai whanne a wolde wende.
(*Sir Beves* (MS. A), l. 1447)

And [hit] tolde bop *worth and ende*.
(*Ibid.* (MSS. S and N), l. 293; MS. C: And tolde hyt to the hende)

Merlin him teld *ende & ord*
Of his bizeteinge euery word. (*Arthour and Merlin*, l. 1177)

Per he told hem *ende & ord*
Of his bizete eueri word. (Ibid., l. 3023)

The messangers gunne to wende,
And tolde the Sawdon *wurde and ende*.
(*Richard Coer de Lyon*, l. 7108)

William . . . swor, as he him het,
Her forward, *ord and ende*.
(*Lybeaus Desconus* (Kaluza), l. 408; three MSS. have *word*)

Whan Libeaus, knigt of pris,
Hadde told þe stiward, ywis,
Boþe *ord and endinge*. (Ibid., l. 2175)

Pere-inne he wroot *oord & ende*
Hou he fro his wijf gan wende. (*St Alexius* (Laud 622), l. 763)

Þus *ende & orde* zee han yherd
Of saint Alexi hou it ferd. (Ibid., l. 1141)

Þe porter in anon gan wende,
And tolde tale *ord and ende*
To Amis is leuedy. (Reinbrun, l. 832)

Tell me how hyt ys;
When y wott *word and end*
Yf my counsayl may hyt mend
Hyt schall, so have y blyss.
(*Erl of Tolous*, l. 628; one MS. has: When thy tale is at an end)

I wot þy stat *ord and ende*. (*Launfal*, l. 314)

And told sir priamus eueri worde,
 How he was rebuked *ende and orde*.
 (*Seege of Troye* (Harley MS.), l. 420; other MSS. ilke a word, euery word)
 Herkneth alle that beth hende,
 Ant y schal telle *ord and ende*
 The rihte sothe.
 (*Chronicle of England*, l. 174, in Ritson's *Anc. Metr. Rom.*, II, 277)
 And al this thing he tolde him *word and ende*.
 (Chaucer, *Troilus*, II, 1495)
 Of al this werk he tolde him *word and ende*. (Ibid., III, 702)
 and al this newe chaunce
 And of this broche he tolde him *word and ende*. (Ibid., V, 1669)
 Lucan, to thee this storie I recomende,
 And to Sweton, and to Valerie also,
 That of this storie wryten *word and ende*.
 (*Cant. Tales*, B. 3911)

Hickes, being acquainted with the instance of *ord and ende* in *Daniel* (see his *Thesaurus*, p. 70), proposed to emend *word* to *ord* in the two last passages, but, as was recognised by Tyrwhitt, the evidence is against the probability of Chaucer's own text containing the ancient form. The cause of the alteration of the original *ord* cannot be determined with certainty. Zupitza in his note on *Guy of Warwick*, l. 7927, explained it as an instance of the process by which *ōn* became *won* (one), *old wold*, etc.; but a more probable cause is the frequent occurrence of the phrase with verbs of saying and in conjunction with the noun *word* itself, together with the increasing obsolescence of *ord* in general use.

C. T. ONIONS.

OXFORD.

THE TROJAN LEGEND IN ENGLAND

SOME INSTANCE OF ITS APPLICATION TO THE POLITICS OF THE TIMES¹

II

THE doctrine of Arthur's return is important for the purpose of this article. It is, therefore, necessary to see how far Geoffrey's attitude towards it corresponds with the older tradition. This, in the absence of a critical edition of the *Historia*, is a matter of some difficulty, and it is with a full consciousness of the precariousness of the premisses that the following suggestions are put forward.

Broadly speaking, we may assume two versions of the *Historia*; the one that is now extant, which exists in some two hundred manuscripts and to which three dedications are known², and a version seen by Henry of Huntingdon in the Abbey of Bec in the year 1139. This latter is known only through an abstract of it made by Henry in a letter to 'Warin the Briton,' but it is generally supposed to represent an earlier version of the text. The chief differences in the two versions are as follows: the text as we now have it contains an account of Brut's division of his kingdom among his three sons: Lochrine, who inherited Loegria (England), Albanact, who obtained Albania (Scotland), and Camber, who became king of Cambria (Wales). Book VI includes the story of the finding of Merlin and Book VII consists wholly of the Prophecies. The circumstances of Arthur's death are not stressed, and there is no suggestion of his return. In fact the account of the last fight at Camlan is in no way striking or dramatic and contrasts markedly in this respect with the description of the terrific conflict against the Saxons at Badon Hill³. In the text as we now possess it, Arthur is recalled from a victorious march on Rome by the news of Modred's treachery. The armies meet by the river Camel and Modred falls (we are not told by whose hand) and many thousands with him. In this prosaic account we touch the verge of the Celtic mystery world for a moment only in the phrase: 'King Arthur himself was wounded deadly and was borne thence unto the island Avalon for

¹ Continued from p. 264.

² To Robert of Gloucester (Vulgate): to king Stephen and Robert jointly (Bern MS.); and to Robert jointly with Waleran de Beaumont, later Earl of Worcester. (The third form of dedication is a recent discovery by Mr Acton Griscom.)

³ 'When Arthur, girt with Calibur the best of swords, that was forged within the Isle of Avalon, bearing in his hand the lance that was called Ron, wore upon his shoulders the shield Priwen, with the image of Holy Mary the mother of God....'

the healing of his wounds'; but no hint is given of a possible return and we descend to the matter-of-fact in the conclusion of the sentence 'where he gave up the crown of Britain unto his kinsman Constantine, son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, five hundred and forty-two.'

Henry of Huntingdon's abridgement of the *Bec* version, but for minor changes in the spelling of proper names and a slight variation in the answers of Lear's daughters, follows the main lines of the *Historia* as it has come down to us except with regard to the following points:

(1) Only the first two lines of Brut's prayer to Diana are given and the first four of her response. We are thus left in doubt as to whether, in this version, the descendants of Brut were promised world-empire or not.

(2) A fuller account is given of the subjugation of the giant inhabitants of Albion.

(3) Nothing is said of a division of the kingdom. Brut 'left his kingdom unto his eldest born Lucrine.'

(4) There is no mention of Merlin or his prophecies.

(5) The account of Arthur's last battle, even in Henry of Huntingdon's abridgement, is far more dramatic and arresting than in the version we possess.

Arthur, thereupon, seething over with wondrous wrath, returning into England, conquered Modred in battle, and after pursuing him as far as into Cornwall, with a few men fell upon him in the midst of many, and when he saw he could not turn back said, 'Comrades, let us sell our death dear. I, for my part, will smite off the head of my nephew and my betrayer, after which, death will be a delight unto me.' Thus spake he and hewing a way for himself with his sword through the press, dragged Modred by the helmet into the midst of his own men and cut through his mailed neck as through a straw. Natheless as he went and as he did the deed, so many wounds did he receive that he fell albeit that his (your?) kinsmen the Britons deny that he is dead, and do even yet solemnly await his coming again¹.

We are faced then with the probability that in the earlier version of his *Historia* Geoffrey either knew nothing of Merlin and his prophecies, or at least had not thought of using them as materials for his book², while he keeps closer to the current Breton and Welsh tradition about Arthur. In a later edition the prophecies are inserted 'by request' of his Norman patrons. They in no way suggest that the Britons will expel the invader from the kingdom of Brut, which was the whole point of the Dragon prophecy on which they were founded; nor does the book hint at Arthur's return.

¹ From Dr Evans' translation of the *Historia* (translator's Epilogue, p. 336). Sir E. K. Chambers attributes the concluding comment to Henry of Huntingdon.

² One cannot entirely rule out the possibility that they were omitted by Henry of Huntingdon though this seems unlikely.

These facts harmonise with the theory put forth by Jusserand and Dr Evans that Geoffrey produced the authorised version of his work at the instigation of those who were most concerned in stabilising and welding together the empire envisaged by the first two Henrys, a fact already indicated by his dedications. Arthur was already a popular figure in legend and he was not perhaps so narrowly associated with a solely British tradition as were Conan and Cadwallader. It was easy to delocalise him except for his association with the fortunes of the British race which was emphasised by the legends about his return. It is for this reason, it appears to me, that Geoffrey, while magnifying Arthur's prowess as a warrior and centralising the episode of his coronation as the overlord of Europe¹, omits all mention of this side of his reputation². He also rejects the prophecy of the Shaftesbury Eagle which foretold the return to power of the British race, and inserts instead 'faked' Merlin prophecies to buttress the claims of the Norman kings.

However this may be, it is certain that, thanks to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur early became the hero of the mixed race of Normans and English both as a pattern of chivalry and as an empire-builder. An instance of his adoption in the first-named character is seen in Edward III's attempt at re-establishing the company of Knights of the Round Table³ at Windsor, while his reputation as an empire-builder was glanced at in the funeral procession of Henry V. Here, Speed tells us, after the Royal Arms of England and those of France and England quarterly, there were displayed the Royal Arms of France followed by an escutcheon emblazoned with 'Three crowns or in a Field *Azure*, the antient Armes of King Arthur now well-beseeming him who had victoriously united three kingdoms in one.'

It is one of the ironies of time that Geoffrey's work was accepted as serious history long after the usefulness intended by Archdeacon Walter and Alexander of Lincoln had evaporated. Hence the 'official belief' mentioned by Professor Gordon was propagated by a line of sober historians from Henry of Huntingdon through Holinshed, Stowe and Speed to Milton.

But, in spite of Geoffrey's efforts and King Henry's excavations, alongside the belief in Arthur as the authentic descendant of Brut which was sanctioned by the Chroniclers, there survived also in the visions of poets

¹ He had been crowned King of Britain on his accession at the age of fifteen.

² It would seem that the persistent belief in the return of Arthur as a British champion was something of an embarrassment to Henry II who went so far as to stage a 'discovery' of his tomb, complete with skeleton and inscription, at Glastonbury.

³ The Round Table is post-Galfridian: it appears first in Wace.

and in oral tradition among the unlettered that Arthur of Breton legend who keeps his vigil in the faery Isle of Avalon, under the watching care of Morgan le Fay, till he shall come again to restore an ancient race.

The unwritten history that persists in nursery tale and legend, just because it nourishes the roots of national sentiment, is a stronger factor in determining a country's policy than is sometimes recognised. The belief that English kings had a right, other than that of the sword, to the thrones of Wales and Scotland, of Brittany, and indeed to the whole of France, though bolstered from time to time by specious arguments, had its ultimate source in the Brut and Arthur legends and remained as an unnamed and unrecognised force of prejudice when the stories themselves only survived as poetical legends and when the memory of the political doctrine they embodied had become so attenuated as to be no more than a subconscious race memory.

As long as the tales were received as being historically true their influence was of course stronger, but even the unauthorised parts of them, such as the expected return of Arthur, that had sublimated into legend retained their place on the indefinable border-line between history and poetry¹ and thus had their part in influencing the national consciousness and determining national policy.

Thus the Merlin prophecies, as has been shown, were altered and re-interpreted from time to time and applied to fresh situations, while the histories of the Trojan settlement and of Arthur's empire colour the views of generations of later politicians. Again and again in the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we see the natural and divinely intended unity of the Island of Britain insisted upon. Brut's division of his kingdom among his three sons is looked upon as a disastrous, almost a criminal, mistake² and as the root and origin of all discord, whether issuing in dispute about the succession or in war between England and Scotland. Holinshed is explicit on this point. Under the heading 'How Britaine at first grew to be divided into three portions' he proceeds to show 'after what maner the souereigntie of this ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or Kings of England³.' He quotes Leland, and buttresses his verdict with other learned opinion from letters written to Henry VI and to the first, third and fourth Edwards, all to show that the Kings of England 'have had and now ought to have the souereigntie

¹ The historical poems of Elizabeth's reign, with their genealogies traced through Aeneas to Noah and even to Jupiter, and many of the Chronicle and Morality Plays illustrate how history and legend were used to support one another.

² This view does not appear in Geoffrey. It is an instance of the application of his *History* to the political needs of a later time.

³ See Vol. I xxi, xxii.

over all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time.' The ultimate proof is found in Trojan precedent. After Albanact's death Lochrine alone (not Lochrine and Camber jointly) ruled Scotland.

'Hereby then' (saith Adams)¹ 'it evidently appeareth, that the entire seignorie over Albania consisted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer since hath continued, in preferring the eldest brother to the onelie benefit of the collateral ascension from the yongest; as well in Scotland as in England vnto this daie².'

Gradually the political conception emerges that the kingdom can never flourish until that primal schism is healed and at this point the semi-poetical belief in the return of Arthur, no longer discouraged by authority, assumes a new significance.

With the end of the Wars of the Roses the accession of a Tudor monarch once more brought British blood to the throne and it is seen that tradition and prophecy, oral and written, once more flourished greenly. There is in England a deeply rooted instinct in favour of the hereditary principle, and the validity of Henry VII's claim to the throne (a matter of considerable anxiety to himself) was greatly strengthened in the eyes of the populace by his Welsh blood. He was demonstrably of the line of Brut and he used this advantage to the utmost, even going so far as to name his eldest son Arthur that in his person the 'return' of a British Arthur might be accomplished³. The marriage of his daughter to the King of Scots was an act of policy, but its obvious and apparent value was enhanced by the fact that she, too, was of royal British descent. Even as late as the seventeenth century, after the Stuart dynasty was established, we have a note by Selden (himself something of a sceptic) on Drayton's reference to the Eagle prophecy in *Polyolbion*⁴ which runs thus:

This Eagle (whose prophecies among the Britons, with the later of Merlin, have been of no less respect than those of Baces were to the Greeks, or the Sybillines to the Romans) foretold of a reverting of the crown, after the Britons, Saxons and Normans, to the first again, which in Henry the Seventh, grandchild to Owen Tyddour, hath been observed as fulfilled....

In *England's Heroicall Epistles* Owen Tudor is represented as saying to Queen Catherine:

...in Wales, with them that famous be,
Our learned bards do sing my pedigree;
And boast my birth from Great Cadwallader
From old Caer Septon in mount Palador,

¹ Nicholas Adams in a letter to Edward VI.

² This argument was used by Edward I in 1301, when he appealed to Pope Boniface VIII to support his claim to the overlordship of Scotland.

³ For a similar reason the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and Constance, heiress of Brittany, born 1187, 'desideratus gentibus,' had been named Arthur.

⁴ Song II.

and a note reminds us that 'Caer-Septon is Shaftesbury, at whose building an eagle (or one Aquila¹) prophesied of the fame of that place and of the recovery of the Isle by the Britons bringing back with them the bones of Cadwallader from Rome.' Spenser devotes Canto III of the third book of his *Faerie Queene* entirely to showing the descent of Queen Elizabeth through Cadwallader back to Gorlois, of whose wife Ygerne, it will be remembered, Arthur was born.

In Spenser's poem, Britomart, having fallen sick of love for a knight whom she saw in a magic glass fashioned by Merlin, is taken by her nurse to the grave of the wizard and there is shown the fortunes of her house and the illustrious descendants who are to be the fruit of the union:

For from thy wombe a famous Progenee
Shall spring out of the auncient Trojan blood².

Her destined spouse is Arthegal, whose issue is to be the Conan who overthrows Constantius and his sons.

After this the genealogy as given by Geoffrey is followed to Cadwallader and the overthrow of the Britons by the Saxons is related.

Britomart 'full deepe empassioned for hir peoples' sake' asks:

But shall their name for ever be defaste,
And quite from off the earth their memory be raste?
Nay but the terme (sayd he) is limited, . . .
For twise fowre hundred yeares shalbe supplide,
Ere they to former rule restor'd shal bee.

He then foretells the conquests of Dane, Saxon and Normans and continues:

Tho', when the terme is full accomplished,
There shall a sparke of fire, which hath longwhile
Bene in his ashes raked up and hid,
Bee freshly kindled in the fruitful Ile
Of Mona, where it lurked in exile;
Which shall break forth into bright burning flame,
And reach into the house that beares the stile
Of roiall majesty and soveraine name:
So shall the Briton blood their crowne agayn reclame.

Warner, in *Albion's England*, develops the same theme.

The question of the succession was a burning one during the whole of Elizabeth's reign and the relations between the kingdoms within the Isle were the concern, not only of Elizabeth's statesmen, but of English-

¹ The rationalising of the eagle into 'one Aquila' is typical of the times.

² The whole scene is founded on Canto III of the *Orlando Furioso* in which Ariosto compliments the house of Este. Cf. Merlin's greeting to Bradamante:

O casta e nobilissima Donzella
Del cui ventre uscirà il seme fecondo
Che onorar deve Italia e tutto il mondo.
L'antico sangue che venne da Troia. . .

men in every grade of society. The solution made possible by Henry VII's political foresight that the two problems should be solved together by the accession of James Stuart was by no means so obvious or simple a matter at the end of the sixteenth century as it appears to us.

The strictly hereditary claim had been hopelessly obscured since the Wars of York and Lancaster, so much so indeed that Francis Doleman¹ in his ingenious tract *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England* written ten years before Elizabeth's death (and dedicated hardly enough to the Earl of Essex) shows that, according to 'propinquity of blood,' each of the five houses of Scotland, Suffolk, Clarence, Brittany and Portugal might claim to stand next in succession. It will be remembered also that the Stuarts had been excluded under the will of Henry VIII and that James was technically a foreigner. Doleman, who was admittedly biassed, finds the King of Scotland the least desirable of all the foreign claimants and sums up in favour of either the second son of the Earl of Hereford, or the Infanta of Spain, she being of the house of Brittany. He prophesies confidently that the question will not be settled without bloodshed.

As early as 1561 the question of an heir to the throne was exercising the minds of the Queen's ministers. *Gorboduc*, which was acted before the Queen in 1560-1 by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, is in intention nothing more nor less than an object lesson from British history to show the evils of a divided kingdom and the anarchy resulting from uncertainty as to the succession. Its direct references to the destiny of Brut's descendants and the duties incumbent upon the royal line can hardly have been missed by Elizabeth, though they seem to have annoyed her less than the Report of a Parliamentary Committee which met shortly after, under the chairmanship of one of the authors of the play, to consider the question of the succession.

As time went on and hopes of the Queen's marriage faded, the question grew more acute, and though it became increasingly evident to the ministers of the Crown that the unity of the kingdom and the avoidance of civil war could best be ensured by the recognition of James Stuart as Elizabeth's heir, the Queen herself refused to allow the question to be raised.

Small wonder that the situation led to a fresh exploitation of the legends and prophecies that had already served the house of Tudor so well. *Gorboduc* (pirated in 1565) was reprinted in 1570. It was published again in 1590 as an appendix to a prose tract called *The Serpent of Division*.

¹ Supposed to have been R. Parsons the Jesuit.

In 1578 the first edition of Holinshed appeared and, as has been shown, emphasised the original unity of the *Isle of Brutus* and the chaos which followed Brut's fatal action in dividing the kingdom¹. Holinshed shows himself sceptical of some of the 'vulgar fables' about Arthur, but he quotes in full Diana's prophecy to Brut promising world-wide empire for his line, and he insists on Arthur's rights over Scotland.

It is significant of a reawakened interest in the line of Brut that about this time (1574) Higgins added a new *First Part* to the *Mirror for Magistrates* giving for the first time stories of the earlier 'fortunate Princes of this land . . . from the coming of Brut.'

Towards the close of the Queen's life Sir John Harington prepared his *Tract on the Succession to the Crown*, one of the most curious contemporary instances of the use of legend and prophecy to buttress arguments of state. He begins by recalling the effort made by the Protector Somerset to bring about the union of England and Scotland by a marriage between Edward VI and the infant princess Mary of Scotland. Somerset himself had suggested that the united kingdoms should then be called by 'their old name of Brytaine.' Harington welcomes the idea of the Union and the change of name and thinks it may now be accomplished by the accession of James Stuart, and thus fulfil a 'blynde prophecie' heard when he was a boy:

After Hempe is sownen and growen
Kings of England shall be none².

'Hempe' signifies the sovereigns whose initials compose the word—Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, Elizabeth. The second line of the couplet means, not as some had feared, that England should become a republic or the prey of a foreign prince, but that with the union of the kingdoms the sovereign would be no longer king of England but of Britain.

The tract is mostly based on arguments of policy³ and the writer professes a certain scorn of 'old prophecy' as belonging to the vulgar and unlearned, but he concludes nevertheless with two current sayings which were, he says, 'delyvered to me in the old Brittish language.' He gives them in Welsh as well as in English. The most noteworthy, which he says is 'elder than my great-grandfather,' is translated by him as follows:

A babe crowned in his cradel:
markt with a lyon in his skin
shall recover againe the crosse
shall make the ile of Brutus whole and unparted
and to growe henceforward better and better.

¹ The same moral is emphasised in the story of *King Lear* though Shakespeare's genius makes modern readers forget it.

² This prophecy is later quoted in other connections and variously interpreted.

³ It is partly in answer to Doleman's.

James himself, as is well known, was a great believer in prophecy. His most obvious claim to be of the line of Brut was through his grandmother Margaret Tudor¹, but descent was also claimed through the male Stuart line which went back to Llewelin the last Prince of Wales of native blood.

It will be recalled that from the time of Edward VI the Scottish protestants had looked to England for support, and a Scottish party had favoured the Union. The chief obstacle, besides Somerset's clumsy handling of the situation, had been the Scots' reluctance to accept an English sovereign or to acknowledge the overlordship of England, and all subsequent plans for uniting the two kingdoms had presented their own difficulties. The susceptibilities of the English were equally sensitive on the score of receiving a Scottish king, and therefore the chances of proving that James was the ordained fulfiller of the Merlin prophecies was eagerly seized upon. James himself was well read in prophetic lore, and immediately upon his accession he assumed the title of King of *Great Britain* desiring that the names of the separate kingdoms should henceforth be abandoned. Speed celebrated this action in a new *History of Great Britain* which he dedicated to James as 'Inlarger and Uniter of the British Empire. Restorer of the British name.' After describing the initial division of Brut's kingdom and the Saxon conquest with the loss of the name of Britain, he continues:

This name of England continued for the space of seven hundred eighty and three years unto the comming in of our Soueraigne Lord King James *in anno* 1602 who by the hand of God hath united all these Diademes into one Imperial Croune, and reduced the many kingdoms in one Iland under the gouernment of one Monarch . . . and extinguishing all differences of names, hath given the wholl Iland the ancient name of Great Britaine.

The particular prophecy which James shrewdly caused to be fulfilled, though almost certainly adopted from the pro-British sayings attributed to Merlin Sylvester, had been incorporated into Geoffrey of Monmouth's prophetic book and had long had its hold on the popular imagination. It runs thus: 'Cambria shall be glad, Cornwall shall flourish, and the isle shall be styled with Brutus' name and the name given by strangers shall perish.'

It is impossible to read the account of James's royal progresses and the congratulatory poems and addresses of which he was the subject, without being struck by the frequency of allusion to the fulfilment of the Merlin prophecies in his person as a scion of the line of Brut and as the restorer of the integrity of the Empire. Only one or two can be noticed here.

¹ A double claim through both his parents.

One of the most striking was *The Triumphs of Re-united Britannia*¹ written by A. Munday. This was prepared at the cost of the Merchant Taylors, and, though produced in honour of Sir Leonard Holliday on his entrance as Lord Mayor to the City of London in 1605, its theme is the Union of the Kingdoms. The piece, which is of the nature of a Pageant, is prefaced by a short résumé of the history of Britain from the Deluge to the coming of Brut, six hundred years later. The division of the kingdom and the loss of its British name are duly chronicled. This is shown in the pageant as follows:

Britannia, hir selfe under the shape of a fayre and beautiful nymph [is] accosted with Brute's devided kingdom in the like female representations Loegria, Cambria and Albania. Brytania speaking to Brute hir conqueror, who is seated somewhat lower in the habit of an adventurous warlike Trojan, tells him she considers his conquest of hir virgine honour by Heaven so appointed to be the best of her fortunes... then the three virgine kingdoms seeme to reprove him for his over-much fond love to his sons, and deviding her (who was one sole monarchy) into three severall estates, the hurt and inconvenience whereon ensuing, each one of them modestly delivered unto him. He staies their further progress in reproofe by his and their now present revvyed condition beeing raised againe... (after such length of time) to behold Britania's former felicity againe, and that the same Albania... had bred a second Brute by the blessed marriage of Margaret eldest daughter to King Henrie the Seaventh to James the Fourth, King of Scotland, of whom *our second Brute (Royall King James)* is truly and rightfully descended: by whose happye comming to the Croune *England Wales and Scotland, by the first Brute severed and divided are in our second Brute re-united and made one happy Britannia* againe... For joy of which sacred Union... Locrine Camber and Albanact, figured there also in their antique estates, deliver their Crounes and Sceptres applauding the day of this long-wished for conjunction, and Troya-Nova (now London) incites fair Thamesis, and the rivers that bounded the severed kingdoms² (personated in fayre and beautiful Nymphs) to sing Paecans and Songs of Triumph in honor of our second Brute, Royall King James.

The same theme is treated in *London's love to the Royal Prince Henry*³ on the occasion of the latter's being made Prince of Wales and in the *Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* at the Palace of Whitehall (1609-10). The latter performance was written by Ben Jonson and is an elaborate pageant with moving scenery. The opening scene shows 'The Lady of the Lake discovered near Merlin's tomb.' She proclaims that the glory of the present time will outshine that of the past since:

Now... the Island hath regained her fame
Intire and perfect in the ancient name,
And that a Monarch equal good and great,
Wise, temperate, just, and stout, claims Arthur's seat.

Arthur then, appearing as a star above, announces that

... I am present...
..... since the times are now devolv'd
That Merlin's mystic prophecies are absolvd,
In Britain's name, the union of this Isle,
And claim both of my sceptre and my style.

¹ See Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. I, p. 564. The only known copy of the piece is in the Bodleian. ² Humber and Severn. ³ *Progresses of James I*, Vol. II, p. 315.

He gives a shield to the Lady of the Lake to present to Prince Henry and calls upon her to 'awake the learned Merlin.' The sage arises with thunder and lightning from his tomb and exhibits to the Prince a moving scene or pageant showing the great deeds of his predecessors and the past glories of England¹.

More interesting perhaps from a modern reader's point of view, because of its connection with *Macbeth*, is an account of an entertainment given at Oxford in August 1605 to James, his Queen and Prince, in which James's 'British' descent through Banquo is also celebrated. The account is given in Wake's *Rex Platonicus*². It is unfortunately not very explicit, but it describes clearly enough how 'three youths dressed in the appropriate costume come forth from the College [of St John]. . . and declare to the King that they are the three witches who had formerly foretold to Banquo the empire of his race, etc.' The words sung by the youths on this occasion are to be found annexed to Dr Mathew Gwynne's Latin play *Vertumnus*³ (printed 1607). A translation is as follows:

There is a report that the prophetic sisters (fatidicas sorores) announced the empire without end of your race, oh famous King! Noble Lochaber acknowledged Banquo as its Thane. Not to you, O Banquo, but to your immortal descendants did those (sisters) prophesy immortal sceptres. . . Whilst you draw near the city from the defile to be seen by your people, we salute you.

Hail! Thou whom Scotland obeys, whom England obeys, whom Ireland obeys, Hail!
Thou to whom France gives titles and the rest give lands, Hail!
Thou, whom *Britain, once divided, now united*, honours, Hail!
Supreme Monarch of Britain, Ireland, France, Hail!

The connection of this 'interlude' with *Macbeth* was noticed, but misunderstood, by Farmer⁴, and has since received little attention. Its significance lies in the fact that James derived his British blood through the race of Banquo, who was ancestor of the Stuart line, no less than through Margaret Tudor. This claim must have a word here.

The Scots, as was natural, had never adopted the English view that the supremacy of the whole island was vested in the Kings of England as representatives of the elder branch of the royal line of Brut. Scottish chroniclers had, therefore, been at pains to prove that, since Arthur was illegitimate, Mordred, the son of his sister Anna by Loth, King of Pictland⁵, was the rightful heir to Britain. By this reasoning the royal

¹ The debt to Ariosto is apparent here. Jonson may also have had in mind Book III, Canto III of the *Faery Queen*.

² More convenient for the modern reader is the account in Nichols, *op. cit.*

³ Vertumnus / sive / annus recurrens / oxonii XXIX augusti / anno 1605. Coram Iacobo Rege Henrico Principe Proceribus.

⁴ *Essay on the Learning of Shakespere*, p. 56, 2nd ed. (1767).

⁵ In Geoffrey's account the Loth whom Anna married was a 'Duke' whom Arthur later made King of Norway. He was among those who did homage to Arthur at Caerleon. The Picts and Scots are, of course, foreigners (Scythians).

house of Scotland was quite evidently the senior branch of the family.

It was not to be expected that this version would gain currency in England, but the situation doubtless explains the exploitation of the Macbeth story, which, with no prejudice to the Tudor claims, established an independent Stuart descent from royal British blood. This descent was doubtless more pleasing to James's Scottish pride than the claim through an English princess and it is celebrated in the complimentary Oxford entertainment as well as in the more famous scene in *Macbeth*. Wake says that the legend was 'famous among the Scoto-British' (*historiola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata*); it is related in Holinshed who gives in full the genealogy of the Scottish kings derived from Fleance and ending in the Stuart line; it is included in the 1606 edition of Warner's *Albion's England*, and it is again celebrated in Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

This latter poem, which is dedicated to Prince Henry as one destined to '...rule three Realms with triple power like Jove,' was planned to celebrate 'all the Delicacies, Delights and Rareties of this renowned Isle, interwoven with the histories of the Britons, Saxons, Normans and the later English,' and as such it devotes a large proportion of its space to the origins of these races and their interconnections and abounds in complimentary references to the Stuarts as Brut's successors. The title-page of the first edition (1612), itself probably suggested by the symbolism and grouping of a Court Masque, shows Albion, a female figure enthroned, surrounded by

...what princes Time hath seen
Ambitious of hir...

Brut, Caesar, Hengist and William I. The various songs with their elaborate genealogies show how the different royal houses are inter-related and that the Norman Conquest was really a re-uniting of old kinship since both English and Norman derive from Rollo. The Fourth Song deals with the rivalries of the English and Welsh. The English sing of their Saxon descent and Norman alliance, the Welsh of Arthur and Merlin and their Trojan origin. Sabrina (the River Severn) in judging between them reconciles the claims of both races by references to the Merlin prophecies, in the Fifth Song:

...thus the Powers reveal,
That when the Norman line in strength shall lastlie faile
(Fate limiting the time) *th'auncient Briton race*
Shall come again to sit upon the sovereign place.
A branch sprung out of Brute th'imperial top shall get,
Which grafted in the stock of great Plantagenet,
The stem shall strongly wax as still the trunk doth wither;

Llewelin's line in him [James Stuart]...should doubly thrive...
 He first unto himself in fair succession gained
 The Steward's nobler name...
 By whom *three severed realms in one shall firmly stand*
As Britain-founding Brute first monarchized the land.

Selden's notes explain how the royal Welsh line 'doubly thrives' in James Stuart. After the murder of Banquo by Macbeth, Fleance escaped to Wales and was united to Nesta, daughter of Gryffith ap Llewelin, Prince of Wales. Their son Walter became High Steward of Scotland from whom descended Robert II, 'since whom that royal name hath long continued, descending to our mighty sovereign, and in him is joined with the commixt blood of Tyddour and Plantagenet.' In Song x also:

The serious Muse herself applies
 To Merlin's ancient prophecies.

In fact, a large part of the whole poem is devoted to showing how James's accession brings back the Trojan line and restores the empire of Brut.

Selden's notes tell us that Alanus de Insulis's interpretation of the Merlin prophecies¹ had already been twice printed in James's reign, and he quotes 'The Isle shall again be named after Brute, which is now seen by a public edict and in some of His Majesty's present coins.'

Returning to *Macbeth* which, it is now generally agreed, was written for a special court performance in compliment to James I, we see the full significance of Macbeth's vision. The guilty king, who had been warned by the prophetic sisters that Banquo's issue should succeed to the throne, tried to thwart the Fates² by the murder of Banquo and his son. The escape of Fleance makes the crime of no avail and Macbeth is shown the royal line of Stuart kings, while:

...blood-boltered Banquo smiles...
 And points at them for his.

It has long been recognised that the twofold balls carried by the later figures symbolise James's double coronation as King of Scotland and England; no less clearly must the 'treble sceptres' (as in other complimentary shows that greeted James's progresses) celebrate the merging of the separated kingdoms of England, Scotland and Wales into one 're-united Britania.'

As Britain-founding Brute first monarchized the land.

The Third Apparition 'A child crowned with a Tree in his hand' is no less evidently James himself, the 'Babe crowned in his cradel³,' destined,

¹ c. 1167-1183.

² Miss Lilian Winstanley has called attention to this point and to the importance of the Merlin prophecies in this connection, in her *Macbeth and the Scottish Succession*.

³ There are many contemporary allusions to James being crowned as an infant.

according to Harington's prophecy, to 'make the Ile of Brutus whole and unparted.' Commentators, misled by the *tree*, have followed one another in assuming that the figure:

That rises like the issue of a king
And wears upon his *baby* brow, the round
And top of sovereignty

represents the youthful Malcolm (who was old enough to lead an army!) because he instructed his soldiers to provide themselves with boughs to mask their advance. But the crowned infant of the vision would most appropriately bear in its hand a *genealogical tree* showing his descent in double line from the 'ancient British race¹.' The common way of making out a table of descent in the seventeenth century is to represent it as a tree with leaves and branches, the names in circles taking the place of fruits, and many such 'trees' were published at James's accession. Nor was the device new in pageantry. When Henry VI returned from France in 1431 after being crowned at Paris, the City of London welcomed him with a 'show' of allegorical devices. Among the rest was 'a wonderful tower which *by means of artificial trees showed the title of Henry to the throne of France*².'

It would be easy to multiply instances of the politico-poetical use of the Merlin prophecies. It is perhaps worth recalling here that Milton was not among the disbelievers in the Trojan ancestry of the race and himself contemplated an epic poem on the subject: 'I had a theme of the Trojans cruising our southern headland...³'

A curious *Life of Merlin* by Thomas Heywood appeared as late as 1641. This claims to be 'a Chronographically History of all the Kings and memorable passages of this kingdom, from Brute to the Reigne of our Royall Sovereigne King Charles.' Heywood unblushingly attributes to Merlin a prophecy (quite obviously written after the events) for the reign of each sovereign. He concludes with a variation of the 'Hempe' prophecy which he makes refer to a visitation of the Plague.

I have shown elsewhere⁴ how Chamberlayne, in *Pharonnida* (publ. 1659), reverts to the same theme; this is probably the last time it was used in complete seriousness. As the theory of Divine Right faded and the belief in Parliamentary supremacy grew, the stories receded more

¹ James's descent from the Saxon line of kings is deliberately alluded to in the 'King's Evil' scene, and in Drayton's *Polyolbion* genealogies.

² Fabyan, *Chronicle*, pp. 603 ff., cited by E. Welsford, *The Court Masque*, p. 51.

³ 'Ipse ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes / Dicam' (*Epitaphium Damonis*).

⁴ *Chamberlayne and the Heroic Poem*, a thesis approved by the University of London for the Degree of Ph.D.

and more into the realm of poetical ornament and their influence on political thought disappeared¹. They survived, however, in poetical allusion and courtly compliment until nearly the end of the Stuart dynasty, but their sponsor was the Muse of History, not of Poetry, and when she finally disowned them they passed into the limbo of forgotten things.

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¹ Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685) shows perhaps a last flicker.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE SAGAS: SOME NOTES

DURING the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries English acquaintance with Old Norse literature was mainly secondhand and restricted to a very small number of poems and stories. The reason is hinted at by Percy in his introduction to *Five Runic Pieces*, where he explains that he has published these specimens owing to 'the success of the Erse fragments'—that is, of Macpherson's Ossian. The terseness and definiteness of Old Norse poetry was not really to the taste of anyone but Gray. His contemporaries and successors wanted from the North either the same sort of misty wonder as Macpherson provided, or else something that would make them shudder. Ragnar Lodbrog was their favourite Northern hero, possibly because of the mistranslation which made him look forward to drinking in Valhalla out of his enemies' skulls—the kind of thing which would appeal to readers avid for Gothic romance and horrors. Percy himself satisfied a good many of their requirements by the *Northern Antiquities*, his translation of P. H. Mallet's *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc*. In that amusing though unscholarly work, compounded out of Caesar and Tacitus mixed with scraps taken from half-understood and undifferentiated mythical and historical poems and sagas, the lovers of romance found the figure of the Viking, half ogre, half noble savage, which corresponded with the ideas made familiar to them by translations of *The Death Song of Ragnar Lodbrog*. The strength of the Ragnar tradition itself is shown most clearly, not by the large number of versions of the *Death Song*, but by a footnote of Scott's in *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities* (p. 7):

A long Anglo-Saxon poem on the expedition of Regner Lodbrog is preserved in the Museum, the publication of which would be a very desirable object. Professor Thorkelin had prepared a manuscript and translation for the press, and from his learning and zeal every thing could be expected. But it is much to be feared, that, together with the other invaluable stores of his library, it was consumed during the bombardment of Copenhagen¹.

The poem, as we know now, had nothing to do with Ragnar Lodbrog, but the reasoning is obvious: a poem on a Danish expedition—Thorkelin evidently gave to Scott the same description of his *Beowulf* transcript as he afterwards gave to the public—must be a poem on Ragnar Lodbrog.

It is, however, noteworthy that in this same volume Scott struck the

¹ This is, I believe, the earliest English reference to *Beowulf*.

first blow at the melodramatic figure of the Viking. His interest in Northern literature had begun early: on his own confession he had dabbled in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse before he took to German, his acquirement of which was helped by his smattering of the other tongues. For practical purposes he might have remained entirely without any smattering, since by the end of the eighteenth century most of the sagas had been edited with Latin translations and annotations, and a less genuinely interested reader than Scott might even have dispensed with these and relied, as most people still did, on Mallet, with occasional reference to Bartholinus and Torfæus for general information and particular anecdotes. It is impossible to tell now how much reading of the originals there was in the essay 'On the Manners and Customs of the Northern Nations' which impressed Dugald Stewart in the winter of 1790-1¹, or in that which was read to the Speculative Society on December 11, 1792, 'On the Origin of the Scandinavian Mythology²,' but Lockhart's quotations from the 1792 notebooks³ show that Scott was not dependent on Mallet alone and was at least intending to learn something of Old Norse.

For the *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, which appeared in 1814 under the nominal editorship of Weber and Jamieson, Scott⁴ wrote his Abstract of *Eyrbyggja Saga*, which shows the first recognition in English of the essential and eternal qualities of the sagas. To the end Scott could make melodramatic figures with anyone—Harold the Dauntless is as tiresome a person as Norna of the Fitful Head, who comes out of the same factory. But Scott was far too acute a judge of evidence, and far too well acquainted with humanity, not to see that the Icelandic sagas implied a very different background from the highly coloured suggestions of Mallet. There was bloodshed, but there were other things too. He was impressed particularly, as he well might be, by the trial of the ghosts at Frodiswater, and by the character of Snorri—the Pontiff Snorro, as he calls him.

All the solemn rites of judicial procedure were observed on this singular occasion; evidence was adduced, charges given, and the cause formally decided. It does not appear that the ghosts put themselves on their defence, so that sentence of ejection was pronounced against them individually in due and legal form. . . . We have perhaps dwelt too long on this legend, but it is the only instance in which the ordinary administration of justice has been supposed to extend over the inhabitants of another world, and in which the business of exorcising spirits is transferred from the priest to the judge. Joined to the various instances in the *Eyrbyggja-Saga*, of a certain

¹ Lockhart, I, p. 235 (1839 ed.).

² Lockhart, I, p. 239.

³ Lockhart, I, pp. 272-5.

⁴ Scott had in fact a much larger share in the editing than his delicacy and his generosity allowed him to admit. See Lockhart, III, pp. 146-54.

regard to the forms of jurisprudence, even amid the wildest of their feuds, it seems to argue the extraordinary influence ascribed to municipal law by this singular people, even in the very earliest state of society.

And on Snorri:

From these reliques the celebrated Snorro seemed to have been a man of ordinary stature; nor, indeed, does it any where appear that he attained the ascendancy which he possessed in the island by personal strength, but rather by that subtlety of spirit which he displayed in conducting his enterprizes, and by his address and eloquence in the popular assembly. Although often engaged in feuds, his valour seems to have been duly mingled with discretion, and the deeds of war, for which he was celebrated in poetry, were usually achieved by the strong arm of some ally or satellite. . . . That such a character, partaking more of the jurisconsult or statesman than of the warrior, should have risen so high in such an early period, argues the preference which the Icelanders already assigned to mental superiority over the rude attributes of strength and courage, and furnishes another proof of the early civilization of this extraordinary commonwealth.

The lawyer and the novelist in Scott were, in fact, both excited. More than that, he could understand this world, so like that of his own Borders not many years earlier, with its everyday life breaking out into litigation and violence. Professor Ker remarked in *Epic and Romance* that 'the people of Iceland seem always to have been "at the old wark of the marches again."' Dandy Dinmont would have been at home in tenth-century Iceland.

Is it too much to suggest that the novelist may have been helped to find himself by the saga-writer? Granted that Scott would probably have turned sooner or later to prose fiction, there seems yet something to be explained in his feeling the impulse to take up *Waverley* in 1814 rather than in 1810. Consider the dates: *Waverley* was begun in 1805, discovered and rejected again in 1810; on both occasions Scott was not sufficiently interested in it to defend it against the criticisms of his friends. The early part of *Waverley* is still found slow and dragging by many readers. The Abstract of *Eyrbyggja* was finished in October 1813, and *Waverley* was taken up and finished with a rush of creative exultation in three weeks of the early summer of 1814. The hypothesis cannot be proved, and Scott himself was certainly unconscious of any such mental process, but it is at least possible that *Eyrbyggja* acted as the stimulus and there is reasonable time for it to take effect.

The general resemblance between the *Waverley* novels and the sagas is obvious, in the combination of the heroic with comedy and plain downright realism. Eiríkr Magnússon tells us that what charmed Morris most in the sagas was 'the directness with which a saga-man would deal with the relations of man to man; the dramatic way in which he arranged the material of his story; his graphic descriptions of the

personal appearance of the actors, and of the tumultuous fray of battle; the defiant spirit that as unflinchingly faced wrong-doing as open danger, overwhelming odds, or inevitable death.' The words describe Scott at his best as well as the sagas. If, to use Dr Saintsbury's expression, Scott is the father of the later novel, are we to find its grandfather in the author of *Eyrbyggja* and its great-uncles in the authors of *Laxdæla* and the rest?

The Pirate is full of open references to and borrowings from *Eyrbyggja* and *Eirikssaga*, probably taken from the Latin translations without more than a glance at the original texts. For the *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* Scott certainly used Bartholinus, from whom he translated directly the speeches of Kjartan and Gaukathorir quoted in Letter III. His treatment in the same Letter of the story of Gunnar Helming, however, raises a difficulty. He might have taken it, like the others, from Bartholinus, but he clearly did not open Bartholinus at book II, ch. v, and translate as he did from book I, ch. vi. Bartholinus gives the Old Norse text and then translates it thus:

Deinde (*Gunnarus, qui homicidii falsò suspectus, Norvegiam liqverat*) per montes orientem versus iter tetendit, Uplandiamqve (*Norvegiae*) occultè pertransiens, non prius substitit quàm orientem versus in Sveciam deveniret: Ibi tunc temporis religio ethnica impense vigeat; Freyusqve diu ibi maxime cultus fuerat, cuius sculptile tanto vigore præditum erat, ut ex eo daemon hominibus verba faceret. Puella quædam ætate juvenili facieqve decora ad famulitium Freyo præstandum deputabatur, credebantqve Sveci Freyum vivum esse, veluti et in quibusdam apparuit, ac cum uxore suâ res veneras exercere; illa cum Freyo circa fanum resqve ad fanum pertinentes maximam potestatem habuit. Tandem Gunnarus Helmingus ed pervenit, Freyiqve uxorem rogavit ut sibi opem ferret, seqve ibi manere permetteret....

Frey regarded him with an unfriendly eye, but Frey's wife allowed the stranger to stay, first for three nights, then for a fortnight.

...Gunnarus hilaritate suâ et promptitudine omnium favorem tanto majorem contraxit, quanto longiorem ibi moram fecit. Deinde Freyi uxorem iterum allocutus de sua conditione interrogavit: Illa respondit, populus valde tibi favet, ideoque consultum mihi videtur, ut hanc hyemem hic transigas, mihiqve cum Freyo, annonæ ubertatem incolis largituro, convivia frequentanti comes sis, quamvis te odio habeat. Gunnarus illi gratias egit. Instabat tempus quo se ad iter accingerent: Freyo cum uxore suâ curru insidendum erat, quem famuli illorum anteire debebant; iter autem non exiguum per loca montana iis faciendum erat. Deinde tempestas exorta est, adeo ut viam progredi difficile esset, Gunnaro vero munus demandatum fuerat, ut curru adesset, jumentumqve duceret. Tandem omnes illorum comites eos deserebant, solo Gunnaro apud Freyum uxoremqve ejus in curru constitutos remanente; qui quod eqvum duceret, valde lassari cœpit. Cumqve aliquamdiu hoc modo iter fecissent, Gunnarus currum anteire desiit, at in currum escendens, jumentum quoqve vellet currum trahere permisit. Paulo post Freyi uxor ad Gunnarum dixit: Utere adhuc viribus, ducqve jumentum, alias enim Freyum te invasurum credo: Gunnarus monitis exiguo temporis spatio paruit, cumqve valdè iterum fatigaretur, dixit, jam periculum faciam, Freyum, si me invadat, excipiendi. Tum Freyus curru descendens in eum irruit. Gunnaro vires ad contra nitendum non sufficiebant; unde se in periculo versari videns, tacitum votum secum vovit, si hoc daemonio superato salvus in Norvegiam redire posset, se veram fidem iterum sincerè amplexurum, ac cum rege Olao,

si copia daretur, in gratiam rediturum. Vix votum animo conceperat, et Freyus ei cedere cœpit, tandemque penitus cecidit. Tum dæmon qvi in sculptili latitaverat, illud deseruit, nudo trunco ligneo remanente, qvem Gunnarus in minutas partes diffregit. Deinde mulieri binas conditiones proposuit, utrum ab eo, sibi soli provisuro, deseri, an cūm ad habitata hominibus loca devenerint, eum Freyū esse profiteri mallet. Cumque illa eum Freyū simulare se malle affirmaret, idoli ornatum induit. Tum tempestas sedari cœpit, adeo ut ad convivium ipsis paratum serō diei venirent; ubi multi qvi eorum comites esse debuerant, adfuerunt. Stupebat populus Freyū potentiam suam adeo manifestasse, ut in tanta tempestate, quæ omnes ejus comites ab eo dispulerat, cum uxore suā eō pervenerit: nec minus mirabatur, eum more aliorum hominum incedere, ciboque et potu vesci. Hac hyeme Freyus (*seu Gunnarus, sub nomine Freyi imponens*) cum uxore convivia frequentavit, cumque aliis hominibus pauca loqvebatur. Tandem animalia sibi mactari noluit, quod antea consvetum erat, nullaque sacrificia, hostias, vel oblationem admisit, nisi aurum et argentum, vestes pretiosas, aliave clenodia. Labente vero ulterius tempore, Freyi uxorem utrum ferre, cœpit apparere, quo emanente, gaudebant Sveci, et hunc suum Deum impense diligebant: aëris etiam constitutio placida erat, tantaque uberis futuræ annonæ indicia, quanta hominum memoriā non extiterant. *Demum Gunnarus cum muliere Norvegiā fugā repetiit.*

It is an interesting document for students of primitive religion, but Bartholinus does not emphasise in his comments, even if he understands, that side of the story, and Scott's version obscures it altogether.

These daring champions often braved the indignation even of the superior deities of their mythology, rather than allow that there existed any being before whom their boldness could quail. Such is the singular story, how a young man of high courage, in crossing a desolate ridge of mountains, met with a huge waggon, in which the goddess Freya (*i.e.* a gigantic idol formed to represent her,) together with her shrine, and the wealthy offerings attached to it, was travelling from one district of the country to another. The shrine, or sanctuary of the idol, was, like a modern caravan travelling with a show, screened by boards and curtains from the public gaze, and the equipage was under the immediate guidance of the priestess of Freya, a young, good-looking, and attractive woman. The traveller naturally associated himself with the priestess, who, as she walked on foot, apparently was in no degree displeased with the company of a powerful and handsome young man, as a guide and companion on the journey. It chanced, however, that the presence of the champion, and his discourse with the priestess, was less satisfactory to the goddess than to the parties principally concerned. By a certain signal the divinity summoned the priestess to the sanctuary, who presently returned with tears in her eyes, and terror in her countenance, to inform her companion that it was the will of Freya that he should depart, and no longer travel in their company. 'You must have mistaken the meaning of the goddess,' said the champion; 'Freya cannot have formed a wish so unreasonable, as to desire I should abandon the straight and good road, which leads me directly on my journey, to choose precipitous paths and byroads, where I may break my neck.'—'Nevertheless,' said the priestess, 'the goddess will be highly offended if you disobey her commands, nor can I conceal from you that she may personally assault you.'—'It will be at her own peril if she should be so audacious,' said the champion, 'for I will try the power of this axe against the strength of beams and boards.' The priestess chid him for his impiety; but being unable to compel him to obey the goddess's mandate, they again relapsed into familiarity, which advanced to such a point, that a clattering noise within the tabernacle, as of machinery put in motion, intimated to the travellers that Freya, who perhaps had some qualities in common with the classical Vesta, thought a personal interruption of this tête-à-tête ought to be deferred no longer. The curtains flew open, and the massive and awkward idol, who, we may suppose, resembled in form the giant created by Frankenstein, leapt lumbering from the carriage, and, rushing on the intrusive traveller, dealt him, with its wooden hands and arms, such tremendous blows, as were equally difficult to parry or to endure.

But the champion was armed with a double-edged Danish axe, with which he bestirred himself with so much strength and activity, that at length he split the head of the image, and with a severe blow hewed off its left leg. The image of Freya then fell motionless to the ground, and the demon which had animated it, fled yelling from the battered tenement. The champion was now victor; and, according to the law of arms, took possession of the female and the baggage. The priestess, the divinity of whose patroness had been, by the event of the combat, sorely lessened in her eyes, was now easily induced to become the associate and concubine of the conqueror. She accompanied him to the district whither he was travelling, and there displayed the shrine of Freya, taking care to hide the injuries which the goddess had received in the brawl. The champion came in for a share of a gainful trade driven by the priestess, besides appropriating to himself most of the treasures which the sanctuary had formerly contained. Neither does it appear that Freya, having, perhaps, a sensible recollection of the power of the axe, ever again ventured to appear in person for the purpose of calling her false stewards to account.

It is easy to allow for the embroidery and decoration which Scott's fancy gave to the story. But how are we to account for the change from 'Frey's wife' to 'the priestess of Freya,' which, putting anthropology aside, actually destroys the point of the story as a story? Is it due to the vagaries of a memory always erratic and in 1830, as Scott himself recognised and we must sorrowfully admit, seriously impaired¹? Or is there another explanation?

Scott was one of the subscribers to *Fornmanna Sögur*; his name appears at the end of the third volume with those of R. P. Gillies, R. Jamieson, Thomas Thomson, and a few more, including the Library of Writers to the Signet and the Advocates' Library ('Lögvitrínganna bókasafn'), both of which it is safe to assume were influenced partly by his persuasion to buy the series. The story of Gunnar Helming appeared in the second volume as chapter 173 of the long saga of Olaf Tryggvason. Scott had played, as we know, with Old Norse in his youth, and, in Lockhart's phrase², 'acquired as much as was needful for his own purposes, of which a critical study of any foreign language made at no time any part. . . . He sought for incidents, and he found images.' It is unnatural to suppose that when the second volume of *Fornmanna* reached him it went unopened on to the shelf; it is not unlikely that he glanced through the book and read a few pages carelessly here and there, guessing at the sense with some knowledge of vocabulary but very little of grammar. It is not easy to see how Bartholinus's repeated 'Freyi uxor' and emphasis on Frey's masculinity could have disappeared entirely from Scott's memory, but it is more explicable if the early reading in Bartholinus was overlaid by a more recent reading of a text, only partly comprehended, in which the word used has also a merely general significance—'kona.'

¹ He was working on the *Letters* in March 1830, a month after what was nominally his first stroke.

² Lockhart, i. p. 177.

Scott, that is to say, knew the meaning of most of the key words, and guessed enough of the others to make some sense of the passage, but he was not sure of the grammatical distinctions between masculine and feminine. His uncertain memory did the rest.

If this hypothesis is true—though, like the other I have suggested, it cannot be definitely proved—Scott must have struggled with *Fornmanna* between 1826 and 1830, at a time when one would have supposed he had enough to occupy his mind. And if that is so, just as the *Fyrbyggja* abstract shows his genius for getting to the heart of the matter, his treatment of Gunnar Helming shows, besides his glorious carelessness, a persistent intellectual curiosity which, in the circumstances, is not much less than heroic.

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BRON AND OTHER FIGURES IN THE 'ESTOIRE DEL SAINT GRAAL'

BEFORE entering upon the discussion of so controversial a subject as the legend of the Grail, I wish to call attention to the fact that the assumptions from which I start are admitted by all competent scholars. The first is the assumption that many proper names in Arthurian romance arise out of corruption or misunderstanding. Dr Brugger in his etymological studies constantly assumes the probability of corruption and misunderstanding of names. Bruce pointed out numerous instances of corruption and misunderstanding¹; in fact, he says²: 'In the consideration of names in the romances, one has to keep in mind always the possibilities of manuscript corruption. The number of apparently new names in these works that have come into existence in this manner is enormous.' M. Lot derives the name Dinas de Lidan from a misunderstanding of Dinas Llydan, meaning in Welsh 'wide fortress'. Nutt pointed out that Heinrich von dem Türlin called one of his ladies Quebelepluz through taking a French phrase for a proper name⁴. Such mistakes and misconceptions are inevitable in human nature and it should not be necessary to produce authority for them.

The second assumption is that the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* not only furnish us with a very small segment of Welsh tradition, but also furnish it in a stage of advanced corruption. Nutt spoke as follows⁵: 'The Four Branches preserve but a small portion of the mythical tales which must once have been current in Wales, as is evident alike from allusions in the cycle itself, from references in the contemporary poems and in the Triads, and from the fact that Geoffrey has included in the *Historia* stories relating to Lir and his family which do not figure in the Four Branches cycle.' 'As we have them [the Four Branches] they undoubtedly represent a fusion of originally independent cycles; in the process of fusion much has been lost, much distorted.' 'The work of fusion and comparison could not fail to obscure and distort the original elements of the legends.' M. Joseph Loth bears witness to the confused state of the tradition⁶: 'On peut, à la vérité, distinguer dans le *Mabinogi*

¹ J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, pp. 255, 317, 422 f., etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 202 n.

³ *Romania*, XXIV, p. 337.

⁴ A. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 26.

⁵ C. Guest, *Mabinogion*, ed. A. Nutt, pp. 336, 332.

⁶ J. Loth, *Mabinogion*² (1913), I, p. 43.

et ses branches, des cycles qui se sont mêlés et confondus.' Ivor B. John in his book on the *Four Branches* writes¹: 'There certainly existed an enormous number of stories, legends, and tales, of which the Four Branches of the Mabinogi... can only have formed a very small part.' 'The Mabinogi have evidently been pieced together very like a mosaic, and it is palpably evident that, in the form in which we now have them, they are only a collection of more or less cleverly joined fragments of earlier tales.' Professor W. J. Gruffydd, in his masterly study of *Math Vab Mathonwy*, speaks of this Branch as 'a vast conglomeration of themes, most of them, if not all, appearing in a truncated and sometimes hardly distinguishable form².'

The generally conceded points, therefore, are these:

1. The nomenclature of Arthurian romance is in large measure the result of corruption and misunderstanding.

2. The traditions of Wales as they have reached us in the *Four Branches* are only a fragment of the whole and retain little of their original form.

Certain corollaries are to be drawn from these universally admitted premises:

1. The development of Arthurian names is not amenable to regular laws of phonetics, and oral and scribal corruption is to be expected.

2. Since there is no reason why one particular corruption of a name should prevail, different variants may arise from the same name.

3. It is unreasonable to expect that every Welsh tradition should be represented in the *Mabinogion*, or that it should be given the same form which it wears in Arthurian romance.

4. All that one can reasonably demand in the identification of a personage in Arthurian romance with a personage in Welsh legend is: first, an obvious similarity between the names or else a clear explanation of the divergences; and, second, either a detailed or a sustained resemblance in nature, activities, or relationships.

It is my purpose to show in this article that, according to these criteria, a number of figures in the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (*Grand Saint Graal*) can be identified with practical certainty with Welsh prototypes. This romance is the first book in sequence of the Vulgate cycle, but was probably the next to the last portion to be composed³. Luckily we have a definite *terminus ad quem* for the *Estoire* since Helinandus refers to the opening episode in a work composed before 1216⁴. It is generally

¹ I. B. John, *Mabinogion*, pp. 8, 12.

² W. J. Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928), p. 47.

³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 455.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 450.

supposed that a considerable part is based on the metrical *Joseph*, and that many of the names are derived thence¹. This issue I do not discuss, since it scarcely affects the question of the ultimate origin of the names and episodes in the *Estoire*. Do these come in any appreciable number from the Celtic? Heinzel recognised that the story of Celidoine was akin to that of Merlin Celidonius, the famous bard and prophet of Britain, about whom a mythological aura gathered²; and even Bruce admitted the analogies which the romance presented to the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, an Irish saint's legend popularised in Western Europe³. But Bruce at any rate would have ascribed the presence of these Celtic correspondences simply to the efforts of a French author of the year 1200 or thereabouts to pass off his pious tale of the transmission of the Grail to Britain as an old British tradition. Whatever the verdict on the influence of the Brendan and Merlin legends on the *Estoire* may ultimately be, even if it be granted that they represent late and sophisticated attempts to Celticise the early history of the Grail, nevertheless no such explanation will apply to the figures and the elements which I am about to consider. They represent, though diluted and adulterated, a genuine infiltration of Welsh mythology.

BRÂN AND BRON.

It has been the contention of a number of scholars, Heinrich, Martin, Nutt, Rhys, Brown, and Nitze⁴, that Bron, the ancestor of a line of Grail Keepers, is identical with the Welsh god Brân, of whom we hear much in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen. The evidence, including certain points made by myself, is as follows:

1. Brân possessed a cauldron which could heal the dead⁵. Bron, in the metrical *Joseph* and the Didot *Perceval*, is lord of the Grail, a word which actually means a rather deep dish⁶, but which was mistakenly applied to the chalice of the mass. This Grail in several of the romances heals the desperately wounded⁷.

2. Brân possessed a horn which supplied whatsoever liquor one desired⁸. Now it is a curious fact that the Grail castle in the Vulgate cycle,

¹ Bruce, *op. cit.*, i, p. 386.

² R. Heinzel, *Über die französische Grailromane* (Vienna, 1891), p. 144.

³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, i, p. 391, n. 36.

⁴ G. A. Heinrich, *Le Parcival de Wolfram d'Eschenbach et la Légende du Saint Graal* (Paris, 1855), p. 59; E. Martin, *Zur Grailsage* (Strassburg, 1880), p. 37; A. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (London, 1888), p. 219; J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 306 ff. *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), p. 244, n. 2; *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (New York, 1927), p. 135.

⁵ J. Loth, *Mabinogion*², i, pp. 129, 143.

⁶ Bruce, *op. cit.*, i, p. 254.

⁷ R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1927), p. 227 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

though it is never associated with Bron, is called the castle of Corbenic, a name which is said in the *Estoire* to mean 'the most holy vessel,' but which readily resolves itself into *Corbenit*, 'the blessed horn¹.' This suggests that Grail traditions have blended into one the healing cauldron and the horn of plenty, both of which were talismans belonging to the sea-god Brân.

3. In the *Mabinogi* Brân was wounded in the foot in battle². In Crestien de Troyes's *Conte del Graal* the Rich Fisher, who corresponds exactly in his rôle to Bron in the Didot *Perceval* and in his title to Bron in the *Joseph*, was wounded in battle through the thighs³.

4. In the *Mabinogi*, after Brân was wounded in the foot in a battle, he ordered his seven followers to cut off his head and travel with it to various places, where they were to sojourn⁴. They came to the isle of Grassholm (Gwales), where 'they found a fair and regal spot overlooking the ocean.... And there they remained fourscore years, unconscious of having ever spent a time more joyous and mirthful.... And it was not more irksome to them to be in the company of the head than when Blessed Brân had been alive with them. And, because of these fourscore years, it was called "The Entertaining of the Noble Head⁵."' Two points are to be noted: first, that Grassholm is the westernmost isle of Wales and lies in the midst of the Irish sea; secondly, that 'The Entertaining of the Noble Head' seems to be paraphrased later in the *Mabinogi* as 'The Entertainment of Brân.' This is natural enough since we have several instances where the ancient gods were referred to as 'The Head' or 'The Head of Annwn,' and it was entirely possible for a literal-minded *cyfarwydd* to mistake the phrase 'The Entertaining of the Noble Head' as referring to the physical head of Brân and to relate his decapitation accordingly⁶. All this fits in with the statement in the Didot *Perceval* (Modena MS.) that Bron, the Rich Fisher, dwelt in these isles of Ireland in one of the fairest places in the world, and was in the greatest malease that ever man was in⁷. Thus the Fisher King Bron, wounded in the leg in battle, sojourning long with his followers in the isles of Ireland, in one of the fairest places in the world, is a composite picture furnished by the Grail romances, of which every feature has its counterpart in the Welsh traditions of Brân furnished by the *Mabinogi*.

¹ R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1927), p. 235.

² Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 144.

³ Crestien de Troyes, *Conte del Graal*, ed. Baist, I. 4691.

⁴ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁶ Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff. Cf. my forthcoming article on 'The Head in the Grail.'

⁷ J. L. Weston, *Legend of Perceval*, II, pp. 12 f.

5. Whereas pagan traditions regarding the god Brân thus contributed many distinctive features to the story of Bron, there are also two late triads which suggest that the Christianising of Brân may have begun in Wales. At least, it is noteworthy that one triad states that 'Blessed Brân, son of Llyr Llediaith, brought the Christian faith from Rome to the Cymry¹,' and that another triad numbers among the three holy lineages of Britain the lineage of Brân son of Llyr². For Bron, according to the *Joseph*, brings the Grail to Britain; and, according to the *Estoire*, he is prominent in the evangelising campaign of Josephe; and in both sources Bron is ancestor of the line of Grail Keepers. These Welsh triads, though late, show no signs of contamination by Continental romance, and we may reasonably suppose that they drew upon the same reservoir of tradition as did ultimately the authors of *Joseph* and the *Estoire*. Lest it should seem incredible that a pagan god should develop into a personage credited with the overthrow of paganism, let me recall two cases where Celtic divinities have been regarded as forerunners of Christianity. Conchobar, said to be a terrestrial god of the Ultonians, believed so fervently in Christ that, when he learned of the Crucifixion, he died of grief and rage long before St Patrick arrived in Ireland³. *The Voyage of Bran* represents Manannan, the great sea-god himself, as prophesying the advent of a noble salvation, a God who will also be man. Other deities have been transformed into saints⁴. There is nothing improbable in the belief that pagan legends of Bran lived on side by side with Christian developments, and that, while certain French legends of the Fisher King, such as Crestien's, are almost purely pagan, others reflect the beginnings of the Christianising process, and carry it much further.

6. The identity of Brân and Bron may be further confirmed by showing that part of the pious legend of Bron in the *Estoire* has a chivalric analogue in the Vulgate *Lancelot*, and that the relation between these two versions can only be explained on the assumption of a common source, derived from the Welsh legend of Brân. Let me first give a résumé of the passage from the *Lancelot*⁵.

Bohors comes to the castle of La Marche, where King Brangoire (variant Brangor) holds tourney on the anniversary of his coronation. The king's daughter falls in love with the newcomer at first sight, and

¹ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 308.

² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

³ Kuno Meyer, *Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, Todd Lecture Series, xiv, pp. 9 ff.

⁴ P. Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*. But cf. H. Delehaye, *Légendes Hagiographiques*, pp. 181 ff.

⁵ H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, pp. 264-70.

when he has distinguished himself in combat, she and her damsels decide upon him as the best knight and choose twelve other knights as the next best. King Brangor has two pavilions pitched in the meadows, and tables set up in both, one for himself, and the other for Bohors and the twelve knights. King Brangor's daughter clothes Bohors in red samite, he sits in the golden chair, and becomes all red for shame. The king then tells Bohors that he may choose the fairest damsel for himself and twelve other damsels for the twelve champions. Bohors pleads that he may not take a wife until he has achieved his quest, but selects wives for his companions. King Brangor's daughter, deeply aggrieved that Bohors has not chosen her, nevertheless contrives by a magic ring to bring about their union. Thus Helain (variant Alain) le Blanc was conceived: 'en la queste del Saint Graal en parole il moult longement.' The Lady of the Lake, when she hears of this affair, is much surprised. 'Sans faille Bohors auoit propose destre uirgenes tout son eage.'

The passage from the *Estoire del Saint Graal* may be summarised as follows¹: Josephe, travelling with his company through Britain, comes, to a high hill. When he and Bron (who has not been mentioned before except casually) sit down at the Grail table, there is a space between them. Josephe refuses to allow anyone to sit there because it is Christ's place at the Table of the Last Supper. Some of the company deride the statement and urge him to permit Mois to sit there, because they had found him 'un preudomme de moult boine uie,' and finally Josephe relents. At noon the next day Mois, though frightened by Josephe's warning, essays the adventure. Seven flaming hands descend from heaven and throw fire upon him, 'si quil commença a ardoir et a esprendre si comme ce fust vns bastons.' Finally they carry Mois away into the air. After the meal Bron desires Josephe to send for Bron's twelve sons and ask them whether they will marry or no. All but one declare they will marry, but Alain (variant in the Prose *Joseph*, Helain) vows to remain a virgin and serve the Grail. Josephe then promises Alain lordship of the Grail after his own death.

Here we have a series of five correspondences between the two superficially unrelated stories.

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| 1. Table set up at Brangor's command, at which Bohors is to sit with twelve lesser knights ² . | 1. Table set for Bron and Josephe on model of that at which Christ sat with the twelve disciples. |
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¹ H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, pp. 246-9.

² Mrs Laura Hibbard Loomis points out the Celtic origin of this feature in an important paper, *Modern Philology*, xxv, pp. 342 ff.

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| 2. Bohors, a valiant knight, sits in chief seat and becomes all red.
3. The twelve knights are given twelve wives.
4. Bohors refusès to take a wife; he has vowed to be a virgin.
5. Bohors is induced to beget a son, Helain, or Alain, 'of whom there is much said in the Quest of the Grail.' | 2. Mois, a <i>preudomme</i> , sits in Christ's seat and begins to burn.
3. The eleven sons of Bron choose to wed.
4. The twelfth son refuses to wed and vows virginity.
5. This son of Bron is Alain, or Helain, who becomes after Josephe's death lord of the Grail. |
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Into the complex question of the relation of these two stories to other episodes in romance I shall not go, for it is, after all, irrelevant. The five common features form so striking a combination that it cannot be attributed to coincidence. Three possibilities remain: the *Estoire* borrowed from the Vulgate *Lancelot*; the Vulgate *Lancelot* borrowed from the *Estoire*; both derive from a common source. The first possibility is eliminated by the fact that the story of Bron in the *Estoire* is substantially the same as the story of Bron in the earlier Metrical *Joseph*, and there is no likelihood that the *Joseph* drew upon the *Lancelot*. The second possibility, that the Vulgate *Lancelot* borrowed from the *Estoire*, is shut out because the *Lancelot* is the earlier composition; and, furthermore, it is improbable that an author drawing directly upon the *Estoire* should have been able completely to destroy all traces of the original pious atmosphere. We are reduced, then, to the theory of a common source. Could that source be the *Joseph*, which tells substantially the same story of Bron as does the *Estoire*? Though the *Joseph* is usually accepted as the source of the *Estoire*, it is impossible to regard it as the source of the tournament episode at Brangor's castle in the *Lancelot*, because the latter contains three features which do not occur in the *Joseph* and which do appear in Welsh tradition. These are: (1) The name Brangor reproduces almost exactly the Welsh sound *Brân Gawr*, meaning 'Brân the Giant.' Though no text supplies the name *Brân Gawr*, there is repeated emphasis in the *Mabinogi* on Brân's gigantic size. (2) Brangor has the feast set out in tents in the meadows¹; and the *Mabinogi* informs us that when Brân gave a banquet to his guests, 'they were not within a house but under tents. No house could ever contain Blessed Brân².'

¹ A very close parallel to the adventures of Bohors is found in the Didot *Perceval*, Weston, *Legend of Perceval*, II, pp. 16-22. Cf. also account of the Siege Perilous in Gerbert, *ibid.*, pp. 140 f., and that in the *Queste*, Sommer, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 7-14.

² Loth, *Mabinogion*², I, p. 124.

(3) Whereas Bron in the *Joseph* and the *Estoire* is never called a king, Brangor and Brân are both styled kings.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this evidence is that the parallel stories of Bron and Brangor have a common source, and that this source was close to Welsh traditions of Brân.

It seems scarcely necessary to deal with other hypotheses regarding the origin of the name Bron. Heinzel's view, that it was derived from a misunderstanding of the words 'mulier Veronica¹', is a mere tissue of conjectures, and has been adequately dealt with by Professor Nitze². Bruce's theory that the name originated in the Metrical *Joseph*³, where the forms Bron and Hebron are used indiscriminately, and that the latter was the original form, chosen because Hebron was one of four Levites to whom was assigned the custody of the ark, is most ingenious, but is plainly refuted by the facts. For the *Joseph* never identifies the Grail with the ark of the Old Testament, whereas the *Estoire*, which does make that association, never uses the form Hebron and never brings Bron into any connection with the ark. Thus in neither the *Joseph* nor the *Estoire* are Hebron and the ark brought together. Of course, the name Hebron is Biblical, but it certainly was not the original form in the Grail romances, and was simply a pious substitution for the name Bron.

The derivation of Bron from Brân is the only theory which possesses plausibility. The two names are obviously similar in sound and orthography. Once admit that the traditions regarding Bron in the romances form an organic whole and that the Welsh tradition regarding the 'Noble Head' has given us a perverted version of the blissful feasts of Brân and his followers in an isle of the Irish sea, and the correspondence between the nature and activities of Bron and Brân is overwhelming.

PARENT AND PHARAIN.

Before we proceed further with the attempt to derive figures in the *Estoire* from Welsh mythology, let us note how certain names arise simply out of the misunderstanding of the French text⁴. A most obvious instance is Pharaon or Pharain. In Sommer's text⁵ Pharain is first

¹ R. Heinzel, *Französische Gailromane*, p. 94.

² *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, p. 135.

³ Bruce, *Evolution*, II, pp. 132 f.

⁴ Sommer's *Index of Names* reveals many instances. Chastel Pagan has become Pagon or Pinegon; Paenie > Paerne; saracine (adjective) > Sarracinte, Sarraquite; the river Saverne (Severn) > Savarne, Seurne, Affurne, Saone; Chasteau del Cor > Dortur, Dotor; La Sapine, 'une forest' (obviously suggested by *sapin*) > Sapinoie, Sarpoie, Sarpenic, Serpentine!

⁵ Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

mentioned as faithfully abiding with the wounded Pierre after the departure of Josephe and his company. Like the name Hebron, that of Pharaon lends an Eastern or Biblical perfume to a tale which otherwise is strongly reminiscent of the Tristan legend and which even retains the name Morehans of Ireland to show the actual influence of that romance. But, when we turn to Hucher's text, some of the Oriental perfume is dissipated, for there Pharaon first appears as Parent¹. We read that, after the departure of the Grail company, 'remest uns de lour compaignons qui avoit a non Parens et estoit cil Parens prestres... Et a lendemain se parti d'iluec toute la compaignie Josephe, ne mais cil Parens qui remest illuec et o lui remest Pieres... Et chil Parens savoit asses de plaies de garir, mais il ne fu mie si soutix que il couneust, en cele plaie, l'entosquement.' Then the scribe shifts to the form Parant, and finally is inspired to write Pharaon². When one remembers that proper nouns are commonly not distinguished in manuscripts of the thirteenth century by capital initials, when one notes how completely the phraseology at first lends itself to the interpretation of Parens as a common noun, 'kinsman,' one is secure in concluding that Pharaon is merely the wraith of a relative.

SIMON AND SYMEU.

Another and a highly significant misunderstanding is the case of Symeu. He first appears in the *Estoire* in a manifestly corrupt passage, where not only he but also Pierre and Bron make their entrance³. When the Grail company were about to cross into Britain, Josephe placed his shirt on the water, bade his father Joseph step upon it, and called 'un sien autre parent qui avoit non Dro et avoit ja .xii. enfans biaux et grans.' All the rest then took their places on the floating shirt, except two who had not been as obedient as they should have been. 'Estoit li uns pieres a l'autre, et estoit li peres apieles Simeon (variant Symon)⁴.' Obviously the redactor has come suddenly upon some new names in his source, and does not get them right. Bron, as Sommer, Hucher, and Bruce recognised⁵, he miscopies as Dro. He has mistaken the proper name Pieres for *peres*, 'father,' though still retaining the original spelling. The misunderstanding has necessitated the insertion of 'a l'autre,' and

¹ E. Hucher, *Saint Graal*, III, p. 241.

² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴ Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 211.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 5. Hucher, *op. cit.*, III, p. xxii, n. 1. Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, p. 310. Rhys's suggestion that Josephe's drawing Bron and his company across the sea on the lap of his shirt as he walked over the water, leaving the less faithful to cross later by ship, represents the same tradition we find in the *Mabinogi* to the effect that Brân carried the musicians on his back while he waded across the sea, and his army came over in boats, seems to me most plausible. Cf. J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 308 f.

the article 'li.' Omitting these insertions and remembering that 'Simon was called Peter,' we have perfect sense: 'Etoit li uns Pieres, et estoit Pieres apieles Symon,' and this undoubtedly was what the redactor had before him. This little misunderstanding had important consequences for the rest of the romance. Symon became a separate character from Pierre and underwent still further metamorphosis into Simeon and Symeu. It is clear that the two who did not cross on the miraculous shirt by reason of their sins were Pierre-Symon and Mois, for in a later passage Josephe refers to the failure of Mois and his father to cross¹; thus the similarity in the fates of Mois and Symeu is accounted for. But the author of the *Estoire*, desiring to avoid too monotonous a repetition of the adventure of Mois in that of Symeu, has invented for Symeu the crime of a murderous attack upon Pierre, originally his other self! Thus we see that Symeu originated as Symon, and that Symon originated in the characteristic attempt to give a Biblical colouring to the old story.

LLWCH AND LUCES.

Later in the *Estoire* Pierre, wounded by Symeu, drifts in a boat, like another Tristan, to an island, where the daughter of King Orcans finds him and brings about his cure through the agency of a Christian prisoner². The influence of the Tristan story is, again, apparent in the fact that a King Morehans or Marahans of Ireland accuses Orcans of treachery, and Orcans can find no champion to uphold his cause. He resolves, however, to test twelve of his knights by jousting with them incognito beneath the Round Pine, and succeeds in overthrowing them all. Pierre, learning of King Orcans' challenge, encounters and overthrows the king. Then on the king's behalf he slays Morehans in combat before a certain King Lucès, of whom both Orcans and Morehans hold their lands. Pierre, then, weds King Orcans' daughter in the city of Orcanie in the presence of Lucès.

There are several indications here of a significant name confusion. First, King Orcans, lord of an island whose chief city is Orcanie, obviously derives his name from the Orkney Isles, which are regularly called in Old French Orcanie. There is a presumption, therefore, that 'li rois Orcans' originated as 'li rois d'Orcanie.' Secondly, the prevailing Arthurian tradition makes Loth king of Orkney, and we also find Lac king of the same land³. Thirdly, M. Joseph Loth proposed⁴, and I have

¹ Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, I, p. 248.

² The romance of Pierre is found *ibid.*, pp. 269-80.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 15, 37, 146.

⁴ *Revue Celtique*, XVI, p. 84.

since presented further evidence to show¹, that King Loth's name is developed from that of Llwch Llawynnawc, referred to in the *Mabinogion* as coming 'from beyond the utmost sea².' The tradition which connected Llwch with Orkney is confirmed by the fact that Lac is an exact French translation of the Welsh Llwch, and King Lac, as well as King Loth, was King of Orkney. Fourthly, if we look closely at the narrative in the *Estoire*, there are many passages which suggest that the author, finding the same individual mentioned alternately as King Luces and King d'Orcanie, did not perceive that he was dealing with one person, and characteristically reshaped his narrative to make of King Luces a second person. But a curious number of sentences admit of the interpretation that Orcans and Luces are identical³: '& quant ses peires [Morehans] uit ce, si quida ce fust par le conseil le roy orcans. si sen ala tout droit en la grant bertaigne au roy qui lors estoit apeles luces. . . . Quant morehans fu venus deuant le roy & il ot faite sa clamour sour le roy orcans qui son fil auoit enuenime. . . & li rois orcans rendi son gage a desfendre soi de cest blasme ou par lui ou par autrui.' When Pierre has slain Morehans, King Luces, before whom the combat has been fought, declares⁴: 'Tant en aues fait uoiant ma barounie que ie vous tieng au millour cheualier del monde. pourquoi iou desir mout a estre vostre acointes & dauoir uostre compaignie.' When Pierre married King Orcans' daughter, 'le iour que les noeches furent, vint li rois luces. . . . En la cite dorcanie furent les noeches grans & plenieres, si i demora li rois luces .viij. iours pour faire compaignie a pieron. Car il le prisoit mout de biaute & de bonte et plus que cheualier quil onques ueist.' Be it noted, however, that both Orcans and Luces join in admiration of Pierre, and both through his instrumentality become Christians⁵. There can be little doubt that we are really dealing with a 'rois Luces d'Orcanie,' treated as two persons. Fifthly, the original identity of Orcans with Luces, and of Luces with Llwch, is still further suggested by the fact that Llwch's epithet, Llawynnawc, is the source of the name Lancelot⁶, and that almost the same story is told concerning Lancelot as is told concerning Orcans⁷. Both Orcans and Lancelot issue a general challenge to all

¹ *P.M.L.A.*, XLIII, pp. 386 ff.

² *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans, col. 466. 'Llwch Llawynnawc or tu draw y uor terwyn.' For this translation of *terwyn* I am indebted to Prof. W. J. Gruffydd, who explains the *w* as a common method of writing *v*, so that *terwyn* = the mod. Welsh *terfyn* from *L. terminus*.

³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 272.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁵ It seems probable that the conversion of Luces, king of Britain, and all his men has been suggested by the well-known tradition that Lucius was the first Christian king of Britain, which first appears in Nennius. See Baring-Gould and Fisher, *British Saints*, sub Lucius.

⁶ Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.

⁷ Cf. Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 273-6; v, pp. 403-6.

comers to joust with them beneath a pine in an island. Both joust incognito and disguised. Both successfully overthrow their opponents. Finally, however, Orcans is vanquished by Pierre, and Lancelot yields to Perceval. In spite of the similarity of outline, the story of Orcans does not seem to be directly based on that of Lancelot. In conclusion, therefore, we may say that the story of Pierre in the land of King Orcans, despite its contamination by the Tristan romance, affords many indications that it incorporates genuine Welsh tradition and that the prototype of Lucas-Orcans was Llweh Llawynnawc 'from beyond the utmost sea.'

PRYDERI AND PIERRE.

Thus far we have made two observations of special importance. Each of the names we have studied had its origin, not in the capricious fancy or pure invention of the author or copyist, but in the text he was using. In no case is the Biblical interpretation or form of the name original; it is an *ignis fatuus*. Accordingly when we turn to the name Pierre, or as Robert calls him, Petrus, we are not surprised to find that there is nothing in the life and acts of the Apostle Peter to account for or to illuminate the career of Pierre; and we should look for the real source of the name elsewhere. As Professor A. C. L. Brown has remarked¹, if there were anything in the notion that these names were selected by Christian writers of the twelfth or thirteenth century because of their Christian significance, we should naturally expect to see much made of Peter, chosen by Christ as Chief of the Apostles, and founder of His Church. Christ said to Peter that He would make him a fisher of men; but does the *Joseph* call Petrus the Rich Fisher? Not at all; the Fisher is Bron. In the *Estoire* Alain is the Rich Fisher, and his descendants after him bear the title, but never Pierre. Except for the brief statement that 'estoit (li) peres apieles Symon,' there is no hint that the name Peter ever suggested to these authors the Apostle to Rome, far less that the Apostle suggested the name. If the name had a source, it must have lain in some other direction than Rome or Judea.

Let us note that, when Petrus is first mentioned in the *Joseph*, he is sitting at the Grail table in the company of Bron, and when Pierre is first mentioned in the *Estoire*, his name follows that of Bron. In both texts Petrus-Pierre and Bron take part in the wanderings and feasts of the Grail company. Turning to the *Mabinogi* of Branwen, we note that among the seven who escaped from the battle in Ireland with Brân the

¹ *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 236, n. 1.

first to be mentioned is Pryderi¹. There can be no doubt that Pryderi was in the company of Brân in the wanderings and the entertainments of the Noble Head. There is, therefore, a suggestion that Pryderi is the original of Pierre. What have we to strengthen this suggestion?

In the first place, just as the Brangor story offers a secular counterpart to the story of Bron, we have a tale which furnishes a secular counterpart to one of Pierre's adventures; and here Pierre's counterpart is named Priure. In the *Estoire*² we read that once, when the company of Joseph were seated at table in a desert land, 'pierres vns parens iosephe porta parmi les rens le saint vaissel. lors furent li renc raempli de toutes les boines viandes que cuers domme poroit penser... Mais li pecheour nauoient que mangier.' In *Diu Krône*, written by Heinrich von dem Türlin about 1220, when Arthur's court are seated at table there rides in a strange and monstrous knight, sent by Priure, King of the Sea³. He brings a magic cup. No man or woman who was false could drink from it; Arthur alone succeeded. There is an evident parallelism between Pierre, the heir of King Lamer (Orcans' baptismal name), appearing before the company at the Grail table and testing them with his vessel, and the messenger of Priure, the King of the Sea, appearing before the company at the Round Table and testing them with his vessel. Thus we are led to believe that Priure has some relation to both Pierre and Pryderi.

In the second place, there is evidence to show that Pryderi, the youthful hero of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, was a very important figure and that he descended into Arthurian romance not only as Pierre but also as Perceval. We should be able to check our connection of Pierre with Pryderi by seeing whether there is any sign of the identity of Pierre and Perceval. The evidence of the Perceval-Pryderi connection I shall not go into at length, since I have already developed the case in my *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*⁴. Suffice it to say that Pryderi in *Manawydan* rises from a banquet to sit on a perilous 'seat,' and thus brings on a peal of thunder, a mist, and the wasting of the land, just as

¹ Loth, *Mabinogion*², I, p. 144. P. Saintyves, in *Essais de Folklore Biblique*, p. 271, has already suggested the identity of Petrus and Peredur.

² Sommer, I, p. 250.

³ Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Krône*, II, 918 ff. It is worth noting that in the parallel tale, Robert Biquet's *Lai du Cor*, it is King Mangon who sends the testing horn, and that Pryderi's step-father, with whom he is closely associated in the third Branch of the *Mabinogi*, is Manawydan, god of the sea. In the *Cherlier as Deus Espees*, a King Amangon is king of the land whence no one returns. In the *Elucidation* prefixed to the *Conte del Graal*, King Amangon steals a golden cup from a damsel and thus brings about the wasting of the land. Cf. my forthcoming article on 'The Head in the Grail.'

⁴ Pp. 200-4, 218-20, 233 f.

Perceval in the Didot *Perceval* sits in the Siege Perilous at the Round Table and thus brings on a cry, a darkness, and the wasting of the land; and that Pryderi, who in old Welsh poetry is a dweller in Annwn, seems to correspond to Perceval, who in *Perlesvaus* visits an identical Other World and returns thither to rule. Did the name Pryderi suggest to certain Welshmen the more familiar historical name Peredur¹, and did this in turn suggest to some Frenchman the name Perceval? The fact remains that Perceval offers a certain degree of correspondence, not only to Pryderi, but also to Pierre. First, there is the significant fact that, while the *Joseph* does not mention Perceval, but prepares us for a Grail romance in which Petrus and his wanderings are to play a part, the Didot *Perceval*, which continues the tradition established by the *Joseph*, does not mention Petrus but is full of the wanderings of Perceval. Though it is not possible to substitute Perceval for Petrus in the *Joseph* and preserve the chronology and sense, yet the original identification is at least rendered plausible by the way in which Perceval seems to have completely eclipsed Petrus in the Didot *Perceval*. There is a better reason for the identification. Two stories told of Pierre have their very close counterparts in stories told of Perceval. First, as we have already seen, in the cognate tales of the jousts beneath the pine told concerning Orcans and Lancelot, who were originally identical, the rôle of Pierre in one tale corresponds exactly to that of Perceval in the other. Secondly, in the *Estoire*, whereas the wounded Pierre is beloved by the daughter of King Orcans, is furnished by her with arms, and performs exploits for her love, so, in the Didot *Perceval*, in which we have noted that Perceval takes the rôle we should expect to be filled by Pierre, Perceval, wounded in the hand, is beloved by a daughter of King Lot of Orchanie, is furnished by her with arms, and performs exploits for her love². This correspondence can only be explained on the theory of a common tradition concerning the loves of Pryderi and the daughter of Llwhch,—Llweh who we have already contended is the original of King Orcans and Lot.

It is stretching coincidence far beyond the bounds of possibility to suppose that Pryderi's relation to Brân should resemble by accident Pierre's relation to Bron, that chance should afford a plausible intermediate form between Pryderi and Pierre, that two very marked parallels should exist between the rôles of Pryderi and Perceval, and that, on top of all this, the tales of Pierre and Perceval should share characteristics so

¹ Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 f. Prof. Gruffydd kindly pointed out to me that Pryderi is the form attached to the mythological figure not only in the *Four Branches* but also in old Welsh poetry. Doubtless, therefore, Peredur is a historical name substituted for it.

² J. L. Weston, *Legend of Perceval*, II, pp. 17-19.

distinctive as the challenge and combat on an island beneath the pine and the love affair with the daughter of the King of Orcanie. It would require a miracle to produce better evidence of community of tradition in such a tangled skein as the Round Table cycle.

ARAWN AND ALAIN.

Another important figure in the *Estoire* is Alain. The name is obviously the Breton name Alan, and the epithet 'li Gros' has been derived with great probability by Heinzel¹ from a certain Alan Mor, 'the Great,' a Breton prince of the ninth century. Since the Matter of Britain reached the French mainly through the Bretons², the identification of some unfamiliar Welsh name with a more familiar Breton name is to be expected. It is thus that Welsh Gwair, son of Llŵch, became Erec, son of Lac, through confusion with a historic Guerec, Count of Nantes³, and that Tristan, whose father in Welsh tradition was Tallweh, was presented by the Bretons with a father Rivallon, since there was in the first half of the eleventh century a historic Tristan, lord of Vitré, whose father was named Rivallon⁴. But the fact that Alain li Gros derives immediately from Alan Mor should not prevent us from trying to see whether there was not someone in Welsh legend whose name suggested the Breton Alan, and whose relationships afford comparison with those of Alain li Gros.

In the Didot *Perceval*, *Perlesvaus*, and the Rochat MS. conclusion of Wauchier, Alain li Gros is father of Perceval. In the *Mabinogi* Pryderi's father is called Pwyll, perhaps an epithet meaning 'Wisdom⁵'; but Pryderi like Perceval possessed a variety of traditions concerning his father. Competent scholars agree that one tradition made Pryderi's father Teyrnnon, whose name, meaning 'Great King,' forms an exact male counterpart to that of Pryderi's mother, Rhiannon, 'Great Queen⁶.' Likewise scholars seem convinced that the tradition which gives Rhiannon in second marriage to Manawydan is an attempt to reconcile two traditions which made Pwyll and Manawydan father of the young hero⁷. At any rate the relations between Pryderi and his *soi-disant* step-father Manawydan are singularly close. If Manawydan were indeed traditionally

¹ R. Heinzel, *Französische Gralromane*, pp. 99, 122.

² W. Foerster, *Karrenritter* (Halle, 1899), *Einleitung*, pp. cxi ff.; *Z.F.S.L.*, xx¹, p. 79.

³ R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 94 f.

⁴ *Romania*, LIII, p. 97.

⁵ *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 243, n. 8.

⁶ *Folklore*, xxvii, p. 50; *Revue Celtique*, xxxiii, p. 455; *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, i, p. 288. Macculloch in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, iii, p. 287.

⁷ A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, ii, p. 17.

father of Pryderi, that would explain Pryderi's being found among the companions of Brân, who would thus be his uncle¹, just as the Fisher King is the uncle of Perceval in *Peredur*, Wolfram's *Parzival*, *Perlesvaus*, and Manessier. But I venture to affirm that we have even better evidence that Arawn was a father of Pryderi.

The opening episode in the *Four Branches* relates how Arawn changed places with Pwyll according to a story formula which clearly points to Arawn as thus begetting a son on Pwyll's wife. As Nutt and Professor Gruffydd have shown², this episode follows obviously the pattern defined in the Irish story of the begetting of Mongan by Manannan. The god prevails on a hero to change shapes with him and to permit him access to the hero's wife in recognition of his services in battle. All the features of the pattern are there, but they are strangely twisted. Arawn, instead of fighting for Pwyll, persuades Pwyll to fight for him; the explanation lies possibly in the fact that Pwyll was himself a god who was above requiring the aid of Arawn. Much is made of Pwyll's chaste conduct with Arawn's wife,—probably a case of bowdlerising. The conventions of Irish story-telling prescribed that a hero's saga should begin with his conception, as in the case of Cuchulinn, and this, of course, should be followed by his birth. The *Four Branches*, as Gruffydd has lately shown, were originally the four parts of a saga of which Pryderi was hero³. The *Mabinogi* of Pryderi should begin, then, with a conception story; it does begin with what was originally a conception story. We are forced by the pattern of that story to believe that Arawn begat a son on Pwyll's wife. That son of Arawn was, of course, Pryderi.

Arawn was an appropriate figure for the part. He was a king of Annwn. Doubtless he was one of the traditional possessors of 'the cauldron of the Head of Annwn.' Doubtless he was a god of essentially the same type as Brân, 'the Noble Head.' He fits perfectly into the mythological background from which emerged the pageant of the Grail.

NISSYEN AND NASCIEN.

Of Nascien I had something to say in *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* which requires revision⁴. I pointed out that the association

¹ I incline to believe, however, that the most powerful tradition represented Pryderi's mother as the sister of Brân. There is a curious parallelism between the stories of Brân's sister and Pryderi's mother, both being corrupt variants of the Calumniated Wife theme. See W. J. Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy*, pp. 51 n., 326.

² Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, pp. 13-16; *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Soc.*, 1912-13, pp. 65 ff.

³ W. J. Gruffydd, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-9. 'The basis of the whole four was the Life of Pryderi in Four Branches, namely: (1) *Compert*. The Conception and Birth of Pryderi....'

⁴ Pp. 146 f.

of Mordrain and Nascien in the *Estoire* seemed to represent the same tradition as that which brought together Nasiens and Medrod in a Welsh triad, where they are said to be 'men of such gentle, kindly, and fair words that anyone would be sorry to refuse them anything¹.' The development of Medrod into Mordrain, as I showed, is rendered probable by the fact that Medrod certainly did develop in Arthurian romance into the form Mordrec, that the name Mordrain is said to mean 'slow of belief,' as if it had once had some such form as Morcred and were connected with Latin *moror* and *credo*, and by the possibility that the name Mordrec was then influenced by the historic name Maurdrann(us)². Nasiens, called in the triad King of Denmark, might well have developed into a Saracen king, Nasciens, because the Danes were regularly called by the Welsh the 'black heathen.' The one difficulty is this: Professor Gruffydd tells me that Nasiens cannot be a normal Welsh name. What is the explanation?

Nasiens is described in the triad, let us remember, as 'a man of such gentle, kindly, and fair words that anyone would be sorry to refuse him anything.' In the *Mabinogi* of Branwen, in which we have discovered so much Grail tradition and the names of Brân and Pryderi, there is mentioned a brother of Brân's, Nissyen, and he is said to be 'a good youth and he would make peace between the two hosts when they were most angry³.' The fact that this figure occurs in a context so full of significance for Grail tradition, that his name, in the latter days of Welsh tradition when the French romances were seeping in, might have easily been supplanted by its French derivative, that Nissyen and Nasiens are described in very similar terms, that Nasiens and Medrod are linked in such a way as inevitably to recall the association of Nasciens and Mordrain, can hardly be due to coincidence. Even more striking is the fact that another Nascien in the Vulgate *Merlin* is said to be a kinsman of Pelles, Bron, and Perceval, whereas Nissyen is said to be grandson of Beli and half-brother of Brân, and is a distant relative by marriage to Pryderi⁴. Nissyen, we may conclude, is the original of Nasiens in the triad and of the various Nasciens of French romance.

THE COBBLER OF MEAUX.

The derivations which I proposed in *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* for Bron, Luce, Alain, and Nasciens are thus strengthened

¹ Loth, *Mabinogion*², II, p. 289.

² *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiv, pp. 385 ff.

³ *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans, col. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 38. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, II, p. 221.

by further investigation, and the study of Pierre, Symeu, and Pharain proves that these names also were not inventions but developments. Having nothing to add here to what I have said concerning other names in the *Estoire*, I shall not recapitulate but refer the interested reader to my book¹. One more bit of evidence confirmatory of my general thesis that we cannot disregard Celtic mythology and the possibilities of misinterpretation of the manuscripts, I should like to introduce.

In a curious passage Joseph tells the Saracen king, Evalach, undoubtedly the Welsh Avallach², that the Holy Spirit has revealed to him that the king was born 'a vne anchiene cyte qui est apelee meaus [variants *mialz*, *miaus*] en france & si fus fiex a .j. pouer homme refaitieres de solers³.' We know that Avallach's father was Beli⁴, and in my book I remarked apropos of this passage that, 'though we never in Welsh legend find Beli at the task [of cobbling shoes]⁵, it was for a time the profession of Manawydan and Pryderi, and of two other divine personages, Gwydion and Llew. There seems to have been a Welsh tradition that the old and the young god followed together the craft of shoe-making.' Let us turn to the passage concerning Manawydan as shoe-maker⁶. 'He began by buying the fairest cordwal that could be had in the town;...and he associated himself with the *best* goldsmith in the town, and caused him to make clasps for the shoes, and to gild the clasps, and he marked how it was done until he learnt the method. And therefore was he called one of the three makers of Gold Shoes, and when they could be had from him, not a shoe nor hose was bought of any of the cordwainers in the town.' Obviously Manawydan attained the distinction of being the *best* shoe-maker of Wales, and doubtless any other god who went in for cobbling would earn the same reputation. Translated into Old French, our text might have read that Evalach was 'fiex a .j. refaitieres de solers le mialz en gales (the best in Wales).' It would fit in with all we have learned of the processes which went to the making of the *Estoire*, and particularly with the fact that Gales and Gaules were confused⁷, if this should have been read: 'fiex a .j. refaitieres de solers de mialz en gaules,' and have ultimately produced the elaboration we have seen. Equally character-

¹ Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, pp. 140-50.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 189-92.

³ Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, I, p. 47.

⁴ J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 336 f.

⁵ A triad, however, mentions Caswallawn son of Beli as one of the golden shoe makers, and represents him as going to Rome. Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 273. Is Caswallawn a substitution for Avallach?

⁶ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 157. Later Manawydan again adopted shoe-making as a means of livelihood, and again surpassed all his rivals in the craft (p. 162).

⁷ Cf. Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 293, n. 10. Cf. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 348.

istic would it be of our author if, on learning that Evalach's father was a cobbler of Meaux, he should set his wits to work to discover how Evalach came to be king of Sarraas. I have no doubt that, though his starting-point was tradition, he spun entirely out of his own head the story of Evalach's being sent to Rome, thence to Syria, of his escape to Egypt, and of his exaltation by Tholomer to the rule of his kingdom.

When one observes how much dependence has been placed by Hucher and M. Lot on the mention of Meaux as significant for the provenance of the *Estoire*¹, one is bound to conclude that even the best of scholars may be misled if they are not constantly on the watch for Welsh tradition in this romance.

If there is any cogency whatever in the foregoing arguments, needless to say, the consequences reach beyond the mere question of name derivations. First of all, they affect the question of the dependence of the *Estoire* on the *Joseph*. Without attempting to settle the question, I merely wish to point out that there is nothing in the *Joseph* to correspond to Bohors' turning red, whereas there is in the *Estoire*; that the name Pierre employed in the *Estoire* does not seem to be a translation of Petrus, but to be a substitution for some such form as Priure; that there is nothing in the *Joseph* to explain the parallelism between the test of Priure's cup and the test of Pierre's Grail; that many of Pierre's adventures of which the *Joseph* knows nothing are demonstrably based on ancient traditions of Wales; that the *Estoire* knows only the more original form Bron, and not the contaminated form Hebron. Moreover, the author of the *Joseph* explicitly states that he would not dare to relate the mysteries of the Grail 'Se je le grant livre n'avoie Ou les estoires sunt escrites, Par les granz clers faites et dites. La sunt li grant secré escrit Qu'en numme le Graal et dit².' And, again, he asserts that he will continue the adventures of Bron, Alain, and Petrus if he can find them in a book³. The unavoidable implication is that he found the materials he had used in some form or other in a book. Whether this book was the source of the *Estoire*, whether the name Robert de Boron does not really belong to the author of this source rather than to the author of the Metrical *Joseph*, I leave to others to decide. At any rate, the issue should be raised.

A second important result of these studies is the confirmation which

¹ E. Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, I, pp. 37 f. F. Lot, *Étude sur le Lancelot en Prose*, p. 150.

² Robert de Boron, *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, ed. Nitzze, II. 929 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 3481 ff.

they afford to the Celtic theory of the Grail, upheld by Nutt, Rhys, Martin, Brown, and Nitze. Upon analysis much of the nomenclature of even the Christianised Grail legend reveals itself to be Celtic: Bron, Luces, Pierre, Alain, Nascien, Evalach. In my book I have pointed out that Mordrain, Pelle, Pellean, Manaal, Lancelot, and Celidoine also have their Celtic originals. And not only is there this striking correspondence in names, but there is also a curious correspondence of nature and activity between Bron and Brân, Celidoine and Merlin Celidonius, corroborated by striking correspondences between the descendants from the same Welsh figure, such as Bron and Brangor; Pierre, Priure, and Perceval; Lancelot and Orcans. These correspondences are not the ordinary commonplaces of Arthurian romance; they consist of a series of points to be found connected nowhere else in Arthurian romance. They take on great significance when we realise that the Welsh originals of Bron, Manaal, and Pelle, are Brân, Manawydan, and Beli, all gods associated with the sea¹; that the Welsh originals of Bron, Manaal, Pierre, and Lancelot are more or less closely associated with magic cauldrons which possess qualities attributed to the Grail. Moreover, in the Welsh list of talismans among which the magic cauldron appears, there are also found a chessboard and the sword which, according to the *Perlesvaus*, are found in or brought to the Grail castle². That this ancient Welsh mythology has been overlaid with an elaborate incrustation of Christian matter is, of course, obvious. But, without that Celtic basis, much of the design and the detail is meaningless. The same is true of the whole Grail legend. Begin with the dish of the Last Supper and the spear of Longinus, and one is involved in a network of absurdities. But begin with the divine talismans of the Welsh and Irish, and the development of the legend is a natural organic growth, to be paralleled all through the history of Christianity—the absorption and Christianisation of pagan legend and ritual.

A third reflection, to which I believe this study may legitimately lead, is that we need to get back to a careful study of our texts. The so-called 'realistic' school of Arthurian scholars has loudly urged this duty upon us, and declared that, if we will do so, we shall soon see the folly of hypothecating earlier lost versions. I gladly echo the demand for a close study of Arthurian and Celtic texts, but for precisely the opposite reason. And I trust that this paper, brief and incomplete though it is, justifies

¹ On Brân son of Llŷr, cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., v, p. 642. On Beli, cf. Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, III, p. 290; Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 197-200; W. J. Gruffydd, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-7.

² Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-8.

my contention. The closer the study and the comparison of the versions, the more imperative becomes the need of assuming the existence of a whole body of tradition. Once assume that body of tradition, and many of the apparent stupidities, inconsistencies, meaningless alterations, innumerable repetitions, references to adventures that never take place, become comprehensible, excusable. The 'realistic' school, far from heightening our respect for the romancers, produces, by its insistence that every *gaucherie* is directly chargeable to the freely working judgment of the author, the very opposite effect. Upon those who believe in the traditional origin of the Round Table cycle devolves the duty of rescuing the romancers from their well-meaning friends.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS.

NEW YORK.

TRACES OF D'URFÉ AND OF BALZAC IN MOLIERE

D'URFÉ'S 'ASTRÉE.'

READING the five 'authentic' volumes of the *Astrée*¹ for an altogether different purpose, my attention has been drawn to certain parallelisms between the text of this novel and that of Molière's plays. I do not think D'Urfé is cited in the notes of the 'Grands Écrivains' edition, yet from what follows he perhaps deserves considering as a not unimportant source for Molière.

Both authors put into the mouths of their characters a similar set of thoughts on filial or parental duty, especially as regards arranging marriages. The expression of such opinions is by no means exclusive to these two writers, but may be worth alluding to briefly.

Astrée and Diane, D'Urfé's ideals of maidenly modesty, affect to subscribe unreservedly to the doctrine of complete parental authority². 'Vous pouvez,' says Astrée to Céladon, 'dispenser de vous à votre gré, mais non pas de l'obéissance que vous devez à votre père, sans faire une grande faute³.' Armande, reproving Henriette, expresses the same idea⁴.

Luckily D'Urfé's secondary characters have wider views. Sigismond alludes thus to the conduct of his father Gondebaut: 'Cela nous rend odieuse la tyrannie des pères qui sous prétexte d'une autorité que la nature leur donne contraignent la volonté de leurs enfans et les forcent

¹ The volumes I have consulted are as follows: (1) *L'Astrée d'Urfé*, I, A Paris chez Anthoine de Sommaville et Augustin Courbé... Numbered pages 1-880, no date, 8vo. (2) *L'Astrée d'Urfé*, II, pp. 1-877, no date (eleven books only). The twelfth book (pp. 695-806) is from a different edition and bears: 'de l'imprimerie de Julian Courant, achevé d'imprimer le six de mars, 1624.' (3) *L'Astrée de Messire Honoré d'Urfé*, Troisième partie, à Paris chez Nicolas et Jean de la Coste, pp. 1-1221. Achevé d'imprimer le dernier jour de janvier 1631. (4) *La Vraye Astrée de Messire Honoré d'Urfé*... quatrième partie, à Paris chez Augustin Courbé, pp. 1-1123. (5) *La Conclusion et dernière partie de l'Astrée*... par le sieur Baro... cinquième édition revue et corrigée... à Paris chez Anthoine de Sommaville, 1637. Achevé d'imprimer pour la première fois le dernier jour de décembre, 1627, pp. 1-986, and index.

² See towards the end of part five, for example, where Diane is prepared to let her mother marry her to Paris, and lose Silvandre whom she really loves.

³ Vol. I, p. 204.

⁴ Compare *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act I, Sc. ii:

'...Sachez que le devoir vous soumet à leurs lois,
Qu'il ne vous est permis d'aimer que par leur choix,
Qu'ils ont sur votre cœur l'autorité suprême,
Et qu'il est criminel d'en disposer vous-même.'

('Grands Écrivains' ed., ix, p. 69.)

The same opinion is reproduced with a different intention in *L'Avare*, Act I, Sc. ii (*ed. cit.*, vii, p. 58).

par une violence insupportable à se dépouiller de leurs propres inclinations pour suivre les sentimens que leur donne l'ambition ou l'avarice, comme s'il n'estoit pas juste que nous eussions le mesme privilege qui est accordé aux animaux...¹' Philis already speaks on this subject with the assurance of a Toinette or a Martine: 'Or celle cy est une des plus grandes folies du monde, les parens nous veulent choisir des maris et nous sommes si sottes que nous les laissons faire: Cela seroit bon si c'estoit eux qui les deussent espouser.... Je luy dirois en fort peu de mots, Je n'en feray rien.... Espouser un mary fascheux c'est un effect qui dure le reste de la vie².'

Molière might have found in the *Astrée* several metaphors used by his Mascarilles and his Précieuses; those, for example, which consist in speaking of love-making as a game of attack and defence. Prince Godomar pays a visit to Amasis who is in the company of a number of nymphs and shepherdesses: she asks his help against their enemies. 'Et vous, dit-il, en sousriant, nous garantirez des outrages que nous pourrions recevoir de la beauté de ces dames que je voy autour de vous³.' This in a milder form is Mascarille's sally: 'Mais, au moins, y a-t-il sûreté ici pour moi?... Je vois ici des yeux qui ont la mine d'être de fort mauvais garçons.... Je veux caution bourgeoise qu'ils ne me feront point de mal...⁴.' On another occasion, Philis interrupts a discussion between Diane and Silvandre, whereupon the latter protests: 'Le berger l'oyant parler se retira vers Astrée, disant que l'on lui faisoit supercherie et que c'estoit l'outrager que de se mettre tant contre luy.' Diane replies to this: 'Ceste bergère, me voyant aux mains un si fort ennemy,... m'a

¹ Vol. v, p. 518. Compare Béralde speaking to Argan in *Le Malade Imaginaire*, Act III, Sc. iii (*ed. cit.*, ix, p. 404): '... Il ne vous faut pas suivre aveuglement la passion qui vous emporte... on doit sur cette matière s'accommoder un peu à l'inclination d'une fille, puisque c'est pour toute la vie et que de la dépend tout le bonheur d'un mariage.'

² Vol. III, p. 407. Compare the following passages from Molière. *Le Malade Imaginaire*, Act I, Sc. v: 'Toinette: Votre fille doit épouser un mari pour elle' (*ed. cit.*, ix, p. 299). *Ibid.*, Act III, Sc. iii: 'Béralde: Mais le mari qu'elle doit prendre, doit-il être, mon frère, ou pour elle ou pour vous?' (*ed. cit.*, ix, p. 394). *Le Tartufe*, Act II, Sc. iii: Dorine advises Mariane whose father wishes to marry her to Tartufe—

'... Lui dire qu'on n'aime point par autrui,
Que vous vous mariez pour vous, non pas pour lui,
Qu'étant celle pour qui se fait toute l'affaire,
C'est à vous, non à lui, que le mari doit plaire;
Et que si son Tartufe est pour lui si charmant,
Il le peut épouser sans nul empêchement.' (*Ed. cit.*, iv, pp. 438-9.)

L'Avare, Act I, Sc. v: 'Valère: Votre fille peut vous représenter que le mariage est une plus grande affaire qu'on ne peut croire, qu'il y va d'être heureux ou malheureux toute sa vie.... L'inclination d'une fille est une chose sans doute où l'on doit avoir de l'égard et... cette grande inégalité d'âge, d'humeur et de sentimens rend un mariage sujet à des accidens très-fâcheux' (*ed. cit.*, vii, p. 85).

³ Vol. iv, p. 646.

⁴ *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. ix (*ed. cit.*, II, p. 76).

voulu aider¹.’ Mascarille complains somewhat similarly: ‘C’est fort mal en user... Quoi? toutes deux contre mon cœur en même temps! m’attaquer à droit et à gauche... La partie n’est pas égale².’

‘Thefts of hearts’ are not rare in the *Astrée*. ‘J’ai accoustumé,’ says Hylas, ‘de desrober les cœurs de celles qui me voyent, et vous craignez que je n’en fasse de mesme de celui de ces nouvelles bergères... il peut bien estre que je feray ce larcin...’³. Another of D’Urfé’s characters, Florice, trying to dissuade Alcandre from wishing to marry her, uses expressions akin to those of Armande—although not exactly with the same intention: ‘Si vous saviez combien ce lien de mariage oblige une honneste femme... les nœuds en sont si serrez et si chers que jamais la séparation ne s’en fait sans un si grand ressentiment de douleur que je ne croy pas celle de l’asme du corps estre plus malaisée...’⁴.

Apart from the above there are three or four cases in which imitation on Molière’s part seems fairly probable:

1. *L’Astrée*, vol. I, pp. 203–4. Céladon having demonstrated to Astrée his affection for her, she rebukes him: he retorts: ‘Si j’ai faillily vous en devez punir vos perfections qui en sont cause... — Mais si vous continuez à m’offenser ainsi, croyez, berger, que je ne le supporteray pas...’ To this Céladon replies: ‘Si vous appelez offense... d’être aimée et adorée, commencez de bonne heure à chercher le chastiment que vous me voulez donner, car dès icy je vous jure que je vous offenseray de cette sorte toute ma vie.’ A similar bit of dialogue is found in a well-known scene between Trissotin and Henriette:

Ôtez-moi votre amour et portez à quelque autre
Les hommages d’un cœur aussi cher que le vôtre.
Le moyen que ce cœur puisse vous contenter?
... A moins que vous cessiez, madame, d’être aimable,
Et d’étaler aux yeux les celestes appas...
... Si c’est vous offenser,
Mon offense envers vous n’est pas prête à cesser.
Cette ardeur, jusqu’ici de vos yeux ignorée,
Vous consacre des vœux d’éternelle durée...⁵.

2. Vol. III, p. 206. Alcide, one of D’Urfé’s lovers, maintains his right to disobey his mistress, Daphnide, who had commanded him ‘not to live as he had done previously.’ A sharp-tongued servant of Daphnide’s,

¹ Vol. I, p. 425.

² *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. IX (ed. cit., II, p. 97).

³ Vol. III, p. 584. Cp. Mascarille’s impromptu, *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. IX (ed. cit., II, p. 84).

⁴ Vol. IV, p. 682. Cp. *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act IV, Sc. II (ed. cit., IX, pp. 162–4):

‘Il faut un mariage, et tout ce qui s’ensuit.

Ah! quel étrange amour!...

Il faut des nœuds de chair, des chaînes corporelles.’

⁵ *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act V, Sc. I (ed. cit., IX, pp. 184–5).

Délie, asks him if he does not think it right 'que l'amant obéisse aux commandemens de la personne aymée?' Alcide's reply to this is: 'Ouy, pourveu que ses commandemens ne soient point contraires à son affection, comme si elle commandoit de n'estre point aymée, elle ne devoit pas estre obeye.' We have here the distinction drawn by the subtle Thomas Diafoirus:

Angélique: Si vous m'aimez, monsieur, vous devez vouloir tout ce que je veux.

Th. Diafoirus: Oui, mademoiselle, jusqu'aux intérêts de mon amour exclusivement.

Angélique: Mais la grande marque d'amour c'est d'être soumis aux volontés de celle qu'on aime.

Th. Diafoirus: *Distinguo*, mademoiselle. Dans ce qui ne regarde point sa possession, *concedo*; mais dans ce qui la regarde, *nego*¹.

3. Vol. III, pp. 1124-6. D'Urfé shows at times a sense of the consequences that would arise if his conventions were taken too seriously, as Lysis was to take them, or as Don Quixote had taken the conventions of the chivalrous romance². We find more than once in the *Astrée* the theme of a shepherd in love with a very young shepherdess, treated with an eye to comic effect. Such a couple are Andrimarte and Silviane. Andrimarte tells his childish mistress that she has engraved in his heart the phrase: 'J'ayme Silviane.' 'Vous m'avez fait ces blessures dans le cœur...' To this Silviane replies: 'J'ay ouy dire que toutes les blessures du cœur sont mortelles; si cela est et que mes yeux vous y aient blessé, je seray cause de vostre mort... Le meilleur remède sera qu'à l'advenir je les vous cache...' Andrimarte maintains on the contrary: 'La blessure est telle que si quelque chose me peut conserver la vie, c'est en me donnant d'autres nouvelles et semblables blessures. — Voylà un mal étrange, dit la jeune Silviane.' This passage may be compared with Agnès's speech in *L'École des Femmes*:

Une vieille m'aborde en parlant de la sorte:

... Vous devez savoir que vous avez blessé

Un cœur qui de s'en plaindre est aujourd'hui forcé.

... Sur lui, sans y penser fis-je choir quelque chose?

Non dit-elle, vos yeux ont fait ce coup fatal.

... Mais pour le secourir qu'est-ce qu'il me demande?

... Vos yeux peuvent eux seuls empêcher sa ruine,

Et du mal qu'ils ont fait être la médecine...³.

¹ *Le Malade Imaginaire*, Act II, Sc. vi (ed. cit., ix, p. 370).

² Vol. II, pp. 44-6: Thamire tries to explain to an unimaginative little shepherdess what love and constancy are. Vol. V, p. 245: Clorian informs Circeine that she has set him on fire—'Je m'estonne, dit-il, comme il est possible que ma petite maistresse ait besoin de se chauffer, puisqu'elle est capable de faire brusler tout le monde.' He says later he is burning, and she suggests 'Si on versoit dessus vous deux ou trois esguières pleins d'eau cela vous feroit du bien...' Sorel has a number of similar *plaisanteries* on 'flaming passion'; see *L'Anti-roman*... Paris, 1633, I, pp. 275-80.

³ *L'École des Femmes*, Act II, Sc. v (ed. cit., III, pp. 199-200). Sorel had seized on this joke in his *Berger Extravagant*, Book III. (See *L'Anti-roman*, 1633, I, pp. 438, 455.) Molière's borrowings from Sorel are well known, yet it is probable that in this instance he is imitating D'Urfé.

4. Vol. iv, p. 701. The masterful Clorian loves Circeine, who is also loved by Alcandre. Clorian's sister, Palinice, speaks to Circeine in private and attempts to dissuade her from responding to Clorian's rivals. This passage has remarkable similarities with the scene between Arsinoé and Célimène: Palinice speaks—*'Croyez que ce que je vous en dis n'est que pour votre seul intérêt... Dieu scait quel ennui seroit le mien... Je voy bien que de vostre costé vous ne contribuez rien en cecy si ce n'est une certaine complaisance qui est ordinaire à toutes celles de vostre âge... Croyez qu'il n'y a rien qui rende plus mesprisable ny qui descrie plus une jeune personne que de la voir suivre et poursuivre de toutes sortes de gens... Malaysément se peut on imaginer que tant de jeunes esprits se puissent arrester auprès d'un mesme sujet s'ils n'y estoient retenus par des faveurs ou par des espérances; recevez, Circeine, de bonne part l'advis que je vous en donne, et en faites vostre profit comme sage et prudente que vous estes... Circeine... après l'avoir remerciée... la supplia de luy vouloir tousjours continuer l'amitié qu'en cela elle luy faisoit paroistre.'* There are similar turns of thought in Arsinoé's advice to Célimène:

Cette foule de gens dont vous souffrez visite,
Votre galanterie, et les bruits qu'elle excite,
Trouvèrent des censeurs plus qu'il n'auroit fallu...
Non que j'y croie au fond l'honnêteté blessée:
Me préserve le ciel d'en avoir la pensée!...
Madame, je vous crois l'âme trop raisonnable
Pour ne pas prendre bien cet avis profitable,
Et pour l'attribuer qu'aux mouvements secrets
D'un zèle qui m'attache à tous vos intérêts...
Pensez-vous faire croire à voir comme tout roule
Que votre seul mérite attire cette foule?...
Le monde n'est point dupe, et j'en vois qui sont faites
A pouvoir inspirer de tendres sentiments,
Qui chez elles pourtant ne fixent point d'amants;
Et de là nous pouvons tirer des conséquences,
Qu'on n'acquiert point leurs cœurs sans de grandes avances,
Qu'aucun pour nos beaux yeux n'est notre soupirant,
Et qu'il faut acheter tous les soins qu'on nous rend.

Célimène had replied, like Circeine:

Il ne tiendra qu'à vous qu'avec le même zèle,
Nous ne continuions cet office fidèle...¹

If Molière is really remembering this part of the *Astrée*, the use he has made of it is rather curious².

¹ *Le Misanthrope*, Act III, Sc. iii (ed. cit., v, pp. 501–8).

² The paragraph quoted from Lancelot's *Nouvelles* as a source for Molière by E. Roy (*Sorel*, 1891, p. 137) has fewer points of similarity with Molière's text than the passage we quote from the *Astrée*.

BALZAC'S 'LETTRES' AND 'OEUVRES DIVERSES.'

Molière has perhaps followed Balzac in the expression of two or three ideas¹.

1. In one of his 'discours' Balzac praises, in an exaggerated style, a Latin oration composed by one of his friends: 'S'il falloit vous rendre compte de tous les beaux lieux de votre Harangue, il faudroit vous la renvoyer toute copiée ou au moins la couper en plus de pièces qu'elle ne contient de périodes. Dans ce parterre on ne peut tomber que sur des fleurs et l'endroit le plus négligé ne laisse pas d'avoir quelque agrément et quelque mérite. Mais surtout je suis pour le commencement aussi bien que pour la fin, et cette modeste introduction par laquelle vous entrez dans l'esprit de vos auditeurs, avec ce meo in eos obsequio, etc.²' The comparing of a book to a garden is not a rare thing³, but Molière may well have had this passage from Balzac in mind when he wrote the following lines in his *Femmes Savantes*:

Armande: Chaque pas dans vos vers rencontre un trait charmant.

Bélise: Partout on s'y promène avec ravissement.

Philaminte: On n'y sauroit marcher que sur de belles choses.

Armande: Ce sont petits chemins tout parsemés de roses⁴.

It may be interesting to note in passing that, in the same scene, there are at least two more ideas which have their equivalents in Balzac's work. We read in the 'Sonnet à la princesse Uranie sur sa fièvre' (which is however of l'abbé Cotin's composition):

Si vous la conduisez aux bains,
Sans la marchander davantage,
Noyez-la de vos propres mains⁵.

So Balzac, in a letter to Richelieu, referring to the latter's health, says he likes to think that 'ceste colique dont on m'a fait peur se sera noyée dans les fontaines de Pougues⁶'.

The metaphor which makes a book the 'child' of its author is common enough⁷. On Heinsius recalling an early work of Balzac's which the

¹ I was under the impression that Molière owned the 1665 2 vol. fol. edition of Balzac's works, but cannot find the reference.

² *Les Œuvres Diverses du sieur de Balzac...* à Paris, chez Guillaume de Luyne, 1659, 12mo, p. 235 (p. 318 of the 1644 4to edition).

³ Cp., e.g., 'Ce tableau de l'inconstance que je vous donne est un parterre émaillé de mille fleurs diverses....' François de Rosset, *Histoire des Amans volages de ce tems...* à Paris, chez Denis Moreau, 1623, p. 381. Or as the title of a book: *Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*, etc.

⁴ *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act III, Sc. ii (ed. cit., ix, p. 129).

⁵ *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act III, Sc. ii (ed. cit., ix, p. 128).

⁶ *Les Œuvres de Mr. de Balzac*, neufliesme édition... à Paris, chez Toussaint du Bray... 1633, p. 27.

⁷ Examples from Plato or Shakespeare will occur to the mind. Cp. a note in E. Roy, *Sorel*, p. 312.

author would rather have forgotten, Balzac apostrophises him thus: 'O violateur du sépulcre d'un enfant à demy né ou pour le moins qui n'estoit pas venu à terme...¹' However, there is no end to the sources from which Molière might have drawn Trissotin's

Hélas ! c'est un enfant tout nouveau-né, madame...
Et c'est dans votre cour que j'en viens d'accoucher².

2. In an apology for his first letters Balzac says that his enemies are now deserting their leader, whom they have come to consider as a mere pedant, a plunderer of the ancient authors. They refer to him, says Balzac, thus: 'Accordons luy qu'il scait quelque chose, adjoustent ils, mais c'est parce qu'il a eu des yeux et des oreilles quarante ans durant. Il entend le latin, le grec, et l'hebreu...³' These expressions are reproduced by Clitandre:

Il semble à trois gredins dans leur petit cerveau...
Que partout de leur nom la gloire est épanchée,
Et qu'en science ils sont des prodiges fameux.
Pour savoir ce qu'ont dit les autres avant eux;
Pour avoir eu trente ans des yeux et des oreilles,
Pour avoir employé neuf ou dix mille veilles
A se bien barbouiller de grec et de latin...⁴.

3. In one of his letters to Chapelain, the famous letter-writer speaks of a friend whom he would prefer to consider as an 'honnête homme' rather than as a writer; he exclaims: 'Est-il possible que qui n'a pas appris l'art d'écrire et à qui il n'a pas esté fait de commandement de par le roy et sur peine de la vie de faire des livres, veuille quitter son rang d'honneste homme qu'il tient dans le monde pour aller prendre celui d'impertinent et de ridicule parmy les docteurs et les escolliers?⁵' It is clear that Molière has remembered this passage in the *Misanthrope*: it is noted in the 'Grands Écrivains' edition⁶.

4. Balzac is criticising a work written in a style so affected that the simplest idea is not presented without some stylistic adornment: 'L'expression des pensées,' he says, 'me fait souvenir de cet ancien orateur qui ne vouloit pas dire sans figure, Je vous donne le bon jour⁷.' It is barely possible, but not worth insisting on, that this may have some

¹ *Lettres familières de M. de Balzac à M. Chapelain*. A Amsterdam, chez Louis et Daniel Elzevier, 1661, p. 117.

² *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act III, Sc. i (ed. cit., ix, p. 119).

³ *Œuvres Diverses*... 1659, p. 311 (p. 420 of the quarto edition of 1644).

⁴ *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act IV, Sc. iii (ed. cit., ix, pp. 174-5).

⁵ *Letters to Chapelain* (ed. cit., p. 98).

⁶ *Le Misanthrope*, Act I, Sc. ii (ed. cit., p. 466).

⁷ *Letters to Chapelain*, p. 216.

connection with La Flèche's sally about Harpagon: 'Il ne dit jamais, Je vous donne, mais, Je vous prête le bon jour¹.'

It will be noted, in conclusion, that in (1) Molière uses with a satiric intent expressions employed quite seriously by Balzac, while in (2) and (3) both authors are speaking from the standpoint of the 'honneste homme.'

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LEEDS.

¹ *L'Avare*, Act II, Sc. iv (*ed. cit.*, VII, p. 105).

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

JOHN SKELTON AND THE NEW LEARNING.

The lifetime of Skelton coincides almost exactly with that of Erasmus, which means that he saw in his day both the rise of Lutheranism and the beginning of Greek studies in England. His own reputation as a scholar was assured at least as early as 1490, when Caxton, in the Preface to his *Boke of Eneydos* addresses him as one 'late created poete laureate in the unyuersitie of Oxenforde,' who had 'late translated the epystlys of Tulle and the boke of dyodorus syculus and diuerse other werkes oute of latyn in-to englysshe, not in rude and olde langage, but in polysshed and ornate termes craftely....' This eulogy obviously expresses admiration for his English as well as his Latin, and it is misleading to insist too strongly that 'Caxton's admiration was for Skelton, the Latinist¹.' His interest in the English language was in fact profound: in the *Garlande of Laurell* he mentions a 'New Gramer in Englysshe compyled²,' which is now lost, and his opinion of the respective merits of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate is a testimony to the soundness of his taste. His own education had been conducted strictly along the old lines: 'tryuials, quatryuials, Donatus, Alexander³,' but though to the end of his life he was a conservative in scholarship as well as in religion active hostility to Greek letters cannot fairly be imputed to him. Greek indeed appears as a very worthy object of study:

For aurea lingua Graeca ought to be magnifyed
Yf it were cond perfyte, and after the rate
As lingua Latina, in scole matter occupyed⁴.

But to Skelton it seems in far too rudimentary and uncertain a state to bear serious comparison with Latin, the real foundation of all true learning. Enthusiasm for a novelty has led many young and incompetent students to imagine themselves scholars when their acquaintance even with Greek is of the shallowest nature, and it is these half-learned and presumptuous young men who are undermining the great traditional studies:

Graece fari so occupyeth the chayre
That Latinum fari may fall to rest and slepe⁵.

The attitude Skelton takes up is not unreasonable, and a contemporary could doubtless have found very good support for it. Attempts have

¹ J. M. Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry*, p. 233.

² *Speke Parrot*, I. 171, Dyce, II, p. 9 and *passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 168-9.

² L. 1182, Dyce, I, p. 409.

⁴ *Speke Parrot*, II. 147-9.

been made to gauge the quality of Skelton's scholarship and the extent of his acquaintance with the classics from a list of the authors he quotes or refers to. How misleading this may be can be illustrated from the fact that Cicero is mentioned but four times, to Vergil's seventeen, Juvenal's thirteen, and Horace's ten. To Skelton, however, Cicero is the final touchstone of all writing:

Wolde God myne homely style
Were pullysshed with the fyle
Of Cicero's eloquence

he wishes in *Phyllyp Sparowe*¹, and in the *Garlande of Laurell* he refers to him as 'prynce of eloquence².'

One of his first literary exercises had been the translation of Cicero's Letters into English, and there is no doubt that Cicero was as much 'his author' as Vergil was that of Dante.

Equally dangerous is it to generalise about Skelton's Latin scholarship from the few isolated poems that we possess. Contemporaries at any rate were very respectful, and the famous compliment of Erasmus: 'unum Brittanicarum litterarum lumen ac decus,' however cautiously it be considered, at least shows that Skelton could be so addressed with perfect propriety and in the sure knowledge that such praise would surprise no one.

Since Skelton's conservatism is so marked, it is easy to proceed to extremes and to regard him merely as a belated representative of mediaeval scholarship³. A truer conception of his position will be arrived at if he is considered as one of the last products of the continental Renaissance. His worship of Cicero and 'eloquence' he has in common with Valla, Landino and Politian, and the suggestion also offers a reasonable explanation of that vainglory which has distressed so many critics. It is permissible to regard it as simply a late manifestation of that desire for 'virtù,' 'distinction expressed in individuality, personal force and self-assertion⁴,' characteristic of so many of the Italian humanists, and Skelton's assurance that he is firmly established in the poet's Elysium, that he is the restorer of English poetry and 'Britain's Homer' to boot, thus falls well within ordinary Renaissance tradition. The suggestion at any rate takes away most of the unpleasantness from what is perhaps the most amazing amount of self-congratulation in the language.

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¹ Ll. 1204-7, Dyce, I, p. 88.

² L. 330, Dyce, I, p. 375.

³ R. L. Dunbabin, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1917, pp. 129 ff., 257 ff.

⁴ W. H. Woodward.

MME DU DEFFAND AND HUME.

My attention has been drawn by Dr J. Y. T. Greig, Registrar of Armstrong College, who is engaged upon a new biography of David Hume, and a new edition of his letters, to the following letters in French addressed to him, which are among the Hume MSS. belonging to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. My acknowledgements are due to Dr Greig for kindly supplying me with transcripts of these letters, and to the Council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for permission to publish them. Two of them, it should be mentioned, those dated respectively 'Paris ce 13 aout' and 'Paris ce mardy,' were printed eighty years ago by John Hill Burton in *Letters of Eminent Persons addressed to David Hume*, but in an inaccurate text, and were ascribed by him, without reason assigned, to Mlle de Lespinasse. They were, however, certainly not written by her. The writer without any doubt was Mme du Deffand. The longest and latest, here printed first, is in fact her reply to Hume's letter to her from London of August 5, 1766, which was discovered by me in the Waller Collection at Woodcote, Warwick, and was published in *The Times Literary Supplement* on June 3, 1920.

Hume, who had been secretary to the embassy in Paris, had learned through 'Fish' Craufurd, a common friend of them both, that Mme du Deffand was under the impression that Hume's friendship for her had cooled since his return to England; he wrote to her accordingly to express his regret, and to justify himself, and in the same letter referred to the quarrel in which he had become involved with Rousseau. Mme du Deffand replied (by the hand of her amanuensis, she being blind) as follows:

Paris ce 13 aout [1766].

Oui Monsieur, J'ay été toutes des premieres a connoître votre merite, J'en fais vanité et J'ay désirée tres sincerement d'être votre amie; je m'étois flatée d'y avoir réussie, et c'est avec beaucoup de chagrin que je me suis apperçue que je m'étois trompée. N'allez pas me dire que c'est actuellement que je me trompe. Convenez que si quelqu'un de votre connoissance se lioit aujourd'hui intimement avec J. Jacques, vous ne pourriez pas le regarder comme votre amie, et vous trouveriez singulier qu'on traita d'animosité le juste ressentiment que la mechanceté et ingratitude inspirent. J'ignore si l'usage autorise ou tolere les liaisons de nos amis avec nos ennemis. Je ne sçay que ce que dicte l'amitié et je serois fâchée d'en sçavoir davantage.

Vous ne devez pas douter de ce que j'ay pensée sur les procedés de J. Jacques, j'en ay été indignée mais peu surprise. Vous devez vous consoler de cette aventure, il ni a point de honte a être la dupe de son bon cœur, je suis bien persuadée que c'est l'avis de notre amy Mr Walpole, et je suis fort trompée s'il ne lui est pas arrivé souvent d'éprouver de tels inconvenients.

Pour mon petit Craufurd, ses vertus ne sont pas si actives, il pourra grace a sa paresse et a son indifferance être a labri de tels accidents.

Vous ne me parlez point de votre retour. Langleterre est elle donc comme les enfers qui ne rendent rien.

Vous voyez Monsieur que je desire de vous revoir, c'est vous dire ce que je pense pour vous. Je crois ainsy que vous qu'il arrivera bonjour qui détruira tout ce qui suppose a notre union. Je le desire, je l'espere et j'auray bien du plaisir a pouvoir aimer ce que j'estime et j'admire. Mais je vous declare que je ne calmeray point votre jalousie sur Mr Craufurd, je l'aimeray toute ma vie.

Adieu Monsieur, je suis choquée des complimens qui terminent votre lettre.

A Monsieur Monsieur Dav Hume. Lisle Street
Leicester fields, London, Angleterre.

The following notes, without date of month or year, must belong to 1764 or 1765, when Hume was acting secretary to the embassy in Paris. In the first, which is dated 'mardy,' Mme du Deffand refers to the following Saturday as 'onze de ce mois.' It must therefore have been written either on August 7, 1764, or on May 7, 1765, for the only month in which the 11th was Saturday was August in 1764, and May in 1765. The former is the more probable date, for the address indicates that the ambassador was at Compiègne¹, where the Court almost invariably spent the months of July and August. The emptiness of Paris during 'le Compiègne' was a constant subject of complaint on the part of Mme du Deffand. 'Tout l'été et surtout les mois de juillet et d'août,' she laments on one such occasion, 'Paris est désert. Compiègne et les diverses campagnes enlèvent tout le monde.'

Paris ce mardy.

Il y a bien des choses a dire de votre lettre, premierement le tems enorme que vous l'avez fait attendre, ensuite la grandeur du papier, et puis l'excellence du stile, mais tout cela me meneroit trop loin, il ne me faut pas perdre un moment pour vous dire que l'objet de vos amours, La charmante néolé vous ordonne, vous commande avec sa petite voix flutée, de souper chés moi Samedy onze de ce mois, jour de votre arrivé; je ne crois pas que vous osiez y manquer. Je remet a ce jour la a vous dire, tout le bien et le mal que je pense de vous.

Ah que ce tems est long a mon impatience.

A Monsieur Monsieur Hume chés Mr Lambassadeur
d'angleterre a Compiègne.

By 'l'objet de vos amours, la charmante néolé' in this note, no doubt the Comtesse de Boufflers is meant. Hume's devotion to her was well known. Mme du Deffand usually calls her 'l'idole,' because her lover, the Prince de Conti, lived in the Temple at Paris; and she styled Hume her 'grand-prêtre,' and joked about his 'culte' for her. Why she here calls the Comtesse 'Néolé' I was unable to explain (and my French literary friends were equally at a loss) till Dr Greig sent me the following interesting passage from the *Mémoires du Président Hénault* which

¹ Dr Greig informs me that Hume was certainly at Compiègne at that time, as a letter of his (as yet unpublished) is extant, written from there to the Earl of Hardwicke on August 8, 1764.

he happened to be reading for quite another purpose—a remarkable instance of what Horace Walpole used to call ‘serendipity’¹:

C’était environ vers le même temps [between 1761 and 1764] que Mme de Boufflers me fit la lecture d’une pièce en prose de sa façon, en cinq actes, intitulé *les Esclaves* ou *les Rivaux généreux*. Je n’ai rien vu de mieux écrit, de plus touchant, ni de plus rempli de mœurs. Ce sont deux jeunes sauvages, esclaves d’un tyran espagnol, tous deux amoureux d’une jeune sauvage, esclave, comme eux, de cet espagnol qui veut la déshonorer. Ils sont l’un et l’autre amoureux de Nèolé (c’est la sauvage), mais l’amitié qu’ils se portent les engage à ne lui rien laisser voir de leur passion; elle aime l’un des deux; elle lui déclare son amour; il n’a pas la force de lui cacher ses sentiments, mais il court en avertir son rival. On comprend ce que doivent produire les combats de la maîtresse et des deux amis. L’amitié demeure la plus forte; ils veulent se sauver tous trois de la violence de l’espagnol, qui les fait poursuivre, et ils se donnent la mort.

La lecture de cette pièce me fit une grande impression. C’était le temps des étrennes et j’imaginai une galanterie pour Mme de Boufflers. Je fis graver un cachet où l’Amitié tient l’Amour enchaîné, avec le titre de la pièce. Le comte de Caylus me servit dans cette commission qu’il tint secrète, et rien ne fut égal à la curiosité de Mme de Boufflers quand elle eut reçu le cachet. Les soupçons tombèrent d’abord sur moi; je m’en défendis assez bien pour que l’on eût recours à des perquisitions; on envoya chez tous les graveurs de Paris; cela dura près de deux mois, et enfin je fus découvert (éd. F. Rousseau, Paris, 1911, p. 268).

Mme du Deffand, it is evident, to whom her old friend Président Hénault no doubt had related the incident, has transferred the name of the heroine of the tragedy to the authoress.

There is nothing to determine the year to which two other notes belong. The next was probably written in May, because the Duchesse de Choiseul is said to be at Choisy, where the Court usually resided for a time during that month, and where consequently she, as wife of the first minister, would have to be in attendance.

Monsieur Hume scaura que Mad. La D. de choiseul est a Choisy, dont on ne reviendra que vendredy apres souper. Voila les amours de Monsieur hume qui arrive aujourd’huy et voila Mad. du deffand qui degingole. Cependant elle avertit Monsieur Hume qu’elle soupera vendredy chés elle, et que s’il veut y venir il lui fera honneur et plaisir.

A Monsieur Monsieur Hume.

Here again ‘les amours de Monsieur Hume’ means Mme de Boufflers. The last note is accompanied by one to Mme du Deffand from the Duchesse de Choiseul. Hume apparently had accepted an invitation from the Duchesse, but by mistake had been refused admittance.

Ce Jeudy.

J’appri hier, par le chevalier Maydonald, votre avanture chés Mmd de choiseul. Je lui en ay écrit le matin, voicy sa reponse. Vous etes prié samedi a souper a l’hotel de Luxembourg, ne vous verrai-je pas avant ce tems la.

A Monsieur Monsieur Hume.

¹ In his letter to Mann of January 28, 1754, Walpole defines ‘serendipity’ as ‘*accidental sagacity*,’ ‘for no discovery of a thing you *are* looking for comes under this description.’

'Le chevalier Maydonald' was Sir James Macdonald, eighth Baronet, of Slate, Isle of Skye, an accomplished scholar, who died at Rome at the age of 24 in 1766. The Hôtel de Luxembourg was the residence of the Duchesse douairière de Luxembourg, one of Mme du Deffand's most intimate friends. The Duchesse de Choiseul's note, on the blank side of which Mme du Deffand wrote hers to Hume, was as follows:

Vraiment oui ma chere enfant j'ai fait des cris affreux, je n'avois pas oubliée Mr Hume car je l'ai attendue hier toute la matinée, mais j'avois oubliée d'avertir mon Suisse, je suis au desespoir, je vais reparer mes torts, je remercie ma chere petite fille et l'aime infiniment quoiqu'elle en dise.

A Madame Madame la Marquise du Deffant a Paris.

The Duchesse de Choiseul playfully calls Mme du Deffand, who was forty years older than herself, 'ma chère enfant,' and 'ma petite-fille,' because Mme du Deffand's maternal grandmother had married a Duc de Choiseul as her second husband. It will be noted that the Duchesse de Choiseul's grammar is not much more correct than that of Mme du Deffand's illiterate amanuensis. She was apparently not unaware of her shortcomings in this respect, for in a letter to Horace Walpole, written from Versailles in February, 1767, she says:

Je scait qu'il est impolie d'envoyer une lettre raturee, mais ma politesse ne vas pas jusqu'à faire une froide copie d'un detestable original, mes lettres sont presque toutes raturez par ce que je ne scait presque jamais ce que je vais dire, et souvent ce que je dis, mes amis veulent bien s'en contenter telles qu'elles sont, voulez vous bien faire de meme.

However, she erred in good company, for the mistress of a famous contemporary salon, Mme Geoffrin, was equally regardless of grammar. She writes to Walpole, who had sent her a copy of the Strawberry Hill *Mémoires de Grammont*:

J'ai recue monsieur une marque de votre souvenir bien flatteuse, et bien touchante... mes années qui sacumulent m'ôte l'esperance de pouvoir vous exprimer moi meme en vous embrassan, ma sensibilité, ma reconnoissance....

The following extracts from two letters in the same collection (for transcripts of which I am indebted to Dr Greig), written to Hume at this period, throw a lurid light on the bitterness of the relations between the Du Deffand and Lespinasse factions. The writer was D'Alembert, the ardent and devoted champion of Mlle de Lespinasse, and consequently the object of the implacable resentment of Mme du Deffand, whose salon, of which he had been one of the most brilliant habitués, he had deserted for that of her detested rival.

Letter of September 1 [1766]: ...A l'égard de ma voisine la Vipère (car c'est ainsi que je l'appelle), je persiste aussi à dire que c'est une carogne, qui vous flagorne aujourd'hui, non par amitié pour vous mais uniquement par haine pour Rousseau. Vous êtes la dupe de sa platte fausseté; mais croyez qu'elle vous hait—premièrement,

parce qu'elle hait tout le monde, et surtout les gens de merite; secondement, parce qu'elle sait que vous aimez des gens qu'elle n'aime pas, et qui, à la vérité, le lui rendent bien, ou plutôt qui lui rendent en mépris la monnoye de sa haine. . . .

Letter of October 6 [1766]: . . . A l'égard de la Vipère ma voisine, je persiste à vous dire que c'est ce que nous appelons en grec une bougresse; je la plaindrai pourtant volontiers d'être aveugle, en considération qu'elle sera muette; votre excessive bonté pour elle me fait souvenir d'un Roi de Sparte à qui on vantoit la bonté de quelqu'un; comment peut-il être bon, disoit-il, s'il n'est pas terrible aux méchans? . . .

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

THE PROTOTYPE OF DANTE'S GERYON.

(*Inferno*, XVI and XVII.)

Having once picked on Geryon as a symbol of fraud, it would not be unnatural for Dante to give him the form of a reptile, for the Geryon of classical mythology was a brother of Echidna, who was herself the mother of the hydra of Lerna. But there seems to be little in the classical Geryon that associates him with fraud. He is a blustering, roaring fellow, as his name implies (from γηρύω), and a giant, therefore a symbol of violence rather than of fraud. It is, consequently, much more probable that Dante decided first to give the guardian of the eighth circle a reptile form, and then, having in mind Echidna and her progeny, to give this guardian the name of Geryon (Gerione).

Let us then examine Geryon as a reptile, and try to establish some relationship between this reptile and the category of sinners under his charge. Now if Geryon is a 'kind of dragon,' as he is said to be in Dr Paget Toynbee's *Dictionary*¹, he is certainly not a winged one, and he does not fly down into the eighth circle with Dante and Virgil on his back, as Mario Casella states in the *Indice dei Nomi e delle Cose* of the *Testo Critico*² ('discende a volo'). Dante is most careful to tell us that he comes swimming or floating ('notando') up through the thick air (concluding lines of canto XVI), with exactly the same movements as a man forcing his way up to the surface of the water from below. Surely it is this extraordinary means of locomotion that leads Dante to expect incredulity on the part of his readers, and to call this part of his narrative a truth that looks like a lie ('Ver c'ha faccia di menzogna'). I say 'surely,' because Geryon is not, after all, more incredible, physiologically, than the other monsters of the *Inferno*, and is even more credible than

¹ Paget Toynbee, *Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, Oxford, 1914.

² I.e. the *Testo Critico della Società Dantesca Italiana*, Florence, 1921. All my quotations are from it.

some of them. Moreover, every detail strengthens the picture of a creature floating or swimming. Geryon lies with his head and bust on the brink of the precipice and his tail in the void (xvii, ll. 8-9), like a bark lying against the shore (*ibid.*, ll. 19-20), or like a beaver (*ibid.*, l. 22). When he moves off with his load, he withdraws from the brink 'come la navicella' (*ibid.*, l. 100) and then propels himself like an eel (*ibid.*, l. 104); and so he goes down, as he had come up, 'notando' (*ibid.*, l. 115). The only reference to flying is in the few lines where Dante compares him to a weary falcon (*ibid.*, ll. 127-32), but that is purely a figure of speech used in order to emphasise his slowness, and, moreover, the figure changes immediately; having set down his burden, he shoots off like an arrow from the string (*ibid.*, l. 136).

So then, Geryon is essentially a kind of swimming lizard. Further, he is covered with nodes and rings of all colours (xvii, ll. 14-15). And, finally, this spotted lizard is a symbol of fraud. Now, there is in classical antiquity a creature which has all these characteristics: it is the stellion, to which Pliny attributes such extraordinary powers in his *Historia Naturalis*. As to the first characteristic, I admit that the stellion is not always described as a water-lizard; Pliny, for instance, describes it as living in the plaster-work of doorways and windows, in tombs, etc.: *in loricis ostiorum fenestrarumque aut cameris sepulcrisque* (*op. cit.*, lib. xxx, cap. xxvii); and Linnaeus identified it with the gecko. But Lewis and Short in their Latin dictionary translate *stellio* as *newt*, and the French poet, J. M. de Heredia, who was no mean classical scholar, puts it alongside of the water-snake:

Ils franchissent, foulant l'hydre et le stellion,
Ravins, torrents...etc. (*Les Trophées: Fuite de Centaures.*)

The coloured spots were undoubtedly a feature of the stellion. They even explain its name: Du Cange, in his *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, tells us that it is so called 'because it is marked with divers colours, as the sky is marked with stars': *quod ex diversis coloribus pictum, sicut coelum stellis*; and Lewis and Short retain this etymology.

As for the third characteristic, fraudulency, there is no shadow of doubt in the case of the stellion. Although, as Sandys points out in his *Companion to Latin Studies* (Camb. Univ. Press, 3rd ed., 1921, p. 60), its reputation is undeserved, the ancient writers persisted in regarding it as poisonous: there are numerous references to this in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*; and, moreover, Pliny calls attention to its unpleasant and crafty nature: *Nullum animal fraudulentius invidere homini tradunt* (*op. cit.*, lib. xxx, cap. xxvii). Hence, he goes on to say, its name has become

a term of abuse: *inde stellionum nomen aiunt in maledictum translatum* (*ibid.*). Dante's own master, Virgil, gives it a bad name, and warns the bee-keeper to fumigate his hives with thyme and to cut away the empty cells, in order to drive away this and other thieves:

At suffire thymo cerasque recidere inanes
Quis dubitet? nam saepe favos ignotus adedit
Stellio.... (Georg., iv, ll. 241-3.)

And that is not all: the name of the stellion was so definitely associated with fraud that *stellionatus* or trickery became a special crime, which is defined and discussed in various parts of the *Digesta*. Du Cange (*op. cit.*) is careful to inform us that this crime took its name from the animal: *Crimen Stellionatus nomen sumsit a quodam animali reptili, quod dicitur Stellio, et est quasi simile serpenti*. And 'stellionate' (Fr. *stellionat*, It. *stellionato*, Sp. *estelionato*) is still, in modern legal practice, a special kind of fraud; its history and nature are well summed up in this passage from a contemporary French novelist:

L'expression stellionat, mon cher, tire son origine d'un mot latin, stellio, nom donné par les Romains à un lézard venimeux, à cause des points étoilés dont sa peau est mouchetée. Les juriconsultes, comparant la fraude et la mauvaise foi des débiteurs...mais ceci nous entraînerait trop loin...il y a *stellionat* lorsqu'on vend ou qu'on hypothèque un immeuble dont on sait n'être pas propriétaire¹.

Dante adds some details of course: Geryon has the face of a righteous man (canto xvii, l. 10), but that is only an artistic amplification; and he also adds the detail that Geryon's tail has a sting in it. That, again, may be merely to strengthen his picture, or he may have had in mind the association of the stellion with the scorpion, of which it was an enemy (see, for instance, Pliny, *op. cit.*, lib. xi, cap. xxx).

He must have been well acquainted with the nature of the stellion. Apart from Virgil's reference to it, quoted above, Aristotle mentions it several times in his *De Historia Animalium*, under the name of *ασκαλαβώτης*, which is regularly translated into Latin as *stellio*. See for instance ix. 1. 17 (its hostility to the spider), viii. 17. 6 (shedding of skin), viii. 29. 4 (its venom), etc.² And Dante's acquaintance with this work of the Philosopher is proved, as Dr Paget Toynbee has pointed out³, by his reference to it in the *Convivio*.

Summing up, I would say that Dante, looking for a symbol of fraud, naturally picked on the stellion, giving it gigantic proportions, and adding certain details; and then, seeking a name for this monster, adopted that of Geryon, because Geryon was directly related to Echidna

¹ A. de Chateaubriant, *Monsieur des Lourdines*, Paris, p. 97.

² *De Historia Animalium in Aristotelis Opera*, iv, Oxford, 1887.

³ Paget Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, London, 1902, p. 109, n. 2.

and the Hydra, and because also he was one of Virgil's infernal forms (*forma tricorporis umbrae: Aen.*, VI, l. 289).

There is another point on which I cannot speak with the same conviction, but which may be interesting in view of the foregoing. Dante transforms the spots on the stellion into 'nodi e rotelle' (canto XVII, l. 15). The wheel was long before Dante's time a symbol of inconstancy, as for instance in Tibullus: *Eleg. lib. i, 5, ll. 69-70*. This may have suggested *rotelle* as a natural marking for the figure of fraud, and *nodi* might easily symbolise the meshes in which the cozeners ensnare their victim—an image that is readily suggested by Virgil's *fraus innexa clienti* (*Aen.*, VI, l. 609). If this were so, it would perhaps explain why Virgil throws down Dante's rope girdle as a signal to Geryon (canto XVI, ll. 106-14), especially if we remember that Virgil himself uses *nodus* in the sense of *girdle* in *Aen.* I, l. 320: *Nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentes*. But this is merely a suggestion, not a hypothesis.

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MELBOURNE.

NOTES ON JUAN DEL ENCINA'S 'EGLOGAS TROBADAS DE VIRGILIO'¹

'Muchas dificultades,' says Encina, 'hallo en la lengua castellana en comparacion de la latina; de donde se causa en muchos lugares no poder les dar la propia significacion: quanto mas que por razon del metro y consonantes: sera forçado algunas veces de impropiar las palabras y acrecentar o menguar segun fiziera a mi caso². . . Una d' las causas que lo (Antonio de Lebrixa) mouieron a hazer arte de Romance fue que nuestra lengua esta agora mas empinada e polida que jamas estuvo³.' Encina further credits Lebrija with having rooted out the barbarisms⁴.

These statements, made in 1516, focus the difficulties of Santillana, Micer Imperial, Guzmán and their contemporaries, and a collation of Virgil and Encina yields the following data:

(1) VOCABULARY.

Fugimus, I, 4, with its implication of being pursued is rendered *huydo* (*apartarse por miedo de personas*), and reinforced with *ando acossado*. The translations are thus congruent by hendiadys.

¹ My references are to *Cancionero de todas las obras de Juan del Encina*, Zaragoza, 1516, British Museum.

² Folio xxvi.

³ Folio iii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Lentus, I, 4. Plessis et Lejay¹ render *nonchalant* and Encina gives the colourless *tendido*.

Depellere, I, 21, used by Virgil of 'going down to the city,' is accepted uncritically in Encina's paraphrase. Encina missed its technical meaning of 'weaning the lambs.' It is correctly used in Navagiero's Latin poem:

quum ex hispania legatione in Italiam reverteretur
sollicitus totus depellere e pectore curas,

but the ambassador was technically trained in his subject².

Ludere, I, 10. No attempt is made to interpret this verb, used of 'light, playful song.' It appears as *cantar*.

Sub arguta ilice, VII, 1, where *arguta* applies to the sound of the wind passing through the trees, is ingeniously transposed into *so una encina de buen son*.

Intonsi montes, V, 63, 'mountains with all their forests,' appears as *arboledas ledas*.

Conixa, I, 15, implying fierce pangs, is rendered *anaziar*.

Semiputata, II, 70, a ἡπαξ λεγόμενον, is ignored.

(2) INTERPRETATIONS.

- (a) O Meliboe, deus nobis haec otia fecit.
namque erit ille mihi semper deus. (*Ecl.*, I, 6 f.)

O buen zagal Melibeo
quanto bien nos hizo Dios
Dio nos rey de tal asseo.

- (b) Ipsa sonant arbusta 'deus, deus ille, Menalca' (*Ecl.*, V, 64).

Menalcas ten le por santo
que santo me parecia.

These two parallels reveal a transparent difficulty in Encina. His nationality precluded his appreciation of the humour underlying these verses. The term *deus* is dictated by sheer gratitude and by the camaraderie existing between Virgil, Augustus and the Pollio group. That Augustus was a superman can be proved even from the rather hostile account of Plutarch and from the favourable one of Nicolas of Damascus, besides Suetonius. To Virgil *deus* and *divinus* conveyed little religious significance during his three years occupation with the *Eclogues*, since he was still an Epicurean. *Aeneid* VI would have shown Encina that Virgil would have recoiled from a serious application of the term *deus*, in a strictly monotheistic theology. The translation of *Ecl.*, I, 27-39, especially the treatment of *libertas* (the final civil and political principle in Virgil

¹ *Œuvres de Virgile*, Paris, 1918.

² Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant. de poetas lir. cast.*, XIII, p. 62.

emanating from Jupiter Liber), makes the transfusion of these religious and political passages an indispensable datum in the documentation of the Reyes Católicos.

Resonare . . . *Amaryllida*, I, 5. Encina found the accusative insurmountable and rendered:

cantas dos mill cantilenas
de Amarilis.

Similarly, he slid lightly over such syntactical difficulties as *ardebat* and *inflare* with direct accusatives, and the venturesome *inscripti nomina regum* . . . *flores*, III, 107 produces the safe:

dime que tierra o que suelo
da en la flor escritos nombres de reyes.

Submittere, I, 45, used of putting animals under the yoke and of propagation, Encina interprets:

las vacas
dexar hazer albaracas
con los toros nos mando.

Frigidus . . . *anguis*, III, 93. Taken from Theocritus, xv, 58. Bohn's note refers to Kiessling's quotation of the scholiast on Nicander Th. 291, that *ψυχρὸς* is similarly applied to all reptiles. Encina renders:

aballad, que esta metida
una sierpe aqui do estays.

Ergo tua rura manebunt, I, 46. *Tua* is taken both subjectively and objectively. Encina renders:

luego tus tierras te tienes.

Inconsistencies of *personae* persist in Encina, despite his thorough application of the poems to the Catholic Sovereigns. Thus, the *fessi messorum*, II, 10, and the ploughing, II, 66, appear in the same landscape. Italian vine-dressers consort with Sicilian shepherds; Daphnis still represents a living husbandman protected by a living emperor. A geographical blunder persists:

aut Ararim Parthus bibet, (*Ecl.*, I, 63)
primero beuera el Parto
en Araxis desterrado,

and the well-known mistranslation of *πάντα δ' ἑναλλα γένοιτο*, in *Ecl.*, VIII, 58 *omnia vel medium fiat mare*, appears as *Ya todo se torne mar*. Encina, like Villena, in his translation of the *Aeneid* from an Italian model, evidently adopted the Latin version uncritically, without references to Greek sources; he was interested in subject-matter and not in interpretation.

The subtle shades of meaning underlying particles like *saltem*, he found *ultra vires* as in II, 71 f.:

quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?

Again, where he paraphrases the text, and applies the possible labours of Alexis, *denique* in: *Nil nostri miserere? Mori me denique coges* (II, 7), has lost its appealing gesture in:

dexas me triste morir
y sufrir.

Ecl., VI, 64. Gallus, allotted the highest place in pastoral poetry, induces no contemporary reference, but preserves the Latin name, while Baevius and Maevius, dragged from a happy obscurity, suggest no clue to the tabulated *detractores y maldicientes* of the first *Representacion*. Similarly, in

argutos inter strepere anser olores, (*Ecl.*, IX, 36)

anser appears as *ganso*, without contemporary reference.

III, 104 f.: dic, quibus in terris...
tres pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas.

Encina translates literally:

dime agora...
donde no veran tan solo
sino tres bracas del cielo.

Among the many names in Encina's *Prólogo*, there is no mention of either Cornificius or Asconius Pedianus, to whom commentators agree that Virgil gave the key of the riddle—a play on the word *Caeli*, of Heaven, and *Coeli*, of Coelius, a Mantuan spendthrift.

III, 109 f. The difficult

...et quisquis amores
aut metuet dulces aut experietur amaros,

'and also whosoever shall sing the fears of sweet (successful) love and experimentally describe the bitterness of disappointment' (one reading transposes *amaros* and *amores*), Plessis et Lejay, following Cabaret-Dupaty, render, 'Tout berger qui redoutera les douceurs ou éprouvera les amertumes de l'amour.' Encina renders:

qualquiera
que sepa ser namorado
y del cariño gozar
o por lo gozar penar
merece ser alabado,

'and whoever knows how to be the lover and to enjoy love or suffer bitterness for enjoyment's sake.'

VI, 24:

...satis est potuisse videri.

Encina's interpretation of this disputed verse is:

bien basta que me vistes,

which agrees with Plessis et Lejay's 'C'est assez d'avoir pu réussir à me voir,' i.e., *me videri a vobis*, as against Conington's *satis est quod potuisse visi estis*, 'the display of your power is enough.'

(3) METRE.

Some of the interpretations and the transfused translations of Virgil's text are doubtless due to metrical difficulties. Encina's *Prólogo* does not discuss these, but is fully aware of them. On the technical side of poetry, he insists on the necessity of *el arte*. 'Do you think,' he asks, 'that poetry ever reached even its present dignity, *sin arte*, without *technical equipment*? El buen natural es el fundamento, pero si al buen ingenio no se juntasse el arte, seria como una tierra frutifera y no labrada.' It has not been noted that these words, which summarise the whole literary outlook from Santillana, were published some thirty years before Boscán and Andrea Navagiero discussed, in 1526, at Granada, the same literary position in exactly the same terms, *el ingenio*, the natural ability and feeling of the poet to handle poetic matter, and *el arte*, his technical equipment. The question must remain, Why did Encina not anticipate Boscán and Garcilasso? Of particular metrical effects like that of *flebant* in

extinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnim
fiebant, (*Ecl.*, v, 20 f.)

the language was incapable.

Encina was a serious pioneer of language, striving, with a dictionary at his elbow, to hammer out a terminology for pastoral poetry as León was to do later for mystical prose. In metre, he followed tradition¹.

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ABERDEEN.

¹ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de Poet. Lir. Cast.*, tomo v, p. li: 'Guzmán no intenta la renovación, ya imposible, del metro y sigue las corrientes de la literatura de su tiempo.'

THE WESSOBRUNN PRAYER, ll. 3, 4.

Professor Fiedler has argued in this *Review*¹ that lines 3 and 4 of the *Wessobrunn Prayer* originally read:

noh paum noh gras	noh pereg ni was,
ni scīmo nohheinig	noh sunna ni scein.

The MS., which makes no divisions, runs: *noh paum noh pereg niuuas. ni nohheinig noh sunna ni stein.*

All commentators are agreed that *ni nohheinig* hides a half-line, and many believe that something is missing after *paum*. Let us deal with line 4 first. The attempts to find a suitable word which would alliterate with *sunna* having failed, Professor Fiedler, though somewhat unwillingly, suggests that the reconstructed *scein* (MS. *stein*) may have borne the alliteration. He then proposes *scīmo*, 'light, brightness, gleam of light.' Now there are examples of the second lift of the second half-line carrying the alliteration: yet this must definitely be considered a corrupt practice. *Muspilli* which has been handed down to us with many serious flaws in the construction of its lines—whether through the fault of scribes or the incapacity of the poet—contains four examples², and in the *Hildebrandslied* there are two:

51: dār man mih eo scerita in folc sceotantero

and

60: gūdea gimeinūn niuse dē mōtti.

In line 51 Horn proposed to read³: *in sceotantero folc*, and Kaufmann⁴ has suggested *sceotantero in folc*, a reading supported quite lately again by the authority of Professor Heusler⁵. There is very little to be said against *sceotantero in folc* when we compare it with line 10: *fīreo in folche* and line 27 a: *folches at ente*.

In line 60 Kaufmann⁶ wished possibly to read: *gūdea gimeini*, which would make a rhyme-verse (: *mōtti*), and serious objections have been raised against the whole line as it stands⁷, since we should expect the *g* to alliterate and not the *m*. Professor Fiedler quotes line 6 of the *Wessobrunn Prayer* in support as: *dō dār niuuiht ni uuas enteo ni uuenteo*. This would throw the alliteration on to *uiht* and *uuenteo*. Of two

¹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xx, pp. 466 ff.

² Lines 15, 30 (rhyme?), 58, 59. Line 78 is a rhyme-verse.

³ C. R. Horn in Paul and Braune's *Beitr.*, v, p. 189.

⁴ Fr. Kaufmann, *Philologische Studien*, 1896, p. 151.

⁵ Andreas Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, i, p. 192.

⁶ Fr. Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

⁷ J. Frank, in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLVII, pp. 34 ff.

co-ordinated nouns the first must alliterate, and, moreover, it is difficult to believe that *niruiht* could have its accent on the second syllable in O.H.G. Grein¹ read *niruiht* alliterating with *enteo*, a version which is adopted by Professor Heusler who, however, retains the preceding negative²: *dō dār n- niruiht ni was enteo ni wenteo*. Similar objections may be raised against the irregular verses in *Muspilli*. We thus see that the lines cited in support of Professor Fiedler's reading are all under grave suspicion. The rule that the first lift of the second half-line should carry the alliteration is almost without exception in West Germanic poetry. Furthermore, a verb does not alliterate if it follows a noun, especially in the second half-line. A line *sunna ni scein* with alliteration on *scein* therefore assumes two grave faults. Of course, as we have seen, such lines have been transmitted (*Muspilli*, 58 and 59 are of this type), yet there is surely a difference between accepting or rejecting faulty lines, and constructing new lines on the evidence of others that are known to be irregular.

Perhaps we may be able to throw some light on the matter, without going further afield, from the poem itself. The glories of God which are mentioned are: *ero, ūfhimil, paum, pereg, sunna, mōna, māreo sēo*. Disregarding *sunna* for the moment, we see that they all have the first—and therefore the stronger—stress in their half-lines. (That *māreo* alliterates in the formula *māreo sēo* is quite proper and essential.) If *scein* carries the alliteration, *sunna* is the only object to be relegated to a secondary position, and the unity of composition of the poem is thus destroyed. If a word cannot be found to alliterate with *sunna*, that cannot be helped: to call in the reconstructed *scein* merely adds to our perplexities.

In line 3 a Professor Fiedler wishes to adopt Heinzel's³ *noh paum noh gras*. This produces the rhyme *gras : was*, another serious difficulty. When we find rhymes in alliterative verse we have to accept them: there was no reason why Heinzel should have followed Jellinek's suggestion and added one, even if, as Professor Fiedler points out, the Bible in the story of Creation does not mention hills and does mention grass. A line *noh paum noh gras* would be the only example of two independent objects being mentioned side by side in one half-line. It is of the very essence of this highly rhetorical slow-moving prayer that one thing only should be cited in each half-line: *noh paum noh gras* would spoil the effect

¹ *Germania*, x, p. 370.

² Heusler, *loc. cit.*, p. 143 and p. 108: 'ein: enteo ni Wenteo wäre, auch als Anvers, eine Unmöglichkeit.'

³ Heinzel, in *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas.*, XLIII, p. 745.

very much as alliteration on *scein* would. To support the conjecture *gras* Professor Fiedler quotes the O.E. *Genesis*, 116:

Folde wæs pā gyt
græs ungrēne;

and *Völuspá*, III, 5:

iqrð fannsk æva, nē upphiminn,
gap var ginnunga, en gras hvergi.

In the O.E. example *græs* has the main lift in its half-line, and in *Völuspá* *gras* rules the alliteration. The poet of the *Wessobrunn Prayer* would have treated *gras* no differently had he chosen to use it.

Whether *scein* alliterated or not, and whether line 3 *a* read originally *noh paum noh gras* or not, may seem of little importance in view of our limited sources of information. Yet these proposed emendations have much bearing on our critical estimate of the *Wessobrunn Prayer*. To those who believe that our author was but an indifferent poet¹ it cannot matter much whether the unity of the composition is marred by *noh paum noh gras*. Nor would there, from such a point of view, be any insuperable objection to allowing a verb to alliterate in the second hemistich in spite of *sunna* which insists on alliteration. On the other hand, we may hold that despite faulty transmission the prayer is a sustained piece of religious rhetoric written by a poet who was fully conscious of and attentive to the traditions of alliterative verse². If we incline to this second view, Professor Fiedler's suggestions cannot be accepted. Thus the textual criticism of this poem has important general bearing on Germanic religious verse in Old High German garb.

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ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS IN DINGELSTEDT'S 'WANDERSCHAFT.'

Representing the firm of Cotta, Franz Dingelstedt (1814–81) travelled to Paris and London, and conveyed his impressions of these visits in a collection of poems entitled *Wanderschaft* (1841–2)³. Although it is said

¹ E.g., M. H. Jellinek, in Paul Braune's *Beitr.*, XLVII, p. 128: 'Sein Können warmässig . . . und nun alliterierte er weiter, bis ihm der Atem ausging. . . . So brach er ab und erging sich in der bequemeren Prosa.' Professor Jellinek's view also presupposes that the poetic and the prose parts were written by the same man, which is doubtful for ll. 6–9 and impossible for ll. 1–5. l. 6 possibly belongs to the first part.

² The MS. is early ninth century, the poem somewhat earlier.

³ *Gedichte*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1845.

that Dingelstedt's intercourse with Lamartine, Herwegh and Heine in Paris led to the shattering of his liberal political opinions, as expressed in *Spaziergänge eines Casseler Poeten* and *Lieder eines cosmopolitischen Nachtwächters*, it is evident that in the earlier *Wanderschaft* poems he has not entirely discarded his advanced views, though the later poems betray that disillusionment which finally made him, unlike his friend Freiligrath, renounce 'left-wing' ideas. His comments on English life are frequently caustic, and one doubts whether he remained long enough in the country to be able to understand it thoroughly. In *Themsefahrt*¹ he complacently sums up London by saying that in the middle of the city is a green park for sheep and cows. There is also an ancient tower and St Paul's Cathedral, the queen of churches. Money here is God; nobody steals, but people rob according to the law! How different all this is from the descriptions which Fontane enthusiastically gives us—not that Fontane² is enthusiastic to the extent of being uncritical, but he has the mind of the artist as well as of the critic. Dingelstedt's poem *Greenwich Hospital*³ carries on the same strain of caustic comment. With the cry of 'England for ever!' he says that England is a country which builds palaces for old men and cripples, but where there is no house for the healthy child. Doubtless there was some truth for such a statement, but what poems he might have written had he not been so much under the obsession of political dissatisfaction. A poem addressed to Sir Robert Peel⁴ is likewise bitter, almost impertinent in tone, though the comparison between Peel and the Bishop of Bingen on the 'free German Rhine' is not without an effect of a ponderous kind.

The *Wanderschaft* poems are noteworthy for their references to Byron, whom Dingelstedt admired along with Freiligrath, Herwegh and countless other contemporary political poets. In earlier poems Dingelstedt betrays the influence of Byron on his verse, particularly of that spirit of restlessness, that constant urge which makes Byron the 'Pilgrim of Eternity.' In *Poets-Corner Westminster*⁵ the German poet is indignant that Byron should not be allowed to repose in Westminster Abbey.

Wo Priester näseln ihre Messen,
Im weihrauchdumpfen, düst'ren Haus,
Mit Recht wird Byron da vergessen,
Stosst Den vom Avon auch hinaus!

Incidentally, in the same poem, Dingelstedt displays contempt for the Lake poets, in this respect differing considerably from Freiligrath, who

¹ Page 281.

³ Page 303.

² *Aus England und Schottland*, 1860.

⁴ Page 285.

⁵ Page 290.

admired Wordsworth and his contemporaries almost as much as he did Byron. Thus Dingelstedt¹:

Die feine Lady rümpft die Nase
Zu Shakspeares Witz, zu Byrons Weh,
Und tut sich gütlich mit der Phrase
Der zahmen Sängerelein vom See!

But perhaps the most interesting of the *Wanderschaft* poems is *Mein Herz ist im Hochland*². Despite the title, this is not an addition to the numerous translations of Burns, but it is the story of a Scotsman whom Dingelstedt meets with especial delight, as he had read about such a personality in his first school book. Dingelstedt's Scotsman must have been an original one, for according to the poet he wears the Welsh thistle in his bonnet and hails from the Tyne! In answer to the poet's enquiries, the Scotsman replies that the mountains and moors of Scotland no longer indicate poetic mist and lonely villages, but coal and peat; the people no longer sing Burns and read Scott. No! they eat and drink. The young maidens no longer dance by the loch side, but work in woollen mills. Finally, Dingelstedt perpetrates a Scotch joke, for the poem concludes thus:

Lieber Herr, Ihr habt mich so viel gefragt,
Nun schenkt mir auch etwas dafür!

While the above-mentioned poems indicate Dingelstedt's dissatisfaction during his stay in England, his disillusionment is perhaps more emphatically expressed in the *Rückkehr* poems (1842-5) which follow the *Wanderschaft* series. In *Trost*³, the poet is in the first place dissatisfied with France, where he expected to find a spirit of freedom. Turning to England, his disappointment is equally great.

...hin nach Albion kehrte sich mein Steuer;
Doch wenn auch noch so reich der Krämer wäre,
Das Eine, Freiheit, bleibt ihm stets zu teuer.

GERALD W. SPINK.

ALLOA, CLACKMANNANSHIRE.

¹ Page 292.

² Page 300.

³ Page 428.

REVIEWS

Die lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Altenglands. VON ERIKA VON ERHARDT-SIEBOLD. (*Anglistische Forschungen*, LXI.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1925. xvi + 276 pp. 15 M.

This book is a brave but unsuccessful attempt to solve the problems of the riddles of Aldhelm, Eusebius and Tatwine, and to use these verses to illustrate the culture and daily life of the Anglo-Saxons. The authoress has read much, but does not know enough Latin (see p. 176, for example!), nor, apparently, can she think clearly enough to understand and find her way about in her very difficult material. She has leaned too much upon, and has not always verified the references given by, others. Yet she has gathered many important facts and directed our attention to many interesting places in early authors.

Much of her book is spoilt by misprints, some of which are so extensive, that we cannot know whether she could have explained a difficulty or not (e.g., p. 55). Of a hundred matters that need comment, or correction, I mention a few:

P. ix. The bibliographical reference to Ælfric's *Colloquium* is strange: Cook in his *First Book in O.E.* edited the Latin and English of a small part; Foerster, *loc. cit.*, edited the Latin only; the colloquy may be found in Wright-Wülcker, I, pp. 89 ff. (English and Latin).

P. xii. 'Thes. Ling. Lat. (Leipzig, 1900)' needs amplification.

P. xiii. There is now a second edition of L. F. Salzman's book (Oxford University Press, 1923).

P. 5, n. 2, and p. 95. The *aedificia* of Asser, as Plummer points out in his *Alfred: his Life and Times* (1901), pp. 46-7, may well have been 'shrines or reliquaries in the form of buildings.' Cf. *Act.* XIX, 24, 'aedes argenteas Dianae,' and *Lindisfarne Gospels*, Mk. XIII, 2, 'uide has omnes magnas aedificationes: zesih þas miclo zehrino t 3lencas.'

Pp. 90-1. The riddle has nothing to do with the tortoise = *Tortuca* (or, sometimes, *Testudo*, which, however, includes many shell-bearing animals, and more often = 'snail'), but only with the Bannock, Round Cake, or *Tortella*.

Pp. 151-2. The documents mentioned probably refer to pits for charcoal, not to pits whence mineral coal was digged.

P. 155. Here is a misleading reference to Plummer's *Bede*. The place meant is on p. 25, Bk I, chap. xi.

P. 159. *goldwyrt* was noticed in Bosworth-Toller, Suppl., s.v., and by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, Nos. 26, 36.

P. 160. The Helleborus cannot be *H. foetidus* L. We do not know what plant Aldhelm means, but it might be *Solanum nigrum* L. or *Pulmonaria angustifolia* L. (cf. WW., 557²⁷), or—something else! Ehwald's comment is obscure (p. 144 *M.G.H.* 1913).

P. 163. Surely the English, not the Danes, called *Sambucus Ebulus* L., 'Danes' blood.'

P. 166. *Quercus ilex* L. is not native to England. Aldhelm was probably thinking of Verg. *Aen.* III, 390.

P. 174. There is in two MSS. a gloss *Pilace*. This word occurs in the *Vita S. Samsonis*, VIII (ed. 1887), for a cat. The cat may be meant, though perhaps the weasel, in *Baruch* VI, 21 (22), *cattæ* = 'cats' (A.V.) = LXX *Ep. Ier.* 21, αἰλουροί.

P. 195. The mediæval confusion of *Struthio*, *Herodius*, heron, goshawk, stork, ostrich, etc., is not yet accounted for or cleared up.

P. 199. Perhaps *Echenais* lies behind OCEANI *piscis*!

P. 204. *Loligo* here = 'flying-fish' (cf. Napier, *O.E. Glosses*, No. 41, and Napier, *O.E. Lexicon*, s.v. *byrnete*) and not the cuttle-fish. Pliny points out that the *Loligo* which flies is akin to *sepia*, eight-footed, etc. The gl. referred to by the authoress in the n. is not in WW., but in Napier, *O.E. Lex.*, s.v. *byrnete*.

P. 207. Was honey especially dear? Was it not rather especially useful?

P. 212. On the ant-lion see G. C. Druce in *The Antiquaries' Journal*, III (1923), pp. 347 ff. I hope that Dr Druce will gather into a book his articles on strange beasts, now scattered in various learned periodicals.

P. 215. *Genesta* and *mirica* are, in Mediaeval Latin, any shrubby plants growing on heaths or moors.

I have seen the following misprints:

P. viii Râsel; p. xi D. Arcy Thompson; for eight read eighth; for love read lore.

P. 27. For crebo read crebro.

P. 61. Riddle 91 should be 93?

P. 65. Delete ton, and insert père between from and bec.

P. 78. For bicipem read bicipitem (see Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, III, p. 231, and Pl. XXVIII for a two-edged dagger).

P. 79. Read pæs... hryðeres?

P. 88, n. 176. For cruceis read croceis.

P. 113. For Gladston read Glaston, and for Kreuze 24 read Kreuze 248.

P. 114. For ræron read wæron.

P. 115, n. 252. For Eubor. read Ebôr.?

P. 118. For Apocr. read Apoc.

P. 148. For prespi- read presbi-.

P. 160. Read Corpus-Glossar; and foetidus not foëtus.

P. 181. For Veilleicht read Vielleicht; and the use of *furcht* in the text and *flucht* in the margin is awkward.

P. 188. Lindsay's text of Isid. *Etym.* XII, 7, 16 (yet cf. XX, 15, 3) has 'quasi cicaniae.'

P. 199. For intantum read infandum.

P. 214. For Saturni read Saturnia. Here and elsewhere the authority for the scientific name should be given.

P. 215. For Regus read Regius. 'Codex Britannicus Regius' is not the best name for MS. Roy. 12. C. XXIII; but our authoress here copies

Ehwald—who, by the way, on p. 58 of his *Aldhelm*, calls it 'Britannicus Regius, 12, CXXIII.'

Napier, *O.E. Glosses*, p. xix, assigns text and glosses of this MS. to the latter half of the eleventh century, and the British Museum Catalogue (1921), II, 36, to the 'early xi century.' Again Ehwald has been followed in assigning the MS. to the early part of the tenth century.

P. 243. *For pinquescit read pinguescit.*

P. 256. *For quatrivium read quadrivium.*

CYRIL BRETT.

CARDIFF.

The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon. Two Middle English Alliterative Fragments, Alexander A and Alexander B. Edited with the Latin sources parallel, etc., by FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. xii + 261 pp. \$3.50.

This book grew 'out of a source-study of the legendary portions of these fragments'; and the introduction upon the sources is a learned guide through the maze of Alexander-stories. I wish, however, that the descent and affinities of the versions had been made clearer, both by the use of different types for headings and sub-headings, and by a pedigree of the legendary part of *Alexander A* and of *Alexander B*. So far as I understand, that pedigree briefly is: *Pseudo-Callisthenes* δ* → *Historia de Preliis* J² recension (in a MS. very like Cod. Monac. Lat. 824) → *Alex. A* and *B*.

Professor Magoun gives us much interesting information about the origin of O.E. and M.E. *Alexander* texts. What is the source of the submarine adventure of Alexander, told by Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, II, p. 21 (R.S. ed., pp. 141-2)?

The editor's notes and his remarks upon the MSS. and their language bring Skeat's information up to date, and are useful and interesting. He thinks that *A* and *B* are in the S.W. Midland dialect, perhaps of Gloucestershire, c. 1340-70, and *not* by one man. (The distribution of the Scandinavian loan-words, so far as I have observed, hardly helps us to decide whether one or two persons wrote the fragments.)

The text is Skeat's, collated with rotographs of the MSS. and, at difficult points, with the MSS. themselves. It is accompanied where necessary by Zangemeister's text of Orosius, and by that of Codex Monacensis Lat. 824, representing the J² recension of the *Historia de Preliis*. Professor Magoun ought to have given a glossary. No M.E. text is 'lexically rather easy,' and few students possess the *N.E.D.*, and not all have ready access to a copy. It is vain to hope that all Americans should write English as well as Professor Kittredge or Professor Manly; but phrases which mean nothing, or something quite other than they should, can surely be avoided; such phrases occur too often in this book: e.g., pp. 65, 89, 92 n. 2, 103, 104, 112, 113, 115, 117.

Misprints are: p. 20 *urgence* *r.* *urgency*; p. 3 n. 13 *dispise* *r.* *despise*;

p. 92 diagraph *r.* digraph; *B*, line 644 we should read *body membrys* [= *membra in corpore*]; p. 249³ affinitare *r.* -ate; p. 253 n. 7, surely the 'Codd.' are right? *supplementa* is a natural accusative plural.

It may be useful to compare *Alexander* A 614 ff. (esp. 627 ff.) with *Piers Plowman* A, 152 ff. = *B*, x. 207.

CYRIL BRETT.

CARDIFF.

Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages. By G. B. PARKS. (American Geographical Society, Special Publications, No. 10.) New York. 1928. 289 pp.

This is by far the most complete account of the Hakluyts and their work that has yet appeared. Professor Parks traces the career of the elder Richard Hakluyt as well as of his younger cousin, the compiler of the *Voyages*, and adds greatly to our knowledge in a very fully documented account of the practical and scientific activities of both, and of the progress of the great literary work of the second. An amazing quantity of sheer information is contained in three hundred closely-printed pages, yet the book is thoroughly readable and indeed is indispensable to any student of this fascinating subject. In the valuable appendices the facts concerning the careers of the two men are summarised, and there are excellent and complete bibliographies of Hakluyt's writings, and of English books on geography and travel from 1480 to 1600. The index, as far as I have tested it, is infallible, 'even to the herb sesame' (p. 40), and indeed the herb 'anile,' except that the appendices are not indexed. I imagine that Dr Parks must have done it himself, and it was worth doing. The thirty-two illustrations are well chosen and well-executed reproductions of contemporary documents. Altogether it is an attractive and useful book of scholarship.

I can confirm Dr Parks' guess at the birth-date of Richard Hakluyt the elder ('in the fifteen-thirties,' p. 26). P.R.O. E 133/4, in which there is a signed deposition by him, fixes the date at 1534. He was engaged in 1578, it appears, in backing a bill for a younger friend, Thomas Geffrey, Clerk, and had to meet the bill of £21 on his behalf to the usurious Florence Cawdwell. On comparing the signature in that document with that in Figure 12 (p. 59), I observe that an unfortunate error has placed the letterpress belonging to Figure 12 under Figure 13, and *vice-versa*, so that the lawyer's signature is attributed to the clergyman, and the clergyman's to the lawyer. The information given is not always sufficient to identify the document quoted as authority; e.g., 'Court Rolls' (p. 259), or 'Bishop's Certificates, Public Record Office' (p. 258).

Considering the frequency with which matters concerning the voyages and their results appear in Chancery records, it is surprising that Dr Parks and other students of the subject have not used this prolific mine of information. Indeed, we may well wonder whether the lawyer Hakluyt's especial interests might not in the first place have been roused, or at least whetted, by professional participation in such controversies.

It would be a grievous omission if one were to leave this notable book without paying a tribute to the grasp and breadth of its admirable Introduction by Dr J. A. Williamson.

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

Thomas Platters des Jüngerer Englandfahrt im Jahre 1599. Edited by HANS HECHT. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1929. xl + 181 pp. 8 M.

In the University Library at Basel are two huge volumes containing Thomas Platter's manuscript account of his travels in France, Spain, England, and the Netherlands, eked out by descriptions taken from the printed accounts of other travellers. His visit to England extended from September 16 to October 23, 1599. This section (with the omission of some borrowed passages) is now before us carefully edited by Professor Hans Hecht of Göttingen.

The most exciting passage of all, that in which Platter describes the Globe Theatre and a performance of *Julius Caesar* seen by him on September 21, a comedy at the Curtain, bear-baiting and bull-baiting, was used by G. Binz in *Anglia*, 1899, and appears in full in its original German and in English in Sir Edmund Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage*, II, pp. 364-6. The rest of Platter's account of his visit is now published for the first time, and is of extraordinary interest. Reaching London on September 18, he and his two companions, all ignorant of English, put up at a French inn in Mark Lane. They gave a week to the chief sights of the town, Whitehall, Westminster Hall and Abbey, the Temple, St Paul's, the theatres, Christ's Hospital, and on the 26th, having hired a carriage, started on a tour. That day they visited the Palace of Nonesuch and were feasted with the sight of the Queen at her religious exercises, and the obsequious pomp with which she was served at her dinner, taken in another apartment. The wonders of Nonesuch are set forth, as next day those of Hampton Court and Windsor. On the 28th they travelled as far as Watlington (the last line of p. xxxii is misleading) and visited Oxford and Woodstock on the 29th. Their coach being unequal to the contemplated journey from Oxford to Cambridge, they now turned back and reached London on October 1. On the 6th they saw the Tower (with the lions) as well as Greenwich and Drake's ship, 'The Golden Hind.' On the 13th they dined with the Lord Mayor. On the 17th they visited Richmond Palace and saw the Queen again, and witnessed the extraordinary reverence paid her by her subjects. On the 20th they were on the Gravesend boat on their way back to Dover. Platter's story gives us not only a careful account of rare and curious works of art, mostly now lost, but those little characteristics of the country and the age which are now still more interesting to us. The Eton boys who would not talk Latin, but pointed a finger to their lips and shook their heads: the Oxford don who 'broke Priscian's head' and said he had spoken more Latin that day than during the sixteen years he had been a fellow: the Vice-Chancellor called in to settle a dispute between the travellers

and their coachman and doing so with great skill and tact, the hospitality and courtesy with which the travellers were treated both by the citizens of London and by court officials, the pathetic stories of the Queen's early captivity at Woodstock, these take us into the heart of the Elizabethan age. One need not say that Platter's narrative has been made much clearer to us by Professor Hecht's editorial care. It remains for it to be translated into English.

I would only suggest that, p. 95 l. 3, Platter wrote 'rogaris,' not 'rogans'; that, p. 122 l. 10, 'wroughte' becomes clear, if taken as 'roughte' ('reckoned'); that, p. 139 l. 10, 'the maystre of Douer' should be 'the maystre, mayor of Douer' (cp. the German translation, p. 140 l. 7). On p. 147 l. 1, '1620' is a misprint for '1626,' and on p. xxxiv l. 1 'ersterem' should be 'letzterem.'

The unexplained Greenwich inscription (p. 131)

Lysiadum princeps [dubijs?] Antonius armis
Reginæ petijt sorte coactus opem.
A^o 1581 et 1585

refers to Antonio, pretender to the crown of Portugal, about whom, as my friend Professor J. B. Black showed me, there is much in *State Papers Spanish*, 1580-6, and 1587-1603. Platter translates 'Lysiadum princeps' 'der wolberedtest,' taking it as 'prince of the sons of Lysias,' instead of 'Prince of the Lusitanians.' Antonio landed in England June 26, 1581, and was lodged at Stepney two miles from Greenwich. He was supplied by the Queen with troops and munitions and left England at the end of the year. The French naval expedition in his favour was however routed on July 24, 1582, at Santa Cruz. He came again to England about October 1, 1585, and was for some years subsidised by Elizabeth.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple. Edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. lii + 329 pp. 21s.

This is likely to be the final edition of these delightful letters. The chief drawback to their full enjoyment hitherto has been the want of a convincing arrangement, making it possible to follow the story of the last year of the long engagement through all the vicissitudes of fear and hope. Sir Edward Parry, in the *Everyman* edition, improved upon the order in which he had placed them in the edition of 1888. With the aid of further research, and the skilful use of the diary kept by Dorothy's brother Henry, and especially by a careful attention to allusions in one letter to what has been said in another, Professor Moore Smith has succeeded in giving a reader a heightened sense of the coherence of the series. Nothing has escaped his quick eye. For example, the thirteenth letter in the *Everyman* edition becomes the eleventh in this arrangement because, while both letters refer to Dorothy's taking steel, in the eleventh

her 'fellow servant,' i.e., Jane, is with her: 'I make her play at Shuttlecock with mee, and she is the veryest bungler at it that ever you saw, then am I ready to beat her with the batledore and grow soe peevish as I grow sick, that I'll undertake she wishes there were noe steel in England.' But in the twelfth and thirteenth we learn that Jane is off to Guernsey. If Jane had gone off on March 18, she could hardly be playing with Dorothy on April 3, or Dorothy still talking about the steel. In like manner the fourteenth letter here, which is the twelfth in the *Everyman* edition, obviously refers to the injunction for sending on *Cleopatra* given in the thirteenth (fifteenth in the *Everyman* edition), to say nothing of the reference to what Dorothy had said in that letter about the excusableness of a change in Temple's feelings. To take one more instance, the seventeenth and eighteenth letters in the *Everyman* edition are here reversed for the obvious reason that the opening words of 18 (*Everyman*, 17) 'that you may be sure it was a dream that I writ that part of my letter in' refer to what Dorothy had said in 17 (*Everyman*, 18) of the half-asleep condition in which she was writing. But it would be invidious by any sustained comparison of Professor Moore Smith's arrangements of the letters with that of his predecessor to show how admirably he has done his work. It is sufficient, taking his edition by itself, to note the care and success with which he has divined the references to what has been said by Dorothy herself, or must have been said by Temple in one or other of his letters so unfortunately lost. The result is that the editor has given us an almost complete history of their intercourse during these years as well as a vivid picture of the character and mind of the writer. The introduction, notes, and appendices add to the completeness of the story and the picture.

What a valuable as well as delightful picture it is that accident and scholarship have preserved and restored. As a love-story it is worth all the romances of the century—which Dorothy read with so much sympathy—and worth most of the love-poetry too. Here is a real woman, passionately in love, who loves in her own words 'passionately and nobly,' yet never loses sight either of the facts of life or of the claims of other interests and duties. Dorothy would have agreed with Dr Johnson that Dryden 'by admitting the romantic omnipotence of love has recommended as laudable and worthy of imitation that conduct which through all ages the good have censured as vicious and the bad despised as foolish.' How passionately she loves comes out in the interesting series of letters following her visit to London in October to November, 1653 (46 to 53); but, acute as her suffering is, she is quite clear that to marry for love only, with no regard to fortune or friends, is a folly of which she will not be guilty: 'tis being masterd by that which Reason and Religion teach us to governe, and in that only gives us a Preheminence above Beasts.'... 'Heer then I declare that you have still the same power in my heart that I gave you at our last parteing; that I will never marry any Other, and that iff ever our fortunes will allow us to marry you shall dispose of mee as you please.... You know 'tis not a fear of want that frights me... but I confess that I have a humor will

not allow mee to Expose my self to Peoples Scorne, the name of Love is growne soe contemptible by the folly of such that have falcely pretended to it, and soe many Giddy People have maryed upon that score and repented soe shamefully afterwards that nobody can doe anything that tends towards it without being esteemed a ridiculous person. Now, as my Young Lord Holland says, I never pretended to witt in my life, but I cannot bee satisfi'd that the world should think mee a foole.' 'I believe there is nobody displeas'd that People speake well of them, and reputation is esteem'd by all of much greater Valew then life itself.' So might the best of Jane Austen's heroines have written, indeed there is not a little resemblance between Dorothy Osborne and the heroine of *Persuasion*. Ann Elliot too, one can believe, had been in her youth touched with a seriousness closely akin to melancholy: 'My mother, I remember, used to say I needed noe tears to Persuade my trouble, and that I had lookes so farr beyond them that were all the friends that I had in the world dead more could not be expected then such a sadnesse in my Ey's.' Moreover, Dorothy's good sense and humour and wit are quite worthy of Jane Austen: 'Those that have fortunes have nothing else, and those that want it deserve to have it,' and again of a friend's husband: 'tis the most troublesome, buisy, talkeing little thing that ever was borne, his Tongue goes like the Clack of the Mill, but to much less purpos, though if twere all Oracle my head would ake to hear that perpetuall noise. I admired her patience, and her resolution that can laugh at all his fooleries and love his fortune.'

In more ways than one these letters illustrate the manners and spirit of the time. Dorothy 'can never think of disposing myself without my father's consente.' At his command, but on no other consideration, she would do more: 'Sure the whole world would never perswade mee (unless a Parent commanded it) to marry one that I had no Esteem for.' This, as Professor Schücking has emphasised in a recent book, was the accepted rule of conduct in England as it is in France at the present day. In marrying without her father's permission, Desdemona ceases to be her father's daughter. To Lady Anne Halkett (1622-99) whose mother had treated her very differently from Dorothy's father, to marry nevertheless 'without the consent of parents is an act of the highest ingratitude and disobedience of which a child can be guilty.' Ophelia's conduct in *Hamlet*, which has often been censured as showing her timidity, was that of which an Elizabethan audience entirely approved. There are indications, indeed, that to compel a daughter to marry against her will was felt to be harsh and unjust. Wither states it very clearly in the poem *Fidelia*; but that the father has the power to do so is taken for granted. In Dorothy's case, it may be noticed, that before her father's death she had so far emancipated herself as to declare that she would not wed anyone if not permitted to marry Temple (see the quotation above from Letter 53). Like Clarissa in Richardson's novel, Dorothy was probably strengthened in this resolution by the too presumptuous interference of her brother, her quarrels with whom are an amusing item in the correspondence. But Richardson's novel is the first full statement of the

position to which the Puritan was necessarily if not always willingly driven. If love implies marriage, marriage should imply love. The same logic, it may be noted, led Milton to write his pamphlets on divorce.

There are many other points on which one might dwell, for example, Dorothy's reading, her comments on the proper style for letter writing, or on the style of the English translators of French romances, or on the behaviour of the Cromwells in their exalted station, on the influence of a court upon morals in which she anticipates Burke (see p. 143), on the new regulations for marriage, promulgated by Barebone's Parliament which, Carlyle tells us, was to have made Christianity at last the rule of life (p. 76). Dorothy thinks the old ways better. Poetry and fiction are a very partial and misleading guide to one who wishes to form an opinion of the life and manners of an age, though they are a very favourite court of appeal. There is much in the late Professor Robert Adamson's statement that he would prefer to rely on statistics than to trust to the impression conveyed by novels and plays. The novelist and dramatist are prone to dwell upon the exceptional. Certainly these *Letters* afford invaluable help to anyone who wishes to judge of the mind of the seventeenth century. Dorothy is presented in her letters as vividly as the heroine of any novel, and has the advantage of being a real person. In her letters a dead century lives again.

There is little one could correct in or add to what Professor Moore Smith has done. I have noticed only one misprint—'May' for 'Man' towards the foot of page 32. The opening of Letter 20 suggests, what is perhaps the case, that a fit of ague like a hiccough could be staved off by a sudden shock: 'I doe not know that anybody has frighted mee or beaten mee, or putt mee into more Passion then what I usually carry about mee, but yesterday I missed my fit.' Dorothy's opinions on married people kissing in public are not quite consistent. Compare pp. 67 and 95.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

EDINBURGH.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That which is to Come. By JOHN BUNYAN. Edited by JAMES BLANTON WHAREY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 352 + cxiii pp. 21s.

Mr J. B. Wharey's edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a fine piece of bibliographical work, and might with advantage be placed in the hands of a beginner as a standard of achievement. Few texts present greater difficulties than the First Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; eleven editions, each with its own peculiarities, came out during the life of the author, and no library contains all of them. Nevertheless Mr Wharey has collated specimens of all, and has recorded the location of every existing copy, most of which he has examined himself.

An editor of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is faced with the preliminary problem of choosing a basic text. The first edition has certain natural attractions, for it was nearest to Bunyan's own manuscript; but he

made very considerable additions to the second, and several to the third. The late Dr John Brown, in his edition in the *Cambridge Classics*, chose the eleventh on the ground that it had received Bunyan's latest additions. Mr Wharey, after a more exhaustive collation of the texts, decided to limit his choice to the third or seventh, which 'contributes several readings that apparently emanate from intelligent supervision'; but as these are counterbalanced by omissions and misprints, he finally decided on the third, which he has now reprinted with a few corrections. The new text, tested with the original, reveals no errors, and has been most carefully prepared. The textual notes provide an interesting commentary on the ways of the seventeenth-century printer; it is curious, for instance, to note that when once a misprint has been made successive printers tend to go wrong, but in different ways. Thus (p. 18, l. 11) 'solitary'—for 'solitarily'—in the second edition, becomes 'solitarly' in the third, and 'solitary' in the ninth; 'harkning' (p. 144, l. 17) in the first edition becomes 'harkening' in the second, 'haarkening' in the third, 'hearken-ing' in fourth and eighth and both variants of the ninth, and 'hearkning' in the fifth, sixth, seventh, tenth and eleventh; such little peculiarities are of great assistance to the bibliographer, and they have enabled Mr Wharey to determine the probable relationships of the various texts. There is only one complaint to be made, and that perhaps frivolous; it is that Mr Wharey has been a little too severely bibliographical; he might, with advantage, have made some concession to the literary student by noting in a more conspicuous type in his critical apparatus the important additions made in the second and third editions. Bunyan's afterthoughts, such as Mr Worldly Wiseman, are among the best things in the book, and more important than the vagaries of the printer.

In the Second Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* there are few textual problems; there were only two editions in Bunyan's lifetime, the second—which Mr Wharey prefers—adding some marginal notes to the first. Mr Wharey has, in short, earned the gratitude of all who appreciate Bunyan by undertaking so arduous a piece of bibliographical research, and by completing it so monumentally; Wharey's *Pilgrim's Progress* will rank with the classical editions of English texts. It may be added that the production is excellent; there are facsimiles of fifteen title-pages and three frontispieces.

G. B. HARRISON.

LONDON.

The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Charles Sedley. Edited by V. DE SOLA PINTO. 2 vols. London: Constable. 1928. xl + 333 pp. iv + 264 pp. 52s. 6d.

Though the definition 'an infinite capacity for taking pains' has long been deemed a preposterous labelling of that indefinable thing known as genius, there is no doubt that in the great little world of scholarship it answers as an equivalent. That capacity, allied with a correlative but not always accompanying acumen, Professor Pinto has to the full. One

can give these two comely volumes no higher praise than to say they form a vital complement to his crowned book on Sedley's life and times. So far as it is humanly possible in our present state of knowledge, he has succeeded in establishing the Sedley canon. His was no light task considering how much hornblende had to be crushed before arriving at the radium, but the result is satisfying. Out of the sifting, Sedley emerges—surprisingly enough—as the least uncleanly of the Restoration wits, and with his reputation as poet consolidated. (His theatric gown he still wears, alas, in a spirit of conscious masquerade.) The note of Professor Pinto's work is a rare discrimination: he disdains to be wholly *à la mode* in his methods of attack. He has divined that to follow the prevailing system of editing Restoration plays as if they were Elizabethan plays is to leave the student floundering in a quagmire of perplexity. A drama of definite backgrounds cannot be as gingerly approached and as delicately handled as a drama of vague localisation, more especially as in the late seventeenth-century quartos the transitions are not always marked. Mr Pinto is fully justified, therefore, in intercalating in pointed brackets missing scene divisions and scene descriptions, not to speak of clarifying stage directions. But the task is one requiring years of intimacy with the peculiarities of Restoration staging, and it is not surprising that Mr Pinto has not at all junctures been wholly equal to the demands. There are faults both of omission and commission. In the notes elucidating the insertions, stage technicalities are now and again used in wrong senses. We are told that 'cloths' (otherwise drop scenes) were occasionally used for changes of scene in Sedley's dramatic period, but it has yet to be demonstrated that cloths, though known in France in Molière's time, were used in England before the close of the seventeenth century. There is evidence only of the employment of framed scenery—flats and wings. Again, to characterise a Restoration front scene as 'a carpenter's scene' (I, p. 302) is to mystify, because the term is a nineteenth-century one meaning a scene at the first entrance, a scene of obvious padding specially written into the play to give the stage carpenters time to build up behind an ensuing set scene. Set scenes were unknown in Sedley's day. (In the note referred to 'Act iv' should be 'Act III, Sc. ii.') In *The Mulberry Garden*, Act IV, Sc. ii, is indifferently located by the inserted 'Outside Sir Samuel Forecast's House,' which should read something like 'Garden to Forecast's House, with a balcony on the side,' otherwise the action in the scene puzzles; and an accompanying note is required to point out that Forecast appears on a balcony over one of the permanent proscenium doors. In the last act of *Antony and Cleopatra* more elucidation of the action is required than has been given, but here the difficulties of visualisation are great, almost insuperable, so much so that, frankly, I am glad the task was not mine. In *Bellamira* two breaks have been made (II, pp. 16 and 54) where breaks there were not, the action being continuous. All that is required in the first instance is the insertion of 'exeunt' after l. 276.

Comment is likewise necessary on a few other points of a different order. Mr Pinto opines (I, p. xvii) that the 'Prologue to the Stroulers'

was probably written for a troupe of strollers, but, seeing that the lines read as if addressed to a sophisticated London audience, I should be more disposed to take the heading as conveying that the prologue was to a play called 'The Strollers.' It is true that no seventeenth-century play of that title is recorded, but many plays of the time were like the proverbial snowflake in the river. In vol. I, p. 190, Professor Pinto fails to point out that Dryden's *All for Love* was not produced until December, 1677, or a good ten months after Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra* saw the light. We have a record of the performance of Dryden's fine tragedy on December 12, 1677, and the last four lines of its prologue indicate that 'plenteous Autumn now is past' and that the audience must needs be content with 'such rivell'd fruits as Winter can afford.' Relative to the note on 'Teague' (I, p. 276), few scholars seem aware that the term had become a generic name for Irishmen long before the Restoration, and was given c. 1622 to an Irish character in *The Welsh Ambassador*. On p. 289 following, Mr Pinto gives a wrong interpretation of the line 'Ballon and Tumblers please, tho' poets fail,' under the belief that Ballon (or 'balloon,' as he reads the word) is a reference to contemporary football. Luttrell on April 8, 1699, records the arrival of M. Balon, a celebrated French dancing master, who had been engaged to dance for five weeks at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields at a salary of 400 guineas. On the same page, Mr Pinto's conjecture concerning *The Reform'd Wife* is untenable, because a reference to 'glorious Dryden' as having 'withdrawn his light' in the Lent of 1700 (when Burnaby's play was produced) would have been particularly inappropriate, seeing that Dryden's *Secular Masque* was then in rehearsal, and was produced towards the end of April (not on March 25, as is usually stated). The allusion in the prologue to 'Christmas-Brawn' reads as if the accompanying play, whatever it was, had seen the light at the end of 1700 or in the opening week of 1701.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

BABBACOMBE, SOUTH DEVON.

Three Plays by Nicholas Rowe. Edited by J. R. SUTHERLAND. London: Scholartis Press. 1929. 353 pp. 21s.

Nicholas Rowe is a singularly neglected figure in English literature. To the ordinary scholar he is known as a poet-laureate, the first critical editor of Shakespeare, and a writer of lachrymose tragedies. Except for occasional notices in periodicals, and brief considerations in works on Shakespeare and the English drama, he has been reserved for Continental dissertations. A shadowy figure of a difficult period, he, the friend of Pope, Swift, Congreve and Garth, has been deemed unworthy, save in biographical dictionaries, of comprehensive discussion. Editions of his best plays have appeared sporadically, but little has been done since Hart edited *The Fair Penitent* and *Jane Shore* in 1907, and Colville devoted an article to him in the *Nineteenth Century* (No. 86). Mr Sutherland's edition of three of his plays, therefore, is a welcome sign of a coming change. *Jane Shore* and *The Fair Penitent* are reprinted, and

Tamerlane, the play 'on which Rowe valued himself most,' is added. The choice of *Tamerlane* in preference to *Lady Jane Grey* seems surprising, as the latter, in spite of its obtrusive didacticism, is certainly a more representative drama, and is hardly 'the most tedious and dispiriting of all Rowe's plays,' as Mr Sutherland asserts. The dramatised version of an episode of English history is surely preferable to the preposterous exaggerated tragedy of the Persian conqueror with its love-sick general and raving Turk. The contorted characters of *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, mere purveyors of Rowe's political effusions, hold few attractions for the modern reader. The play may be useful for purposes of comparison with Marlowe's, Saunders', and Lewis' varied renderings of a similar theme, but the 'good moral play' as Chesterfield called it has now lost its topical appeal.

The Fair Penitent and *Jane Shore*, however, have greater claims to the attention of posterity, and their importance as 'she-tragedies' is rightly stressed. They index the demands of the bourgeois audience and are the connecting link between John Banks and George Lillo. Rowe's importance in this connection cannot be overlooked, and is dealt with adequately here, yet the domestic tragedy was only one aspect of eighteenth-century drama and its inter-relation with its other phases must be emphasised. Additional prominence therefore might well have been laid on the chaotic state of early Augustan drama; the depreciating influence of pantomime, and the subservience of tragedy to comedy accentuated by the death of Dryden. The mixture of pseudo-classical, sentimental and Shakespearian motives, creating as it did the 'eighteenth-century type' of drama, is apparent in all Rowe's plays and deserves careful consideration. The researches of Ward, Thorndike, Nettleton and Nicoll on this subject amplify the contemporary records of Gildon (which Mr Sutherland justly uses) and bring them into accord with modern enquiry.

The introductory essays to this edition, although broad and general as one expects in a work of this nature, are able and instructive, but several statements need fuller annotation. Many important facts such as Rowe's birth-date, given as June 20, 1674, and Rowe's letter to Halifax, are silently inserted with no explanatory reference, whilst the *Biographical Magazine* is mentioned without specifying information. Such lapses impair the usefulness of the book and should be rectified for the guidance of future biographers. It is pleasing to observe, however, that Gifford's violent denunciation of Rowe's plagiarism from Massinger's *Fatal Dowry* is modified, and that Shakespeare's influence on *Jane Shore* is fully recognised. The volume (perhaps a little too elaborately printed) is well supplied with notes on stage history.

The value of Mr Sutherland's work is that he has given us an accurate and accessible text of three of Rowe's plays, and it thus affords another proof of the renewed interest in Augustan drama.

ALFRED JACKSON.

LONDON.

English Comic Drama, 1700–1750. By F. W. BATESON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 158 pp. 7s. 6d.

Bonamy Dobrée's *Restoration Comedy* is now recognised as one of the most acute and penetrating studies we possess of the genius of comedy during the reign of Charles II. It was a happy thought on the part of the authorities of the Clarendon Press to provide for that volume a companion survey of the comic spirit in the following half-century; nor could they have found an author livelier or more stimulating than Mr F. W. Bateson.

Elsewhere, Mr Bateson has proved his capabilities for detailed research in this sphere. Throughout the course of the present volume, however, he has wisely cast off the gown of the academician and has endeavoured, through sympathetic understanding, to enter into the work of Cibber and Fielding. An Introduction covers the general spirit of the age—an attempt to assess the forces, social, moral and literary, which were likely to influence the style, characterisation and fundamental purpose of the comic writers. This is followed by separate chapters devoted to selected works by Cibber, Steele, Centlivre, Gay, Carey and Fielding. In a Conclusion Mr Bateson rapidly summarises his main 'thesis.'

Such a method of selection, naturally, must leave out of account a number of plays interesting either historically or intrinsically, but perhaps in the six dramatists whom Mr Bateson has chosen (if we except Vanbrugh and Farquhar, by long tradition associated with the 'Restoration' and already dealt with by Mr Dobrée, as well as men like Baker and Burnaby, who, apart from their lack of success, may also be linked to the earlier period) we have a very fair and comprehensive selection of the various comic styles in the half-century. Lightly, Mr Bateson passes in survey their distinctive features. Concerning Cibber and Steele, perhaps, he has not much that is new to say, but the chapters on Gay, Carey and Fielding undoubtedly strike out along fresh paths, providing for modern readers an insight into the aims and achievements of three men who, except for *The Beggar's Opera*, *Chrononhotonthologos* and *Tom Thumb*, are apt to be neglected as dramatists.

In a work of this kind, where an effort is made to generalise, inevitably there are judgments and *obiter dicta* with which one cannot quite agree. When, for example, Mr Bateson declares that in the Restoration (as opposed to the eighteenth century), 'Satire, instead of being a criticism of the individual upon his failure to conform to a social norm, tends to become the expression of a personal hostility; essentially, it is invective,' we may be permitted, thinking of *The Dunciad* on the one hand and, on the other, of the innumerable satirical portraits in Restoration comedy which are nothing but ridiculous pictures of those who failed 'to conform to a social norm,' to enter a slight protest. It may be convenient, as Mr Bateson does, to confine attention to an epigram of Rochester's and a passage in *The Tatler*, but there are other facts, other forms of expression, which must be taken into account. Similarly, too, we find particular critical judgments, dogmatically expressed, with which we may differ. Says Mr Bateson of Steele: 'Apparently a feeling for construction was

totally lacking in Steele. His substitute for it was a lavish ingenuity in elaborating intricacies of plot, of most of which he is never able to make use. A typical example occurs in *The Conscious Lovers*... The misanthropy of Indiana's aunt was due to "the Behaviour of one Man to myself." Who was this man? It is possible that Sealand is meant, but a false lover certainly seems to be indicated. The mystery is never cleared up or referred to again.' Possibly Mr Bateson is right in his criticism; but is it not equally possible (as I have hitherto thought) that here is a touch of subtlety—one of those intriguing 'loose ends' which excite the imagination and set the fancy agog? After all, one does not expect, far less wish, a dramatist to present in a bare black and white all the facts of his case; the artistry of the comic (and of the tragic) author is as often seen in what he suggests as in what he states. Sometimes, one wonders whether, beneath the surface, there may not be a few flaws in Mr Bateson's critical armour. A chance assertion that Defoe, if he had written plays, would 'have been a kind of Thomas Heywood, better, no doubt,' leaves us puzzling. Is there aught in Defoe that suggests the sheer splendour of *A Woman Killed with Kindness*; or is there some insensibility on Mr Bateson's part to the vast measure of difference separating the Elizabethan (botcher at times though he may have been) and the eighteenth-century novelist?

Such critical opinions by the way, however, do not interfere with the real value of this survey, which remains a singularly arresting and sympathetic study of playwrights and of the surroundings amid which the playwrights worked in the reigns of Queen Anne and the first Georges. In a book of this kind (not aiming at 'research'), there is, of course, not much chance of error in fact, and, so far as I have tested it, there seems to have been especial care taken in its preparation. Only two errors, and those minor ones, have been noted. On p. 64 Mrs Centlivre is credited with a play called *The Warder*; this is presumably *The Wonder*. It is unfortunate that the other mis-statement should appear in Mr Bateson's picturesque opening paragraph. There he informs us that Dryden's *Secular Masque* was presented at Drury Lane 'on the evening of the 25th' of March, 1700. Unless Mr Bateson is in possession of some new evidence, this assertion is wrong. Although written obviously for March 25, *The Secular Masque* was (as Dr Sprague has shown) deferred until towards the end of April. On the third night, May 1, its author, Dryden, died.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

LONDON.

An Elegy written in a Country Churchyard. By THOMAS GRAY. The text of the First Quarto with the Variants of the MSS. and of the early Editions (1751-71), a Bibliographical and Historical Introduction, etc. By FRANCIS GRIFFIN STOKES. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. 98 pp. + 2 facsimiles. 21s.

The future historian of English literature, surveying the processes of research, will undoubtedly remark a striking outburst of enthusiasm

in the early years of the twentieth century for the bibliographical method of approach to the problems of literature. The technique of this method has been most ably expounded by Mr R. B. McKerrow in his *Introduction to Bibliography for literary students*, 1927, a book of which one may safely predict that it will gain a host of ardent students for the new critical bibliographical method. That results of the greatest importance may be obtained by its proper application has been abundantly proved by the many profoundly interesting papers published in recent years in *The Library* and elsewhere by those masters of the craft, Professor A. W. Pollard, Dr W. W. Greg, and by Mr McKerrow himself. It is not surprising that the greater part of the work of this kind has been done hitherto in the field of the drama; more of the necessary preparatory work in the way of production of printed texts had been completed in this field. But we are now witnessing a most welcome revival of interest in the literature of the eighteenth century and there is every reason to hope that the bibliographical method of investigation will before long be used successfully to solve some of the many difficult problems in the prose and poetry of this period. The editors of the series of novels of the eighteenth century now appearing from the Scholartis Press are rendering invaluable service in this connection by supplying us with carefully prepared texts accompanied by introductions that tell us something of the genesis of each book, not only as a work of art but also as a product of the press. But there is still need of a careful analysis of the sequence of editions of numbers of the great masterpieces. This need, in considerable measure at any rate, is met by Mr Stokes in his examination of Gray's *Elegy*.

Mr Stokes begins with an admirable, if brief, introduction devoted to the date of composition of the poem and to its publication. The actual year in which the *Elegy* was written is notoriously a matter of argument and Mr Stokes wisely refuses to be too definite. The section dealing with the publication of the piece gives an excellently clear and concise presentation of the known facts and provides incidentally an illuminating comment upon the methods—sometimes evidently very unscrupulous methods—of the publishers of the time. The bibliography proper opens with an account of the three manuscripts of the *Elegy*, from which Mr Stokes passes to an examination of the printed quartos. A full transcript of the title-page is given for each edition, followed by the collation, with notes on the woodcuts, if any, and on the principal points of difference between the edition in question and its predecessors. The quartos are succeeded by the magazines, under which heading we are given a most interesting account of the various periodicals in which the poem appeared during Gray's lifetime, and finally we have 'other editions,' comprising all separate editions of the *Elegy* from 1751 to 1771, except the quartos, and all books in which it appeared during the same period, except the magazines. Mr Stokes prints the text of the *Elegy* from the first quarto of 1751, with all the variants, and concludes with two appendices, devoted, the one to General Wolfe and the *Elegy*, the other to the locality of the churchyard, and an index. The volume is a

thoroughly praiseworthy example of the excellent work done by the Clarendon Press, well printed on good paper with a wide margin.

It is interesting to compare the work now under review with earlier bibliographical studies of Thomas Gray. Of such works the largest and by far the most ambitious is that of C. S. Northup, whose *Bibliography of Thomas Gray* was published in 1917 as one of the *Cornell Studies in English*. Professor Northup's book extends to some 1150 entries grouped under the heads of Editions, Translations, Parodies and Imitations, and Criticisms. It embodies an immense amount of laborious and painstaking work for which no student of Gray can fail to be thankful, but its very size precludes any detailed examination by its compiler. It does not, for example, note the two impressions of the fourth quarto of the *Elegy* of 1751 described by Mr Stokes on p. 30 of his study. Professor Northup's bibliography does, however, provide the starting-point for a further study to which perhaps Mr Stokes may be persuaded to turn his attention in the future. It is of obvious importance to students of comparative literature in their search for fixed points of contact between the writers of one country and those of others to have dependable information with regard to translations. Professor Northup has given us the dates of the foreign versions of the *Elegy*; we still want to know exactly which English text provided the basis for each of the many translations.

JOHN WILKS.

LONDON.

The Vicar of Wakefield. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. Edited by OSWALD DOUGHTY. London: Scholartis Press. 1928. liv + 243 pp. 8s. 6d.

The Castle of Otranto. By HORACE WALPOLE. Edited by OSWALD DOUGHTY. London: Scholartis Press. 1929. lxvi + 111 pp. 7s. 6d.

These two works are so well known that the claim of this edition on the reader must largely depend on the critical introductions of the editor. Mr Doughty may be said to have justified his undertaking, more particularly in dealing with *The Vicar of Wakefield*. An edition of this novel naturally recalls the facsimile reprint of the first edition issued by Austin Dobson in 1885. A comparison of the introductions to the two reprints is in Mr Doughty's favour, for his is unquestionably far more instructive and comprehensive. After giving an account of the problems connected with the publication of the novel, he discusses the theories which have been put forward about the localities that inspired it. The weaknesses of the book are next touched on and the reception it met with at the hands of contemporary and later critics. Here Mr Doughty draws attention to the misleading remarks of Forster on the attitude of the periodicals of Goldsmith's day. In the next section Mr Doughty relates the spirit of the novel to that of the age and with the aid of parallels from painting brings out admirably its peculiar blending of idyllic sentiment and realistic observation. Equally suggestive is the discussion of the characterisation.

On p. xxxiii, in the account of Goethe's appreciation of the novel, mention might have been made of the tributes paid by him to Goldsmith

in his conversations. On p. xlvi, in a footnote, Mr Doughty 'suspects' that a remark of Johnson lies behind a certain sentence in the novel. Here he departs from his resolve expressed on p. xxiv 'to avoid mere speculation.' One cannot help feeling that the wiser course would have been to omit this 'suspicion.' Two misprints have been noted. For 'voupleurs,' p. xxxii, read 'voleurs,' and for 'excellencies,' p. xlii, read 'excellences,' the form used on the next page. The text followed is 'that of the fifth edition. . . occasionally corrected from earlier editions.' Would it not have been advisable to indicate these occasions in the notes?

In dealing with *The Castle of Otranto* Mr Doughty has adopted a somewhat different method. He touches on the attitude of contemporary and later critics and outlines the genesis of the novel. But he is chiefly interested in 'its unconscious revelation of a curious personality, that of Walpole himself.' The introduction, therefore, is not concerned to determine the importance of *The Castle of Otranto* in the evolution of the novel, but to portray the mind of Walpole. One notes that the book is dedicated to M. André Maurois, which is perhaps not without significance. With the aid of the letters, Mr Doughty seeks to trace the shifting moods of Walpole and to recapture the atmosphere of Strawberry Hill. This part of the essay is a piece of delicate interpretation but one is left wondering if Walpole's immersion in the romantic spirit was so complete as Mr Doughty would have us believe, even in *The Castle of Otranto*. Was he altogether serious when he described how 'as he spoke those words, three drops of blood fell from the nose of Alfonso's statue'?

As Mr Doughty tells us, his text is based on that of the first edition, 'occasionally corrected from the second edition.' More sparing use is made of capitals, and the punctuation is somewhat modernised; on the other hand the old spelling is retained. Not every one will be content with a text arrived at in this way. On p. xxxix Mr Doughty uses the word 'désœuvré,' and on p. xlv 'cri du cœur.' We refuse to believe that one who writes with such ease could not have found English equivalents. On p. 109 for 'Le vie' read 'La vie,' for 'Möbius' read 'Möbius'; on p. 111 for 'Ludtke,' 'Lüdtke,' and for 'Kalkuhler,' 'Kalkühler.' And why should this last-mentioned author be the only one to figure without a Christian name? Is it not ungallant to the lady in question? One other remark. In quoting German dissertations it is always preferable to refer to the university at which they were presented rather than to the place where they were printed. Very often they are not issued by a publisher and the name of the place of printing is therefore not a helpful means of identification.

It would, however, be churlish to end on this note. Even though one has found fault with some details in these editions, it must be acknowledged that they appear in a pleasant form and that Mr Doughty's introductions are an interesting contribution to critical literature dealing with the eighteenth century.

HERBERT G. WRIGHT.

BANGOR.

Crabb Robinson in Germany, 1800-1805. Extracts from his Correspondence, edited by EDITH J. MORLEY. London: Oxford University Press. 194 pp. 10s. 6d.

A review in these pages a little more than a year ago warmly acknowledged the debt we owe to Professor Morley for making Crabb Robinson's correspondence with the Wordsworth circle accessible in an accurate transcription. She has now added to this debt by printing extracts from Crabb Robinson's correspondence with his brother Thomas during his residence in Germany between 1800 and 1805. The scope of the correspondence is familiar to readers of Sadler's work where the years in question occupy some hundred and fifty pages, and are there worked into a more connected narrative—for there are wide gaps in the correspondence between the brothers—with the help of Crabb Robinson's Diary and later Reminiscences. The gain here is thus less conspicuous than in Miss Morley's previous volumes: the plums, moreover, had already been picked by Sadler and others.

The value of Crabb Robinson's impressions lies in his shrewd and honest observation of men and things. 'He writes,' as Miss Morley says, 'simply and without affectation.' 'He unconsciously reveals the standpoint of the intelligent middle-class Whig of his generation, with his British prejudices and Radcliffian romanticism, at the same time as he shows his personal reaction to foreign conditions, and his rather un-English capacity to appreciate strange and new ways of life.' The correspondence is, on the whole, more important for the light it throws on the England of Crabb Robinson's day than on Germany; for although he had the good fortune, during his stay there, to come into personal contact with many of Germany's European celebrities, of whom he gives interesting and often piquant impressions, his enthusiasm was handicapped by lack of knowledge of the country and his often shallow and superficial opinions about its literature. When Professor Morley speaks of his 'intimate knowledge of German literature,' and says that 'to him more than to any one else is due the influence of German thought and German literature in England in the first half of the nineteenth century,' she is surely guilty of considerable overstatement.

It is doubtful whether it was worth while printing this correspondence with the meticulous kind of accuracy that one might expend on an Elizabethan dramatist: it is also a little unkind to Crabb Robinson, for spelling was not his forte—brother Thomas makes a much more educated impression than he—and when it is a question of the names of German people and places, Crabb Robinson's efforts at transliteration are sometimes so peculiar that it takes some thinking to discover whom or what he had in mind. Occasionally the editor adds a '(sic),' but the great majority of such misspellings are left unchallenged, and one is inclined to suspect that a few—notably where one finds a 'u' instead of an 'n'—may be errors due to the transcriber. 'We can follow,' says Miss Morley, 'every phase in his religious and philosophical beliefs, and trace the connexion between these and his views about poetry. We know exactly what books he reads and what he thinks about them.'

But the English reader will hardly be able to do so without more assistance than Miss Morley vouchsafes him in her all too meagre notes; she rarely gives us the title of a German book when Crabb Robinson leaves us in doubt. Nor can the ordinary reader be expected to know who 'Madame la baronne de la Roche,' 'Winkleman,' 'Hohenfeld,' 'the Lady von Geckhausen' (!) are; and even the brothers Brentano and Weishaupt might have had elucidatory notes. Interesting light might have been thrown on the letters by a reference to the Diary which sometimes seems to be at variance with them, and attention drawn to Robinson's misstatements.

We are grateful for this transcript, but we should have been more grateful had Professor Morley elected to deal comprehensively and critically with Crabb Robinson's residence in Germany on the basis of all the material available in the Dr Williams' Library.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

The Life and Letters of George Darley, Poet and Critic. By CLAUDE COLLEER ABBOTT. London: H. Milford. 1928. xvi + 285 pp. 16s.

It is to be hoped that this excellent account of Darley will before long be followed up by the companion study of Beddoes which Mr Abbott mentions in his preface. Certain it is that neither of these poets, whose genius, capricious and uncertain as its operation was in both, is at last gaining general recognition, could have wished for a more scholarly and sympathetic biographer. Discussion of the enigmatic Beddoes may be left till Mr Abbott has said his say. But Darley, though thanks to this book we now know more concerning his life and opinions than had seemed possible, remains almost as much of a puzzle as Beddoes. He had it in him, one feels tempted to say after reading Mr Abbott's discriminating praise in his chapters on the lyrics and on *Nepenthe*, to become the equal, in rank if not in popularity, of Tennyson himself. Consider, to take one instance only, the mastery of rhythm and atmosphere shown in the brief *Serenade of a Loyal Martyr* (1836):

Sweet in her green cell the Flower of Beauty slumbers,
Lulled by the faint breezes sighing thro' her hair;
Sleeps she, and hears not the melancholy numbers
Breathed to my sad lute amid the lonely air? . . .

This not only anticipates (and to the present writer's ear surpasses) the handling of the same measure in Meredith's *Love in the Valley*; it seems to beckon forward to the magic subtleties of Mr Walter de la Mare. Yet the poet capable of such feats of exploration has left as his sole permanent record a mere handful of exquisite songs and the intoxicating but obscure lyrical fragment of *Nepenthe*.

If Mr Abbott has failed to clear up the mystery, that is not his fault. He has brought together all the available printed sources, and has added a certain amount of new manuscript material—none of it, unluckily, of the first importance. But so many papers have vanished (mostly

destroyed by the poet in the depression and ill-health of his last years) that nothing substantial, perhaps, will ever be known of his adolescence and early manhood. The account here given of his first twenty-six years (more than half his whole life) fills only seven pages.

We are thrown back upon conjecture. Darley's unsociability, arising from his painful stammer, no doubt goes for something; and Mr Abbott is certainly right in pointing out that his determined lack of interest in politics and his distaste for poems on social questions or on the affections partly accounts for his failure to attain popularity, as Tennyson's too ready acceptance of the opposite policy accounts for much of his popularity and some of his defects. Yet these things are not vital; and Darley's frustration as a poet must probably be attributed to his failure to find even a single understanding friend. This in turn must, surely, have been due not merely to bad luck, but to some queer twist in his nature, the source of which lies buried in the obscurity of his early life in Ireland.

Inevitably, therefore, Mr Abbott's book is more satisfying, and also more challenging, in its criticism than as pure biography. If there is anything to say against the chapters on Darley's poetry, it is that they might have been ampler without disadvantage. Darley would not suffer from a closer comparison between his lyrics and the early work of Tennyson. Mr Abbott disposes of this point too summarily; and a rather cheap allusion to 'the plaster Colossus that Tennyson became' suggests that he has not quite made up his mind to react against the reaction against Tennyson. But in general his claims for Darley as a lyrical poet are sensitively argued and thoroughly made out.

The prose writings are a more doubtful matter. Admittedly Darley's art criticism has a mainly historical interest, though he deserves credit for his *Athenæum* articles on the early Italian painters, then little regarded. Mr Abbott has some acute remarks on his relation to Ruskin, for whom he may be said to have prepared the ground. But in dealing with the literary criticism the natural partiality of a biographer has overestimated what was after all mainly distasteful taskwork. Darley throws out an interesting generalisation now and then (see especially the passages quoted at pp. 84 and 117), but surely Miss Mitford was not, as Mr Abbott argues, guilty of 'feminine exaggeration,' but telling the truth, or going very little beyond it, when she wrote in 1840 that 'his own disappointment, in not being acknowledged as one of the great poets of the age, has produced the most intolerant fastidiousness and determination to disallow all merit in other writers.' Much of Darley's criticism on his contemporaries is in the worst 'slashing' tradition; he saw nothing in Wordsworth or in Byron, and would rather have written *Beauty and the Beast* than 'all Keats, Shelley & Co. ever wrote.' He praised but rarely, and then it was usually the work of a friend, or a friend's friend. The contrast with Hazlitt, or even with Beddoes, is striking. Yet remembering Darley's physical affliction and his lifelong loneliness, we are more inclined to pity than to condemn, and close the book feeling not unwilling to reconsider our opinion when Mr Abbott's promised selection from Darley's prose shall appear.

A few points of detail may be disposed of in conclusion. The book is admirably printed, and the index is good, though there are some omissions, including the poems *Harvest Home* (p. 127 note) and *I've been roaming* (p. 92), and the Rev. T. Dale—who seems, by the way, to get more than his fair share of attention in the text and note at page 66, while Thomas Westwood (p. 50) and 'the redoubtable Mrs Emmerson' (p. 78 note) should have been more fully described for the benefit of the general reader. The date of Lamb's death (p. 137 note) is two days out: and at page 47, line 7, 'has' is misprinted for 'had.' The only important error of fact seems to be the misdating (in common with all editors of Lamb's letters) of the letter to Cary, quoted on page 50, in which Lamb mentions Darley familiarly. The date April 3, 1826, for this will not square with Darley's letter to Cary in 1827, quoted further on (pp. 61-2), which shows that Lamb and Darley were not yet intimate in 1826. The present writer has shown from internal evidence that Lamb's letter must belong to April 1828 (*The Translator of Dante*, 1925, p. 218 and note).

Here and there Mr Abbott's general statements seem a little rash. The praise of Taylor's editing (p. 34) is contrary to the witness of Lamb (to go no further), which justifies the assumption that only John Scott's good start and Hood's sub-editing kept the *London* going successfully from 1821 to 1824. The statement (p. 7) that in 1821 Wordsworth was 'generally recognized as a great poet' may also be questioned; De Quincey put the matter justly in 1835 in saying that Wordsworth's reputation was 'militant' from 1820 to 1830 and 'triumphant' only after 1830.

R. W. KING.

BANGOR.

La Jeunesse de Swinburne (1837-1867). Par GEORGES LAFOURCADE. 2 vols. Paris: Les Belles-Lettres. 1928. 919 pp. 80 fr.

Swinburne's Hyperion and other Poems: with an Essay on Swinburne and Keats. By GEORGES LAFOURCADE. London: Faber & Gwyer. 1927. 175 pp. 10s. 6d.

Apart from the admirably discreet biography by Gosse, English criticism has not distinguished itself in the study of Swinburne. Those who knew him intimately have been reticent, the younger men have not known enough, and have not taken the trouble to find out. No one, probably, has made such a close investigation as Dr Lafourcade, not merely into Swinburne's published works and the facts of his life that are public property, but also into the great mass of unprinted matter in the hands of Mr T. J. Wise or preserved at the British Museum, and into facts of crucial importance to an understanding of the poet which are far from being generally known. Here is to be found the secret of Swinburne's gradual acquisition of a style, and also the explanation of his personal attitude in *Poems and Ballads* and other works of the same era—

an attitude that has hitherto been variously and often mistakenly interpreted.

That style of his, which appeared fully mature in *Atalanta in Calydon*, and the mastery of an unparalleled variety of metres shown in this work and in the first series of *Poems and Ballads*, were the result of a long and unwearying apprenticeship in which he set himself to practise the manner of various predecessors. Before venturing to present himself to the world as a new poet, he wanted to satisfy himself that he could write like a poet. By finding out whether he could do as well as others, in the same manner and on like subjects, he would learn what he could do on themes of his own and in his own way. It was essentially a discipline. In playing 'the sedulous ape' to Keats or the Elizabethan dramatists, his object was neither rivalry nor the most lawful sort of plagiarism, but simply progress in craftsmanship.

M. Lafourcade has produced a critical and well-annotated edition of one of these literary exercises, the *Hyperion* in which Swinburne took the same subject as Keats and studied to write in the very style of that master. In a much more voluminous and thorough-going monograph on Swinburne's life and works, he has reprinted large portions of *The Temple of Janus*, a Shelleian poem in heroic couplets dating from 1857, and some youthful prose papers; he has also summarised, with copious extracts, several dramatic attempts after the Elizabethans, and a number of other compositions in various styles.

Though Swinburne treated the same subject, it was the diction of Keats, especially the vocabulary, that he sought to reproduce in his own *Hyperion*. He was not of one mind with Keats aesthetically, and at a later date declared himself revolted by what he considered that poet's unmanliness, exhibited in the letters to Fanny Brawne. In short, he felt a curious antipathy towards Keats, which makes his choice of Keats for imitation all the more interesting. The original *Hyperion* being Miltonic in conception and style, Swinburne was really imitating two poets, one directly and the other indirectly; and, being well aware of his elder's relation to Milton, he tended, not unnaturally, to emphasise the Miltonic element, the result being that his poem is more Miltonic than the original. M. Lafourcade draws particular attention to the close parallel in lines 179-212 of the second book to the manner of *Paradise Lost*. But, he argues, Keats's art was foreign to Swinburne, who was more akin to Shelley, and regarded Keats rather as 'a wonderful word-painter, but more of an artist than a poet.' He copied the style, but was repelled by the spirit. 'Strange though it may seem to some,' says M. Lafourcade, 'I venture to suggest that Swinburne would have condemned Keats's poetry on grounds of moral and intellectual inadequacy.' This view he abundantly substantiates.

The first volume of the larger study of Swinburne is devoted to his personal history, the second to his works in the period ending in 1867. It was a period of laborious preparation, of which most of the results have remained in manuscript; it ended with magnificent achievement in *Atalanta* and the first series of *Poems and Ballads*. Where M. Lafourcade's

views are at variance with those generally held is in such matters as his insistence on the strength of the pre-Raphaelite influence upon Swinburne; especially that of Morris. This interlude, treated even by Swinburne himself as merely an interlude and of small importance, lasted ten years, and to the influence which dominated it M. Lafourcade ascribes the development of Swinburne's 'most ardent and most subtle inspirations.' Evidence is supplied in both the biography and the critical study. In the same parallel way, M. Lafourcade traces the growth of Swinburne's æstheticism, and the effect upon his mind and art of what he calls the 'crise sensuelle' of the years 1860-7.

It is here that we come to what this new and fearless student of Swinburne would doubtless consider his most momentous reinterpretation of a central episode in his subject's career. He contends that from boyhood Swinburne showed constitutional tendencies to sadism, and that in the critical years of young manhood these tendencies gained the upper hand and were frankly displayed, thus explaining all those features in the work of this period which excited so much indignation. In both the earlier and the later poems of the young Swinburne he finds clear symptoms, along with a sense of divine immanence, closely bound up with that feeling of exalted vitality, of 'coenaesthesia,' diagnosed by M. Cazamian in certain nature-poets, of a morbid delight in the sense of struggle, in the pangs inflicted by nature, the flagellation of the waves and winds, 'souffrance qui est à la fois redoutée et désirée.' These tendencies, partly repressed, became more and more insistent and found more and more open expression; and the liberating cause M. Lafourcade sees mainly in two occurrences. Swinburne was very intimate at this time with Monckton Milnes, created Lord Houghton in 1863, whose library of erotic literature was famous. M. Lafourcade calls him the guide of Swinburne's youth, and attributes to him an influence something like that of Hall Stevenson upon Sterne. Milnes pushed and encouraged Swinburne in certain directions, confirmed him in certain *penchants*, in a word, applied himself 'à le corrompre intellectuellement.' In the library at Fryston Swinburne found the works of the Marquis de Sade, and read them with avidity. There are numerous verbal allusions to *Justine* in various poems, and its author is apostrophised as 'prophet, preacher, and poet,' in *Dolores*, the piece in which the sadic creed is most comprehensively expounded. The influence of Gautier and Baudelaire, so often regarded as the chief inspirers with Victor Hugo of *Poems and Ballads*, was entirely secondary to the influence of the Marquis de Sade.

The other occurrence, deliberately stressed by M. Lafourcade, who can point out that it was stressed also by the poet, was the one real love affair of Swinburne's life. It is recorded, most movingly, in *The Triumph of Time*. The young man was rejected, and snubbed into the bargain, by Jane Falkner. This event M. Lafourcade regards as a turning-point in his life. Swinburne was physically unfitted for marriage, and after the disaster to his hopes for which this poem is a long lament, he bade 'adieu à la femme et l'amour,' and turned in despair to that 'sombre montagne de Vénus qui s'appelle Dolorès.'

This is enough to indicate one of the most interesting directions in which M. Lafourcade's researches have led him. Considerations of space forbid our following him on other quests hardly less fruitful.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

LONDON.

An English Prosody on Inductive Lines. By SIR GEORGE YOUNG, Bt. Cambridge: University Press. 1928. xiv + 296 pp. 15s.

Sir George Young's study must be viewed in the light of his definition of prosody as 'a system of the rules of verse, arranged in order,' the rules being determined by induction from the practice of the greater English poets. An exhaustive analysis of Chaucer's prosody suggests important conclusions regarding his use of sound-shift and syllabic variation, particularly in the pentameter. The former occurs generally after a metrical or syntactical pause, or through attraction from sound-shift elsewhere within the line. The latter entails short quantity in the stress-vowel of the foot wherein it is admitted. After the fifteenth-century collapse and a temporary period of purism at the dawn of the Renaissance these variations reappeared, chiefly through the agency of the drama. Later poets have extended and adapted them still further, without modifying the principles which govern them. The array of evidence with which these conclusions are substantiated deserves the attention of all prosodists and textual critics. The analysis of the respective contributions made by Marlowe, Shakespeare and Milton to the English pentameter is particularly interesting and suggestive.

For all this, the book suffers through the narrowness and illiberality specifically disclaimed in the introduction. In common with most prosodists, the author has too little use for his brethren or their adherents. 'If it pleases anyone to consider this as divided into sections... we can only smile' (p. 93). The particular scansion in dispute would, in fact, please a good number of intelligent readers and the critic is welcome to his mirth. But many of his own statements could be dismissed in the same summary fashion. When we are asked to scan the first half-line of *Paradise Lost* as: 'Of Man's first disobedience,' and to accept the astonishing statement that 'There is no emphasis on *Man's*,' the smile is on the other side. Again, the anathema continually cast at the 'caesura chimaera' which 'has no plausibility in the metre of Milton' loses weight from the constant identification of caesura with complete sense pause as indicated by punctuation mark. Caesura is, in fact, purely a *metrical* break, a hiatus in the continuous volume of sound, analogous to that between two musical phrases and unmistakably marked in most, if not all, of the lines which Sir George Young quotes from Milton. Nor can we agree with his historical treatment of four-stress verse. The cantilever is not simply 'a second form in which decomposition of the old four-stress verse became fossilised,' but its only legitimate descendant, as conclusively proved from the direct connection between

the alliterative poetry of the fourteenth century and the 'tumbling verse' of the sixteenth. It is an error to confuse this with the romance four-foot line which persisted, substantially unchanged, though with varying degrees of strictness, from *The Owl and the Nightingale* to *Marmion*. The two verses are distinct both in character and ancestry, and it would be difficult to find any poem, with the notable exception of *Christabel*, wherein they are successfully combined. Sir George's censures of the poetic pronunciation *wind* and the rhyming of final *y* with final *e* may be met with Samuel Daniel's unanswerable plea for 'custom that is before all law, nature that is above all art'; and the objection to the rhyme *dawn—morn* is valid only on the false assumption, rightly rejected throughout this book, that verse is addressed to the eye and not to the ear. It is doubtful whether many readers will be disposed to reject the traditional word 'pentameter' for the archaic 'cinquepace,' employed throughout the book by reason of 'the original connection of verse with dancing,' but peculiarly inept for this particular verse which bears less suggestion of the dance than any other.

Finally, exception must be taken to Sir George Young's central line of argument. The rhythm of poetic experience finds adequate expression only in the rhythm of verse *as one whole*. We cannot, therefore, accept a system of prosody avowedly unconcerned with rhythm and based on an attempt to separate stress and syllable from the related elements of consonantal and vocalic value, quantity, pitch and inter-verbal 'hover,' as it has been termed by Mr J. C. Anderson in his admirable *Laws of Verse*. Experiments with the kimograph have shown the inter-dependence of these elements in metre and the danger of arbitrary decision as to 'right' or 'wrong' scansion. Sir George Young's indifference to this wider aspect of his subject would explain his unreasonable aversion from connecting prosody with music and also from free verse, for which he shows his contempt by invariably referring to it in French. His book is in many respects valuable and interesting; but it is regrettable that the scholarly enthusiasm here displayed should be wilfully confined within so narrow a channel.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

Christine de Pisan, 1364–1430. Étude biographique et littéraire. Par M. J. PINET. (*Bibliothèque du XVe Siècle*, xxxv.) Paris: H. Champion. 1927. xxiv + 463 pp. 65 fr.

As early as in 1880, and again in *Romania*, ix (1881), Gaston Paris drew attention to the lacuna in French literary history of the fifteenth century, through the absence of any authoritative work on Christine de Pisan. More than forty years later the need still existed for a *travail d'ensemble* which should place in its due setting the life and work of the first French *femme de lettres*, who was also in a sense the first French *homme de lettres*, since she seems to have been the first in France to

make a profession of literature. Almost all her prose works are still unpublished.

Granting that the 'touchante et insipide Christine,' as M. Pierre Champion somewhat severely calls her in his *Histoire poétique du XV^e siècle*, often wrote to order and with too great facility, yet her work, both prose and verse, as G. Paris realised, is of very considerable importance, not only in the history of French literature, but also in the history of ideas and of literary formulae. The partial studies of her writings, and still more the masterly general works on Old French literature which have appeared in the last few years, have made the task of appraising Christine, and of determining her position in the national literature, far easier than it would have been half a century ago, and the work of M. M. J. Pinet may well provoke further researches in the same direction.

The first part of the book is a biographical study in which the autobiographical writings of Christine, together with indications supplied by her other works, are woven into a connected whole by means of copious quotations. Following the fashion of the time, in the poems dealing with *amour courtois* (published in 1886-96 by M. Maurice Roy, Soc. des Anciens Textes français), Christine appears before us in person. In the didactic poems, the *Chemin de Long Estude* (published in 1887 by R. Puchell) and the *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune* (unpublished, the quotations are from Bib. Nat. f. fr. MS. 604), she moves as a living figure, if often among mere personified abstractions. In the prose *Avison Christine* (unpublished, quotations from Bib. Nat. f. fr. MS. 1176), we have an allegorical picture of her intellectual life till the age of forty. For the remaining years there are sufficient data in her writings on the political events with which she was connected, the last of these being the triumph of Jeanne d'Arc, which she celebrates, and which brings us to July 1429. Christine died in 1430. In all these works, her extraordinary erudition and devotion to study and meditation are manifest; at the same time we see her identifying herself with the rank and file of her sex, bitterly resenting the attacks and imputations of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, and refuting them to the best of her power. She saw a contradiction in extolling the ennobling influence of love, and at the same time delighting in the disparaging and degrading insinuations of the 'clercs misogynes,' and especially those which Jean de Meung, 'qui trop traicte deshonestement,' puts into the mouth of La Vieille. Her attitude in face of such attacks is shown by numerous quotations. 'Pour la matiere qui en aucunes pars n'estoit en ma plaisance, m'en passoye oultre comme coq sur breise.' Such defence of the defenceless was sorely needed, but few women had sufficient education to attempt it, and Christine's malediction goes to those who would forbid women intercourse with Dame Philosophie, the only real source of felicity; for her, as later for La Rochefoucauld, 'long Estude peut triompher de tout mal.' But the young widow feels her lack of skill. Having lost her 'bon marinier' and perforce become the support of the family ('de femme devins homme'), she has turned to composition, not alone from natural inclination but from economic necessity. She realises her disabilities,

and knows well that in this 'Querelle de la Rose' (is it the first battle of ideas in France?) her adversaries have many subtle reasons, though it is she who 'a raison.'

In spite of this righteous indignation, however, M. Pinet is at pains to trace the very deep influence upon Christine of the *Roman de la Rose*. If she is as little of a true poet as Jean de Meung himself, she is not less of a rationalist, perhaps without being aware of it. We may indeed sometimes detect in her 'un parfum de Renaissance.' She was at the parting of the ways between mediaeval and modern (or at least between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance), as was the *Roman de la Rose* itself, with its two disparate parts. She is not an innovator; she is Gothic in taste; with all her enthusiasm for the 'divines grecques,' she knew the ancients only in French (and possibly Italian) translations. This is brought out in the second part of M. Pinet's book, which is devoted to the literary study of Christine's work, its sources and its influence.

With regard to the sources, there is little trace of appreciation of the Old French epics in Christine's works. She seems to have been more attracted by the romances, and especially by the romances of antiquity, with their half Oriental flavour. The heroes Hector and Alexander were more to her liking than the mediaeval knights. And though Artus and Tristan appear in her pages, 'courtoisie' seems to have less attraction for her than 'clergie.' She makes Dame Opinion say to her, 'Tu es venue en mauvais temps,' and certainly she is beset with the faults and limitations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although she has the ardour for learning characteristic of the Renaissance. In another respect, too, she was born too soon; she spent much time in copying her own writings, which would have been spared if she had lived to see the diffusion of printing presses. It was this invention which gave her work vogue in England, where the *Epistre D'Othea*, the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs*, the *Livre de la Cité des Dames* and the *Proverbes moraux* were translated and printed by order of Henry VII and through Caxton's agency. And in France, though her influence cannot be traced in Charles d'Orléans or Villon, it is evident in Gringoire, in Chartier, and in Chastellan, to say nothing of its effect on the love of biography in the sixteenth century.

Another point of interest is kept in mind in the book before us. Christine is a link not only between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, but also between France and Italy. Venetian-born, she is more of a Frenchwoman by her work than by her marriage with the Sire de Castel. 'Cette fille d'Italien est excellente Française.' Is she not the first in France to mention her great compatriot, whose poetry she recommends instead of the pernicious *Roman de la Rose*? Even if she only knew the *Divina Commedia* of Dante (and if it was not she who introduced Boccaccio to France, as Gaston Paris thought), the point is of importance for comparative literature.

M. Pinet has succeeded in presenting a life-like picture of his subject. He has utilised in his descriptions not only Christine's own confessions, but also the various miniatures in which she appears (e.g., that in the

MS. 1176 already referred to). In these she comes before us as a woman of elegance, a 'dame de prix,' arrayed in the high headdress of the time so hotly condemned by the moralists, in the fashion, and yet with a certain touch of individuality, such as we expect from her work. La Bruyère would surely have appreciated Christine, he who desired to meet with more than a mere author in reading a book. And if we are aware of a precision and even an artificiality 'dépourvu de tout abandon,' yet there is an evident aspiration towards greater freedom, there are notes of real and deep emotion to be heard among the conventional cadences of the time. There is a sincerity, a courage and an intellectual curiosity in the work of this woman who lived when Notre Dame was in its youthful splendour, and who, in the conditions in which she found herself, sought, as M. Pinet says, to 'faire honnêtement son métier d'homme de lettres.' Maistre Martin le Franc, not a dozen years after her death, says of her:

Aux estrangers povons la feste
Faire de la vaillant Christine,
Et ne devons pas sous courtine
Mettre ses œuvres et ses ditz.

The work of M. Pinet will certainly help those who desire to raise the 'courtine' from the writings of 'la vaillant Christine.' He supplies a careful account of the manuscripts and editions; the bibliographical notes are brought down to the doctoral thesis of Mr G. Campbell (1922), and there is also a full bibliographical index. An attempt has been made to establish the chronological order of the works (about twenty in number), the dates of which had so far not been fixed.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

Madame de Staël. La Seconde Vie (1800-1807). Par DAVID GLASS LARG. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*, LVII.) Paris: H. Champion. 1928. 310 pp. 40 fr.

L'Allemagne de Mme de Staël et la polémique romantique. Première fortune de l'ouvrage en France et en Allemagne (1814-1830). Par IAN ALLAN HENNING. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*, LVIII.) Paris: H. Champion. 1929. 386 pp. 45 fr.

The first volume of Dr Larg's work on Madame de Staël, which was reviewed in these pages in January 1927, carried us as far as her emergence as a European writer of consequence with *De la Littérature*. Volume II is concerned with only eight years (1800-1807), a period to which Dr Larg aptly attaches the designation 'La seconde vie.' It is the period that extends from *Delphine* to *Corinne*, that of her most interesting 'Wanderjahre,' with, as background, Bonaparte's persistent hostility. Dr Larg had obviously a great opportunity here for his biographical and critical ability, and he has brilliantly justified the expectations he awakened with Volume I. His very personal style, his arresting antitheses, and his courageous flouting of comfortably esta-

blished dogmas make most stimulating reading; and I hope that this volume, like its predecessor, will speedily appear in English translation. Sometimes, perhaps, Dr Larg's twentieth-century attitude to his theme is a little negative, a little superior, his phrases a little needlessly acid. But this may be only personal prejudice on my part due to a preoccupation with Madame de Staël when Lady Blennerhasset's work was still the last word in comprehensive appreciation of her. His criticism of the two novels, for instance, is most enlightening—notably his elucidation of the subjective and personal aspects of *Delphine* and his juxtaposition of *Corinne* and *Adolphe*; but more consideration might occasionally have been shown for the views of the earlier nineteenth century. There was a day—as there has been, I imagine, in the lives of many of us—when *Corinne* appeared as a great book, a revelation, and not merely an Italian Baedeker sugared over with fiction; and even *Delphine* was not always only 'informe et indigeste,' the 'illisible bouquin' it is to-day.

But the period Dr Larg covers is concerned with very much more than *Delphine* and *Corinne*; his picture is studded with interesting and clear-cut portraits: Constant, the mysterious Dr Robertson, whom Dr Larg has not succeeded in running to earth, Lord John Campbell, the German *littérati*, besides a host of political figures, and most important of all, of course, the First Consul himself. The volume also throws its shadow before, and with its vivid description, rendered possible by the letters published in 1914 by the Comte D'Haussonville, of Madame de Staël's invasion of Germany, it provides an indispensable introduction to *De l'Allemagne*. Madame de Staël's reaction to the Weimar circle is described with fine discrimination, and her visit to Berlin illumined by Sir Francis Jackson's communications to the Foreign Office. Crabb Robinson's alleged share in *De l'Allemagne* as her guide through the mazes of German metaphysics is reduced to very modest proportions. It would have been interesting could similar light have been thrown on Madame de Staël's subsequent Italian journey; but this, I suppose, is hardly to be hoped for. Altogether, Dr Larg's work is a notable contribution to the literature on Madame de Staël, and its successor will be looked forward to with particular interest.

Meanwhile there has appeared in the same series as Dr Larg's book a volume dealing particularly with *De l'Allemagne*, and that from an angle from which it has not hitherto been systematically viewed. Dr Henning discusses Madame de Staël's work in the light of its reception in France and Germany and its influence on the opinion of its time. He begins with the reception of *De l'Allemagne* in France and emphasises the peculiar aptness of the appearance in 1813 of a book dealing with a Germany that had already to a considerable extent passed; he then turns to the more serious 'résistances littéraires' of 1814, and the sympathetic attitude of the 'cosmopolites et romantiques.' A chapter is devoted to the wider diffusion of Madame de Staël's ideas in 1815. From the fortunes of the book in France Dr Henning passes to its fortunes in Germany, where the prominent names are, in the first instance, Caroline Fouqué, Betty Gleim, and Graf Loeben—the criticism

of the last-mentioned being, he tells us, 'à la fois le plus représentatif, le plus important et le plus complet sur le livre *De l'Allemagne*.' A chapter deals with that very interesting link between France and Germany, Charles de Villers, and here Dr Henning throws out the suggestion, which might be worth further investigation, that the judgment of Goethe and Jean Paul may have been influenced by Villers. Jean Paul's criticism he rightly describes as 'un des commentaires les plus spirituels, les plus raisonnables et les plus pénétrants' which the work received. Finally, a third part deals with 'les années de transition, 1816 à 1819,' and the further diffusion down to 1825. Perhaps some day Dr Henning will supplement his volume with a consideration of the fortunes of the work in England where much that is interesting might still be said. Meanwhile he has given us a furthering piece of work, and a real contribution to the comparative study of its epoch. I have, however, one grumble. In his presentation of the German aspects of the case why does he not give us, as he does in citing the French sources, the actual text of the writers he quotes? As it is, he has put those of us, who might wish to pursue the matter further, to the trouble of turning to the German sources—often by no means easily accessible—to discover what these French translations of their words stand for.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Storia della età barocca in Italia. Pensiero, poesia e letteratura, vita morale.

By BENEDETTO CROCE. Bari: Laterza. 1929. xii + 508 pp. L. 35.

The Seicento—or, more precisely, the period from the latter part of the sixteenth to the first years of the eighteenth century—has been traditionally regarded as one of mere decadence and corruption in the history of Italian thought and art, in which the great name of Galileo stands out as an oasis in a mental desert. Two indeed of his immediate contemporaries, Tommaso Campanella and Paolo Sarpi, appear in a no less heroic light, but, after that, we have what the author of the present volume fitly calls the 'ritmo lento e fiacco, che fu proprio allora della società italiana.' The word 'barocco,' applied to the typical productions of the age, whatever its precise etymology, is synonymous with artistic bad taste, with the attempt to produce effect by the unexpected and the astonishing. 'È del poeta il fin la meraviglia,' wrote its high priest Marino at the beginning of the epoch, and Vico, towards its close, speaks of himself as having in his youth 'appresa una tal sorta di poesia per un esercizio d'ingegno in opere d'argutezza, la quale unicamente diletta col falso messo in comparsa stravagante che sorprenda la dritta aspettazione degli uditori.' And this corruption and prevalence of a perverted taste have been attributed variously, or unitedly, to the exhaustion of the creative activity of Italians by the Renaissance, to the Spanish domination that weighed upon Italy after the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, to the influence of the Counter-Reformation guided by the Jesuits. But, of late years, not a few aspects of this period have

been attracting appreciative students. Its architecture, sculpture and painting are finding enthusiastic apologists—somewhat to excess. An admirable work by a young scholar who died in Spain while prosecuting his researches, Vittorio di Tocco, *Ideali d' indipendenza in Italia durante la preponderanza spagnuola* (Messina, 1926), has recently shown how much of genuine national aspiration was struggling for expression in Italy under the foreign domination, and how nobly many Italians could still conceive of their native land.

In the volume before us, Signor Croce has brought together a series of essays published in the *Critica*, to form the most illuminating and interesting study of the period that has yet appeared. After a general introduction ('Controriforma,' 'Barocco,' 'Decadenza'), we are given two main divisions, 'Il pensiero filosofico e storico,' 'La poesia e la letteratura,' followed by a somewhat slighter conclusion, 'La vita morale.' Particularly interesting in the first part are the chapters on 'teorie della morale e della politica,' those discussions on the *ragion di stato*, 'la scienza che nel Machiavelli aveva il suo primo autore,' and which so curiously obsessed the first half of the seventeenth century, penetrating even into the epic and the drama, and 'la teoria dell' arte.' In the first of these fields, Lodovico Zuccolo appears as a notably original thinker, and, as Vittorio di Tocco showed, his *Repubblica d' Evandria*, under the guise of a utopia, links up with Machiavelli's ideal of Italian unification. Sforza Pallavicino and Emanuele Tesauro were pioneers in the field of aesthetic theory, the former insisting on the domination of intuition or imagination, thus anticipating Muratori and the romantic doctrine. But for Vico was reserved 'la conquistata coscienza della grande poesia e della poesia primitiva, di Omero e di Dante,—affatto estranei all' età barocca e da lui per primo sentiti e intesi nella loro sublimità' (p. 229). 'L' ultima grande voce poetica dell' Italia era stato il cantore della *Gerusalemme*.' I have read no finer criticism of Tasso than the few pages Signor Croce here devotes to him (pp. 236–9). The one great poet of the Seicento proper is Tommaso Campanella, whose *Salmodia metafisicale* and *Canzone del pentimento* are surely among the masterpieces of Italian poetry. But Campanella's poetry is utterly uncharacteristic of its age; the very antithesis of that of the Marinisti. Very subtle and penetrating is Signor Croce's analysis of the 'nullità poetica' of Marino and his followers, to whom he would even deny, except in a very qualified sense, the saving grace of 'musicalità' traditionally assigned to them (II, ii, 'La pseudopoesia barocca')—though it would be difficult to characterise by another word the charm of such a lyric as Girolamo Fontanella's on the dancing girl, 'Questa bella d' amor maga innocente.' The Marinisti find their sincerest utterance when moved by the 'sentimento sensuale,' yet as poets they are in the main more attractive than their northern rivals, Chiabrera seeking with his would-be Pindaric effusions 'trovar nuovo mondo o affogare,' and Fulvio Testi with his Horatian moralities, or than Filicaia and Alessandro Guidi who sought to lead Italian poetry back to better paths. Two minor poets, classed generally among the Marinisti, show characteristics that set them above their fellows. Ciro

di Pers, the knight of Malta, can abandon the 'barocco' style in his virile canzone, *Le calamità d' Italia* (the years indicated are those of Manzoni's *Promessi sposi*), and in certain sonnets in which he returns to the old theme of Platonic love:

Sempre per me tu sarai bella, ed io
sempre amante per te: non è mortale,
non ha mortale oggetto il mio desio.
Indarno il tempo s' arma, indarno assale
la tua beltà con gli anni e'l foco mio,
chè non soggiace a lui cosa immortale.

His friend, Carlo de' Dottori, has the beautiful and pathetic episode of Desmanina and her knight in his burlesque *Asino*, and produced a tragedy of true poetic merit with his *Aristodemo* (II, vii, 'Accenni di poesia tragica'). The tragic drama of the age, though far less copious, is a vastly nobler thing than its epic poetry, and Signor Croce observes that in the former we often breathe 'ben altra aria di quella della letteratura barocca e sensuale' (p. 366). Notable among the tragedies are the *Reina di Scozia* (Mary Stuart) of Federico della Valle, the *Cleopatra* of Delfino, and the *Cromuele* of Graziani, which, in 1671, brings Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, Lambert and other figures of the English commonwealth upon the Italian boards. As to the political poetry, Signor Croce admits little (too little, I venture to think) national significance in the poems with which Testi, Tassoni and others celebrated the struggle between Carlo Emanuele of Savoy and the Spanish monarchy, though he has an enthusiastic appreciation of the famous sonnet on the bombardment of Genoa, the *Genova mia* of the Jesuit Pastorini: 'un sonetto ergentesi come solitario nella lirica e, si direbbe, nella vita morale di quel secolo' (p. 368). In a totally different sphere, the note of spontaneity—rare in the poetry of the period—becomes predominant in the satires of Salvatore Rosa.

Among the prose writers of the Seicento, Signor Croce seems to me to do rather less than justice to Traiano Boccalini, not indeed as a thinker, but as an artist. Among those quaint 'figurazioni mitologico-giocose' in his *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, here characterised as 'invenzioni senz' alcuna vaghezza e prive di vita' (p. 442), are surely some of the most delightful pieces of literary and political satire in all literature. The once famous Jesuit, Daniello Bartoli (known to English readers mainly from Browning's poem), is hardly suffered to retain his ambiguous position as 'il Marino della prosa.' The true 'virtuoso del barocco' in prose would seem to be rather Fulvio Frugoni in his *Cane di Diogene*, or, in a higher sense, Basile, whose *Pentamerone* is here declared 'il più bel libro italiano barocco.' With Basile, and his friend Giulio Cesare Cortese, the Neapolitan dialect was raised to the position of a literary language. Signor Croce acutely notes that the flourishing of dialectical poetry in seventeenth-century Italy was not a renewed municipalism, but rather a unitarian manifestation, inasmuch as these works were read and appreciated outside the regions that produced them (p. 487).

There are sentences in the concluding section, 'La vita morale,' that

invite questions outside the sphere of literature. We have no right to expect from the author a catholic understanding of the religious life of the period, but, if it was entirely as here depicted, Manzoni erred strangely in his representation of Federigo Borromeo and Fra Cristoforo.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Die Legende von Barlaam und Josaphat auf der iberischen Halbinsel. Untersuchungen und Texte. VON GERHARD MOLDENHAUER. 2 Bände in 1. (*Romanistische Arbeiten*, XIII.) Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1929. viii + 186 pp.; v + 348 pp. M. 36.

Herr Moldenhauer's work on the Spanish *Barlaams* has been extended over more than six years, and is a credit to the exactitude and conscientiousness of its author. Not only has he seen with his own eyes all the matter directly related to his theme, but he has touched on much of the more obscure literature of the fifteenth century, and in nearly every case has added to the sum of knowledge. Particularly praiseworthy is the skill with which he has used linguistic and diplomatic science to serve literary history, and in short one may venture to say that his treatment of the Spanish middle ages registers a perceptible advance, not only as to facts, but also as to method. He prints two of the Castilian texts, taking it for granted that the student can lay hands on Lauchert's edition of the third; and two Catalan versions, interesting chiefly for their Provençal relationships. The oldest Castilian version is found in the manuscript 2-G-5 of the Royal Library at Madrid, to which we already owe Pietsch's *Spanish Grail Fragments*. The author was, in Moldenhauer's opinion, a Leonese subject, and probably a Dominican (p. 33), who wrote before 1350. A Dominican might appropriately show a special horror of heresy (pp. 33 and 100), but the words to which Moldenhauer calls attention are based on *Jude*, v. 13, and are not necessarily more significant than the many other texts strewn through the *Barlaam*. It is noteworthy that the Spanish author is so incurious of Spanish conditions as not to include Islam in the famous 'Three Religions.' The Castilian versions, both the mediaeval and those of later date, go back to Latin texts. The same is true of Portugal, apart from Diogo do Couto's direct acquaintance with an Indian life of Buddha. The Catalan texts also belong to the Latin tradition.

So far the investigation consists simply of examining the Spanish boughs of the Latin branch of the *Lalita Vistara*, in accordance with the tree sketched by E. Kuhn in his *Barlaam und Josaphat* (1893). An observation by Menéndez Pelayo, however, compelled the author to examine the other branches also, and to this we owe, *inter alia*, some stringent remarks concerning Sir E. W. Budge's *Baralâm and Yêwâsêf* (p. 69, n. 4), which must be judged by others than Hispanists. Menéndez Pelayo supposed that D. Juan Manuel owed the *Barlaam*-like framework of his *Libro de Estados* not to Latin, but to Arabic sources. He considered the name 'Joas' to resemble a (wholly imaginary) Arabic 'Joasaf'

(really 'Yûdâsaf'), and that the reduction of the celebrated three encounters of the Buddha to one with a corpse could not arise out of the Latin tradition. D. Juan Manuel was concerned merely to get a frame for a considerable work on sociology, and was under some necessity of abbreviating. Apart from the needs of original authorship, however, Moldenhauer cites examples of the single encounter type of story, of which the most likely to be in D. Juan Manuel's hands was a version of Marco Polo's travels (p. 77). As for 'Joas,' it is no more than a perversion of 'Johannes' or 'Johan,' the author's own name. It is probably pushing scepticism too far to doubt whether D. Juan Manuel had any command of Arabic (p. 94). The three Arabic phrases in the *Conde Lucanor* (*Ex.* xxx, xli, xlvi), which have unluckily been tampered with in Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld, are linguistically sound, and prove that the prince had a working knowledge of the colloquial, like Lull, Muntaner, Turmeda and some collaborators in the *Crónica General*. But these very instances show the unlikelihood of his possessing any appreciable acquaintance with Arabic literature. In claiming a Latin origin for the *Barlaam* element in the *Libro de Estados*, Dr Moldenhauer seems completely to have established his case. He does not allow himself to be enticed into a second digression by taking up the theme of the Three Sages in Spain, which gave, for instance, Judah Ha-Levi's *Khazar*.

Among what may be called his 'asides,' Dr Moldenhauer notes in the *Historia de Cifar* an allusion to the death of Doña María de Molina (1321). We must modify Wagner's date of *circa* 1304, and the *Cifar* is no longer 'die älteste selbständige kastilische Fiktion' (Baist), seeing that the *Amadis* must have been composed before the death of its author's patron in 1312. On the other hand, Don Juan Manuel seems (p. 103) to be directly indebted to the *Cifar*. In addition to the Escorial MS. and two Madrid MSS. of the Spanish translation of 'Hoveden's' *Speculum Laicorum*, noted by Dr Moldenhauer, there is MS. 18,465 of the Biblioteca Nacional, which formerly belonged to Gayangos. It is complete. MS. 117 is defective mainly because the writer's *v* and *x* were hardly distinguishable. So the binder passes from fol. lviii to lxiii, lxviii to lxxiii, etc. With regard to the *Confision del Amante*, Dr Moldenhauer ingeniously argues that its Leoneseisms cannot be due to a Castilian by birth and residence. There may have been a Leonese rendering between the Portuguese of Robert Payne and the Castilian Juan de Cuenca. However, before this matter is finally adjudicated, we should recall the exceptionally explicit language of the man himself: '[E]ste libro es llamado confision del amante el cual compuso Juan Goer natural del rreyno de Ynglaterra & fue tornado en lenguaje portugues por rruberto paym natural del dicho reyno & canonigo de la cibdad de Lixboa & despues fue tornado en lenguaje castellano por Juan de Cuenca vezino de la cibdad de Huete.' Those who have seen Escorial MS. g II 19 will, I think, agree that Juan de Cuenca's handwriting is bad enough to be that of an original author.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

Författarskapet till Egla. Av PER WIESELGREN. Lund: Carl Bloms Boktryckeri. 1927. 276 pp.

Egilssaga, though one of the greatest of the sagas, has often been viewed with suspicion as a history, and has even been considered by some as an attempt, possibly made by Snorri Sturlason himself, to glorify the ancestors of the Sturlungs in a sort of historical romance. Some critics again, who would accept its historicity, possibly with a qualification, are still inclined to consider that Snorri may have been the author. Dr Per Wieselgren in this full and considered study covers not merely the question of its authorship but also that of its historicity and the manner of its transmission. In his first chapter he compares the references to events in Egil's known poems with the prose accounts in *Egla*, with a view to judging the trustworthiness of the prose, and concludes that the contradictions which have been suggested do not in fact exist, that occasional slips are easily explicable, and that the author of the saga was not trying to produce anything but a work 'firmly rooted in tradition, free from false exaltation of ancestors, and aiming at historic truth.' He then, after a discussion of the attempts to produce a literary analysis of *Egla*—in which he is perhaps too courteous to the baseless theorising of Bley—and of the sources of the saga, comes to one of his main points: the difficulties in the chronology, and especially the checking of *Egla*, where that is possible, by other documents. Dr Wieselgren regards it as proved that Vinheiðr = Brunanburh = Burnswark, and in a detailed working out of the consequences of the identification (pp. 85–106) clears up many difficulties of the chronology, not only of *Egla* but of early Norwegian history generally. One ironic touch is that strong support is thereby given to the suggestions of Koht, who suspects the historicity of *Egla*. Here again the slips of *Egla* are explicable: thus, for example, Athelstan and his brothers are run by tradition into one figure, but the length of their joint reigns is kept right. The conclusion of this section is that the author was a conscientious person trying to find out the facts, and that the saga is capable of being used as a historical source. Dr Wieselgren definitely does not support the view that the compiler was Snorri: the parallels adduced by Olsen, Bley, Heusler and Paasche he considers illusory or the common characteristics of many saga-writers—there is a pleasant wickedness in his suggestion that King Sverri might have written *Egla*, because of the strong resemblance between his speech to King Magnus and Arinbjorn's to King Erik; the evidence of date is rather against Snorri's authorship; and no other suggested arguments for it are satisfactory. On the other hand there are real discrepancies in the accounts of historical events given in *Heimskringla* and *Egla* which are not sufficiently accounted for by Olsen's theory that Snorri's studies had gone deeper by the time he came to write *Heimskringla*; and a still more forcible argument against Snorri's authorship is brought out by a comparison of the political standpoint of the two books: Snorri was an out-and-out royalist and admirer of the Norwegian monarchy; the author of *Egla* held decidedly different views, though he tried to be impartial, and the portraits of

Harald Fairhair and of Hakon Athelstan's fosterling have only the names in common. A comparison of the language is difficult, partly because of the variability of Snorri's style, according to his matter, in *Heimskringla* and *Edda*, partly because of the uncertainty as to what is peculiar to Snorri and what comes from his sources, and partly because of the general similarity of style of the best sagas. There remain however considerable differences in syntactic detail between *Egla* and the writings which may fairly be ascribed to Snorri—'little words, favourite constructions and formations of periods.' After a detailed comparison, with references to *Gisla* and *Eyrbyggja* so as to preserve contact with 'neutral material,' Dr Wieselgren concludes that the idioms are entirely different. He does not suggest any known author for *Egla* and in fact, as he says in his introduction, does not greatly care if we never know who wrote it. In his last chapter, which is as interesting as it is difficult reading, he discusses the process of oral transmission which preceded the writing down of the saga, and so comes to Sievers's conception of recitative, suggesting the scansion of selected passages, and thence advancing to an application of Sievers's theory of 'personal curves' to some of the problems presented by the saga. The results are, as he observes, at least noteworthy.

The book is full of moderation and common sense, clear and straightforward in its presentation of its case, and altogether an important and valuable contribution to Old Norse studies.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

Präludium zur Poesie. Eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerks. Von THEOPHIL SPOERRI. Berlin: Furcht-Verlag. 333 pp. 10 M.

What the Professor of Romance literatures in the University of Zürich writes is always a pleasure to read: and if anyone could make the new German 'Literaturwissenschaft' ingratiating to the uninitiated, to the 'einfachen Liebhaber der Poesie,' it is he. The present work consists of two main divisions entitled 'Die Deutung der Wirklichkeit' and 'Die Deutung der Poesie,' followed by 'Einzeldeutungen.' Professor Spoerri's approach to the problem of literary appreciation is thus definitely metaphysical. He discusses what he calls 'den statischen, den dynamischen und den normativen Menschen,' the illusory nature of the historical factor in art, and other matters which at first glance seem somewhat remote from the concrete aesthetic problem, and then proceeds to apply his ideas to the interpretation of poetry. In his preface he expresses the doubt whether the reader may not object that he has given too many illustrations; but at least the Anglo-Saxon reader, with his impatience of 'Grundbegriffe,' his distrust of metaphysical theorising on the creative function of the imagination and with his belief that the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it, will welcome these illustrations; he may

have difficulty in following Professor Spoerri's reasoning, but he will find a real satisfaction in his delicate and illuminating interpretation of individual works. One cannot but sympathise with the modern German repudiation of the old soulless methods of literary interpretation, the discussion of genesis, influences and borrowings, and with the desire of the new critics to go straight to the heart of the matter, to come to grips with the ultimate 'Geheimnis' of imaginative creation. Professor Spoerri opens his book with the words:

Die Literaturwissenschaft steht zur Poesie in einem seltsam gespannten Verhältnis. Die Wissenschaft lebt von 'Begriffen und Tatsachen,' die Kunst vom 'Geheimnis.' Die alte Literaturwissenschaft bemühte sich redlich um philosophische Ideen und historisch-philologische Tatsachen; sie ging aber scheu am Geheimnis vorbei. Die neue Literaturwissenschaft ist wohl dem Geheimnis zugewandt; sie hat aber dafür ihren wissenschaftlichen Ruf aufs Spiel gesetzt. Sie ist weniger sachliche Feststellung als lyrisches Bekenntnis; sie vermittelt weniger Begriffe als Ergriffenheiten.

One could only have wished that this new 'Literaturwissenschaft' might have been superimposed upon, or combined with the old, not opposed to it; there is a tendency of its advocates to depreciate unduly the value of the methods of the older generation.

In his interpretation of lyric poetry, where the 'philological' critic was prone to grasp the poppy and scatter its bloom, Professor Spoerri is at his best: a more apt elucidation of Heine's *Loreley*, for instance, than he gives us it would be difficult to find; but when he deals with the larger literary forms, as in his appreciation of *Torquato Tasso*, one feels that some count might with advantage have been taken of the fact-bases—the poet's sources, the subjective motives he utilised, his debt to his predecessors—laboriously established by the 'philologists.' Only by such a clearing of the way does it become possible to estimate the poet's actual contribution to his theme. Another objection to the new approach to literature is that it seems to exclude the judgment of values: it shrinks from exercising the prerogative of criticism to pronounce the good good, and the bad bad. Where the masters of poetry are concerned, this perhaps matters little: few of us would now-a-days countenance a return to the dogmatic methods of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the trouncing of the poetic genius for his errors of taste and judgment; but the danger of an unwillingness to criticise the quality of a writer's achievement becomes apparent when Professor Spoerri turns from the great poets to writers of our own day, for instance, to Proust and Pirandello, whose abiding values are still open to very grave question. Here we seem to enter the domain of subjective taste rather than 'objektive Kunstbetrachtung.'

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

SHORT NOTICES

Mr F. P. Wilson's edition of *The Batchelar's Banquet, an Elizabethan Translation of Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. xlviii + 124 pp. 7s. 6d.) is a delightful book. And it is a delight to handle and to look upon, being most attractively produced and printed. *The Batchelar's Banquet* survives, in the first extant edition of 1603, in the unique Bodleian copy, from which this edition is set up. It seems pretty clear that it had been previously printed in 1599, and the edition burnt at Stationers' Hall when satires came under the censor's ban. We have reason to rejoice that Pavier took a chance with it in 1603, and that Mr Wilson has now made it generally accessible. The only modern edition is that of Grosart, who included it in his 1884 edition of Dekker's Works, the text being then taken from the second edition, also dated 1603.

Mr Wilson makes out a remarkably good case for the authorship of Robert Tofte, and a still better one against the haphazard attribution of this work to Dekker. There is only internal evidence to go upon, but it seems to me to have more cogency, as Mr Wilson puts it, than he claims for it in his cautious way. In general, Mr Wilson's editorial matter confirms his known mastery of wide and exact Elizabethan scholarship. I do not agree that 'such an other *old* Bettresse' should have been emended to '*bold* Bettresse' (p. 113, note). What is gained on the 'bold' would not make up for the absence of the idiomatic 'old.' I very much desire to know more about 'Scotch buttons,' which are so small (p. 20 and note). Henry the Eighth's journey to Boulogne, and his return, were continually used by old folk in depositions (and doubtless in conversation) as milestones in time, and so would naturally come to be associated with old-fashioned things (p. 114, note). C. J. S.

An interesting volume has been added to the series of studies planned as a Shakespeare Survey by Sir Israel Gollancz. Mr Vladeta Popović's *Shakespeare in Serbia* (London: H. Milford, for the Shakespeare Association. 1928. vi + 128 pp. 10s. 6d.) is the work of a lecturer in Belgrade University who holds that increasing appreciation of Shakespeare is the measure of the intellectual advance of his country. His enthusiasm for his subject makes up for a certain slightness in the material at his disposal for such a study. The influence of Shakespeare seems so far to have reached Serbia largely at second hand, principally in the first place through German. It is sad to think that as late as in 1897, 1898 and 1902 *Julius Caesar*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* were still being translated into Serbian respectively from Italian, Russian and German. One gathers that the complete translation by the poet Stefanović, now in progress, is directly from the original. Certainly Mr Popović himself shows an admirable command of English. There is tragic truth, and also much critical sense, in the comment on p. 97 on

an apparent 'parallel passage.' 'But this is not necessarily a reminiscence of *Hamlet*; many a Serb after 1389 had cursed the day of his birth.' It is interesting to note that the iambic metre of Shakespeare has impressed itself upon Serbian poets to such an extent that it has tended to replace the indigenous trochaic metre.

C. J. S.

In *Evidences of a Growing Taste for Nature in the Age of Pope* (Calcutta: University Press. 1928. 64 pp.), Mr P. K. Das of Krishnagar College has been moved to rebut the false impression, often conveyed by teachers and text-books, that in the age of Pope Nature was practically banished from English poetry. In the course of his thesis, which is excellently written, Mr Das shows a good acquaintance with the literature of the period. He makes a slip when he says on p. 3 that all Marvell's poems were written within ten years of 1667 (*Appleton House*, to which he specially refers, must date from 1651-3), and he seems to give too wide and loose a meaning to Wordsworth's statement that the poetry of 1667-1728 (neglecting Lady Winchelsea's *Nocturnal Reverie* and Pope's *Windsor Forest*) 'does not contain a single new image of external nature.' Wordsworth did not say that from this poetry Nature was banished, only that it was treated too obviously and without fresh observation.

G. C. M. S.

Volumes XLI and XLIX of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, edited by Professors Baldensperger and Hazard, which issues its volumes at a rate with which our limited reviewing space is unable to keep pace, are respectively *Une femme de lettres au XVIIIe siècle: Anne Marie du Bocage*, by Miss Grace Gill-Mark, and *A Contribution to the Study of the Sources of the Génie du Christianisme*, by Miss Madeleine Dempsey (Paris: H. Champion. 1927, 1928. 181 and 125 pp. Each 30 fr.). The former is an attractively written and well-proportioned study of a typical literary lady of her century. Her translation, or rather adaptation of Milton, in her *Paradis terrestre*, Miss Gill-Mark discusses with critical insight and good judgment. Something more might have perhaps been said about the wider aspects of the work and its psychological significance as an example of the tyranny of eighteenth-century 'good taste.' The appearance of Miss Dempsey's thesis in this French series is a humiliating admission that the university which is largely responsible for her research has not yet adequate facilities for publication. Miss Dempsey makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the English sources of Chateaubriand's work, notably his indebtedness to Lowth's *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* and to the oriental works of Thomas Maurice, to Milton, Addison and *Ossian*. She adds materially to Professor Bédier's investigation of the influence on the *Génie du Christianisme* of William Bartram's *Travels through Carolina, Georgia, Florida*, and shows how deeply Chateaubriand was permeated by the trend of religious thought in England during his residence amongst us. There is a concluding chapter on 'The *Génie du Christianisme* in England.'

J. G. R.

A few students of Petrarch will be glad to have the booklet, *Modern Discussions of the Dates of Petrarch's Prose Letters* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press. 1929. 77 pp.), in which Professor E. H. Wilkins, with the assistance of colleagues and pupils, has listed and classified the dates assigned to Petrarch's prose letters in a series of modern books and articles. The labour entailed by this work must have been considerable and, perhaps, out of proportion to the usefulness of the result, for the dates suggested by authoritative scholars, or definitely established, are set down side by side with others proposed by less reliable authorities. We are thus given a mechanical collection of materials, representing a purely intermediate stage in any useful investigation, and tending to encourage the re-examination of points that may now be considered as finally settled. From a more general standpoint, it is a work that might suggest some curious considerations. The selfless collaboration of scholars is, no doubt, a welcome sign; but what we should call, for lack of a better expression, the 'mechanisation' of literary studies may tend to promote the output of statistical works and to discourage real criticism. It seems ungracious to express such reflections in connection with Professor Wilkins' contribution to Petrarcan studies, but we feel some doubts as to whether developments of this kind are a healthy portent.

C. F.

One is tempted in these days to indulge in a paradox and say that German literature has a difficulty in keeping pace with its chroniclers; the number of new histories of German literature is bewildering. From the firm of Stiepel in Reichenberg we have received a large *Handbuch der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* by Alois Bernt (1928. 816 pp. 20 M.), which may be recommended to readers who seek a straightforward account of the facts of German literary history, written in an attractive style. Dr Bernt's work is eminently well-balanced, accurate and up-to-date in its information. It follows the lines of the older histories in so far as it is, in the main, an account of individual writers; but one feels sometimes that more generalisation, a freer discussion of ideas and movements would have welded the book into a more satisfactory whole. The earlier part of the volume from the beginnings to the Reformation is particularly excellent; from the eighteenth century onwards a distinctive handling of the subject is less noticeable. The history is brought down to the present day; and here, I gather, Dr Bernt is less in sympathy with the new men and movements of our time than with those of a looking-backward tendency. This conservatism at least means that he is not guilty of what in foreign eyes is a weakness of so many recent books of German literary criticism, undue optimism concerning the abiding value of Germany's contemporary literature. But Dr Bernt might have been more strict in the line he draws between writers of distinction and 'Unterhaltungsschriftsteller.' Gustav Frenssen, for instance, is not only represented by his portrait, but receives an allotment of space which seems out of proportion. The volume, the preface tells us, is designed primarily for educational purposes, and these it is certainly well calculated to fulfil.

J. G. R.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

June—August 1929

GENERAL.

- ABERCROMBIE, L., *Progress in Literature* (The Leslie Stephen Lecture, 1929). Cambridge, Univ. Press. 2s. 6d.
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